o Appianus.

AN AVNCIENT Historie and exquisite Chronicle of the Romanes warres, both Ciuile and Foren.

Written in Greeke by the noble Orator and Historiographer, *Appian* of *Alexandria*, one of the learned Counsell to the most mightie Emperours, *Traiane* and *Adriane*.

Translated out of diuers Languages, and now set forth in English, according to the Greeke text, taken out of a Royall Librarie: by W. B.

In the which is declared:

Their greedy desire to conquere others.
Their mortall malice to destroy themselues.
Their seeking of matters to make warre abroade.
Their picking of quarels to fall out at home.
All the degrees of Sedition, and all the effects of Ambition.
A firme determination of Fate, therewith all the changes of Fortune.
And finally an euident demonstration, That peoples rule must giue place, and Princes power preuayle.

With a continuation, bicause that parte of *Appian* is not extant, from the death of *Sextus Pompeius* second sonne to *Pompey* the Great, *till the ouerthrow of* Antonie *and* Cleopatra, after the which time, *Octauianus Cæsar*, had the Lordship of all alone.

Βασιλικὰ Κράτη, Λοκρίδι τ' ἐπιγράψατο.

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Anno. 1578.

Ga 85.38*



Sec. 1, Rob
Imicat fecit

TO THE RIGHT HONO-rable, his ſingular good Mayſter, Sir *Chriſtopher Hatton, Knight*, Ca-pitaine of the Queenes Maieſties

Garde, Vizchamberlaine to hir Highneſſe, and one of hir Maieſties moſt honourable priuie Counſayle.



WHAT care the Almighty King of Heauen hathe, of the Princes and States of the earth, though ſacred Scripture did not teache vs, Prophane doctrine might inſtruct vs. *Homer* ſhevveth, that God throvveth his ſhielde in the vvarre, to defende the Prince from harme, and that he appoynteth to euerye Gouernoure, a peculiar God for his protection.

Hovve God plagueth them that conſpire againſte their Prince, this Hiſtorie declareth at the full. For of all them that coniured againſt *Caius Caſar*, not one dyd eſcape violente death. The vvhych thys Author hath a pleaſure to declare, bycauſe he vvould affray all men from diſloyaltie tovvard their Soueraigne.

The greateſt ſeruice that men can doe, is to ſaue theyr Countrey from daunger. The *Romanes* gaue him a crovvne that ſaued one Citizen. Then hovv many crovvnes deſerueth he, that helpeth to ſaue a number.

They vſed to make a coyne for hys commendation, vvyth thys inſcription: *The Senate and people of Rome for Citizens ſaued.*

Cicero vvas called, Father of the Countrey, bycauſe hee

kept it from decay. All they that in theyr consultations, do seeke the like benefite to their Countrey, doe deserue the like reward and prayse, and in the testimonie of good mēs hearts, they are sure to haue it.

Then seeyng this Authoures onely purpose is, to extoll the princely rule, and to procure the safetie of the people, I haue presumed to make a presente of hym to youre Honoure, that you being in case to do the like good, maye receyue the same triumph of your desert.

Hovv vvorthy the VVryter is to be redde, I referre it to the vvitnesse of one vvorthy* Prelate of this lāde, vvho (as he sayd of *Plato*) shal suffice for a multitude. Further, vvith the manner of the Authoures vvriting I doe not meane to trouble you, himselfe shall tell your Honour, that such as be in your case, may bring to passe that he desireth, to the glory of God, the honour of the Prince, the benefite of the Countrey, and renoume of your selfe.

*The reuerend father in God T.C. Bishop of Lincolne, in his booke entituled Thesaurus linguæ Latinæ & Britannicæ.

Your Honoures seruaunt
most duetifully bounden:

H. BINNIMAN.

THe Romaine people and the Senate, did many times contend, for making of Lawes, releasing of debts, deuision of landes, or electō of officers, yet was there no tumult nor vproare, but only discorde and debates in ciuill maner, and that was done with great reuerence one to another. The people, on a time hauing bene at warre, and falling into like contention, did not abuse their armour priuately, but kept aside vnto an hil, which therof was called Holy, where was no violence done, but a creation made of an officer of themselues, whom they called Tribune of the people, to be a restraint to the Consuls chosen by the Senate, that they should not haue the only rule in the Common wealth. Of this great hatred and variance grew betweene these officers: the Senate and the people being deuided for them, and fyred by ambition, sought the one to ouer-rule the other. *Martius Coriolanus*, in such a contention beyng vniustly banished, fled to the *Volscians*, and made warre against his countrey. This only feate of force, should a man finde among the old strifes, which neuertheles was the act of an outlawe. But in their common metings, was neuer weapon drawn, nor ciuill murder done, before *Tiberius Gracchus* Tribune of the people and deuiser of the Lawes, did firste perishe in sedition, and many moe with him taken in the Capitol, were slain about the Temple. Notwithstanding, discorde ceassed not by this disgrace, euery man being euidently bente against other, bringing many times their weapons, and now one officer, and then another (by this diuisiō) was dispatched, in the temples, in assemblies and in Courts, the Tribunes, Pretors, or Consuls, either prouoking to it, or working this occasion of it. Uncomely contumely of

Foure causes of discorde among the Romaines.

Holy *Hil* dedicate to *Iupiter*, three myles beyond Rome, ouer the riuer *Aniene*, novv *Tiberone*.

Creation of the Tribune of the people.

Volscians people bet vvene *Hostia* and *Circeia*.

M. Coriolanus, the first that rose against his countrey, his name vvas *C. Martius*, by cause the Citie of *Coriolie*, belonging to the *Volscians*, vvas vvonne chiefly by his meane, he bare the name of the city. The Romaines had their proper names, as *Caius*, *Quintus*, or *Marcus*, the name of their house, as *Martius Valerius*, *Tullius*, and of some fact or figure, as *Publicola*, *Coriolanus Africanus*.

*Capitol an Hil vvhere vvas the chiefe palace and temple, socalled of a mans heade that vvas found. It vvas begunne of *Tarquinius Priscus*, & finished by *Tarquinius Superbus*, but not dedicated. In the foundation *Tarquinius* spente xl. M. li. vvaight of siluer. *M. Horatius* the secōde consul in *Iunius* place did dedicate it. It vvas burned in *Sylla* his time, and builded againe, and dedicated by *Catullus*, *Sylla* being deade. Then vvas it burned in *Vitellius* time and restored by *Vespasian*: and also after his death it vvas burned againe and his sonne *Domitiane* builded it, and dedicated it, and made it so sumptuous in guilding and trimming of it, as he spente aboue xij. M. talentes vpon it, nor for no great holynesse, but for his pleasure, for his Galleries and his banqueting houses passed thys.

euery trifle, and foule contempt of law and right, did euer play a part. This euil growing great, manifest insurrections wer made against the state, mightie and fierce armyes were rayled against the countrey, banished mẽ striuing for restitutiõ, or magistrates contending among them selues, for offices at home, or army abroade. Some there were, in power like princes, and as Monarkes, made leaders of seditious armies: some would not leaue the army that was deliuered them of the people: some without authoritie, would leuie straunge souldiers against their enimies, striuing whether of thẽ should first get the Citie, in word against the cõtrary factiõ, but in deede against ỳ countrey: for they inuaded it, as an enemy. Cruell murders were vsed in some, in others proscriptions to deathe, banishments, confiscations, & tormentes intollerable, so as no kinde of crueltie was left vndone, till *Cornelius Sylla*, one of the mightie Captaines of rebellion, fifty yeares after *Gracchus* healing euil with euil, made himselfe a Monarke for a time: the which kinde of officers, they called *Dictators*, vsed in most daungerous times, and commonly giuen ouer after fiue monethes were ended. But *Sylla*, being in deede *Dictator* by force, perpetuall, yet in speach pretending to be eleced, when he had his fill of that rule alone, was the first man, (as I thinke) that durst freely giue ouer a Tirannicall power, affirming he would aunswere for his doings, if any would accuse him: and in the sighte of all sortes, as a priuate man, many times he went to the common place, and returned home againe without hurte. Such a feare was there yet of his authoritie, in them that behelde hym, or an astonishmente, of the resigning of it, or a reuerence, that he offered to aunsweare for hys doyngs, or some other curtesie and consideration, acknowledging his Tyranny to haue bene profitable to the countrey.

Dictator, was he that ruled alone, yet at the barrell he might not be on horsebacke.

Thus a while sedition ceassed with *Sylla*, and there was a remedie of the euils that *Sylla* had done: but after hym it began againe, til *Caius Cæsar*, by election sent to gouerne *Fraunce*, & after a long time being cõmaunded by the Senate to giue ouer, he aunswered, that it was *Pompey* his enimie, leading an army in *Italy*, & repining

Cæsar, conquered Fraunce, passed the floud *Rene*, and sayled into England.

repyning at his authoritie in *Fraunce*, that sought to remoue him, & not the Senate. Yet notwithstãding, he propounded cõditions.

That eyther both of them shoulde reteyne their armyes, to auoyde suspition of perill:

Or that *Pompey* also, should leaue his power, and liue a priuate life accoꝛding to the lawes.

Cæsar offereth conditions.

Obteyning neyther of these, he marched out of *Fraunce* against *Pompey* and his countrey, the which he inuaded, and hym, being fledde, he pursued into *Thessalie*, and ouercame him verye victoꝛiously in a valiant battayle, whom fleeing from thence, he followed into *Egipt*, where he was slaine of that countrey men. And when he hadde tarried and set a stay among the pꝛinces of *Egipt*, and ouerthꝛown his greatest enemy, who foꝛ his woꝛthynesse in the warres, was surnamed Great, no man nowe being bolde to do any thing against him, he returned to *Rome*, and was chosen the second *Dictator* perpetuall after *Sylla*. Then al sedition ceassed out of hande, tyll *Brutus* and *Cassius*, eyther foꝛ enuye of his greatnesse, oꝛ foꝛzeale of their countrey, kylled him in the Senate houle, being most accepted to the people, and most expert in gouernement. The people, of all other, most lamented him, & required his strykers to be punished: they burned his body in the common place, where they erected a temple, and sacrifised vnto him as to a God. Then discoꝛd rennen and increased so farre, as slaughter, banishmente, attendures, both of Senate men and Gentlemen followed confusedlye, the seditious of both sides seeking to sequester his enemye, heedeed not howe, not sparing frendes noꝛ bꝛethꝛen. So muche did deadly desire of debate, ouerwhelme al natural friendship and alliaunce. Yea they wente so farre, as three men, ỹ is to say, *Lepidus*, *Antony*, and he that first was called *Octauius*, (who being of *Cæsars* blood, and his son by adoption, toke of him the name of *Cæsar*) did deuide the Romaine Empire, as a priuate possession, after the whiche deuision, falling sone out, as was none other lyke, *Octauius Cæsar* exceeding them both in wysedome and experience, fyrste bereft *Lepidus* of *Lisbia*, which fell vnto him by lotte, and then ouerthꝛew *Antonie* at * *Actio*, and toke frõ him al ỹ rule he had

The place vva called *Thansalis*, from the vvhich *Pompey* fled into *Egypt*, vvhere he vvas killed of the yong Kings Counsellers.

Pompey, for hys valiantnesse, had the name of *Magnus*, that is Great, giuen vnto him.

Brutus, *Cassius*.

These attendures the *Romanes* called proscriptions, vvhen a decree vvas vvritten to condemne a man vvithout answvere, and kill him vvithout lavv.

Lepidus.
Antonius.
Octauius.
* *Actio* a place in Epire.
The Gulfe of *Ionius* is from *Brundusia* to *Mont Gargone*, the rest is called the Gulfe of *Venice*.

from *Syna* to the Duke of *Lonn*: after these most mightie actes, wherewith all men were amased, with hys nauy he wanne *Egipt*, the greetest kingdome and of longest continuance after *Alexanders* reigne, and only lefte to make the Romaine state as it is, by the which, being yet alive, he was of the people of Rome called *Augustus*, and the firste that so had that title. He shewed himselfe to be an other *Cæsar*, yea more mightie than *Cæsar* was, as wel touching the subiection of his owne countrey, as of all other nations, not needing any election, or forme of creation, to be a pretence to his doings. In continuance of time, being setled in his state, and in all things happy and beloued, he left behind him a succession, and a lynage to raigne likewise after him. Thus the Common welth of the Romaines, after diuerse debates, came to vnitie, and the rule of one. How these things were done, I haue written, gathering the most notable matter, that they that lyke, may se the vnsatiable ambition of men in greedy desire of kingdome, ioyned with intollerable paynes, and innumerable kindes of calamities. The which I haue therather take in hand, because dealing with the Historie of *Egipt*, and al these things going before and ending there, I was compelled to make rehersal of the. For by this occasion was *Egipte* also conquered, when *Cleopatra* toke parte with *Antony*. Now because of the multitude of matters, I haue deuided them thus. The first shall shewe the thynges done from *Sempronius Gracchus*, to *Cornelius Sylla*. The seconde shall conteine al the actes from that time vnto the death of *Cæsar*. The rest shall declare all the dissention that was betweene the three men, one against an other, and the Cittizens of Rome and them, vntill the last and greatest feate of Ciuill force, in the whyche *Augustus* ouercame *Antonie* and *Cleopatra* at *Actio*, from the which time the Chronicle of *Egipt* shal take his beginning.

Egipte

Augustus is a name, by the vvhich the Romaines did cal their holy things as *Augusta templa & Augurium*, and vvhatsoeuer *Iupiter* encreaseth by hys mightie powre. The Senate did consult to cal him *Romulus*, but this name semed more holy and reuerent, that vvhiles hee vvas alive, hee might be consecrated as a god.

The order of the story, vvhiche is left out in the *Italie* translation.

VVhen *Cæsar Octauian* had ouercome *Antony* and *Cleopatra*, & made *Egipt* a prouince to the Empire of Rome, he made one *Cornelius Gallus* lieftenant there, and in token of the Conquering of that countrey strike by him, (hee coyned a money, in the vvhiche vvas the picture of a Crocodile, vvhich is there only to be seene in the Rond *Nilus*, chayned to a palme tree, & trees of Palmes laide ouer him, vvith an inscription *Col. Nem.* that is, *Colligam Nemo*, signifying that hee triumphed of *Egipt*, sprinkling it vvith deuvv in stead of tragat, of vvhich there is none.

The

The Hiſtorie of *Appianus Alexandrinus* of the Ciuil diſſentions of the Romaines.

The firſt booke.



It vvas 500. yeares before the Romaines could conquere *Italy*.

This manner of inhabitants they called *Colonies*, vvhich vvere taken by lot, as the Greeke vvorde expreſſeth, vvhich is κλήρουχίαι.

The Romaines order for inhabiting the grould

The Romaines make account of the *Italian* nation.

HEn the Romaines firſt conquered *Italy* whych they did by little & little, they toke part of the land, and buylded new Cities, or ſent of their owne people to inhabite the old, that by this meane, they might be ſure of the countrey. The grounde that was tilled, eyther they diſtributed, or ſold it, or let it to ferme to the inhabitants. The waſt, which by reaſon of the warre was very much, not hauing euer leyſure to make diuiſion of it, they proclaymed in this ſort, to them that would manure it.

For the yearely increaſe of ſæde grounde, they required the tenth part.

For the places planted with trées and woode, they would haue a fifth part.

For Cattel eyther great or ſmall, they appointed a tribute accordingly.

Thys they did, for the maintenaunce of the *Italian* nation, whom they accounted to be men of beſt ſeruice, that they might alwaps, in the warrs, haue the vſe of that were their owne: but it came ſome otherwiſe to paſſe, for ỳ rich mẽ, hauing got ỳ greater part of the vnbeuided lande, preſumed vpon long preſcription of time, that no man would moleſt them, and the poore mens ſmall portions, lying nygh them, either they bought for a little by perſuaſion, or they encroched to them by very violence and oppreſſion, ſo as now, in ſteade of Manour places, they had as it were whole countries: & bycauſe they would not haue their huſbandemen called anye time alwaye to the warres, they bought theyr

Hynes and Herdes, to labour the grounds, and would not sette their countrymen to any worke at all: by reason whereof, their gaine was incredible, as well for the yearely profit of their possessions, as for the multitude of encrease of those slaues, whyche were neuer called to ỹ warre. Thus the great mẽ grew exceeding riche, and euery place was ful of seruile generation: but the *Italians* fel into decaye and wante of men, and were also oppressed with pouerty, by occasion of their continuall prestyng to the warr, and dayly exactions put vpon them. And if at any time they were eased of these, they felt a further incõuenience, for where they had no land of their owne, the rich mẽ being Lords of al, and they vsing the labour of bondmen in steade of free men, the *Italians* were vtterly corrupted with ressydolenes. The people of Rome was much offended herewith, bicause they could not haue such seruice of the *Italians*, as they had before, and whensoeuer they made any expedition abroade, they were not without daunger, for the great multitude of bondemen at home: they could not tel how to remedy this matter, for it was not easy, nor altogither equal, to thrust them out of possession, that had had so long continuance in their landes and houses, which they had so wel planted and prouided. At length wyth much adoe, the Tribunes toke the matter in hand and ordeyned,

Increase of slaues.
Decay of *Italians*.

This was called *Lex Licinia*.

That no man should keepe aboue fiue hundred Acres of lande.

An Acre was so much ground as a payre of Oxen could arie in a day, the measure wherof 240. foote in length & a120. in breadth. The measure of a foote was 4. handes, and one hand vvasfoure fingers, and the measure of a finger, according to Geometry, three barely cornes. This is added in the *Italian* translation.

That no man should fede aboue one hundered greate cattel.

That no man should fede aboue fiue hundred little cattel.

And for the better obseruation hereof, they appointed a number of freemen, to marke what was done, and to make declaration of the same from time to time.

The law was allowed, the penaltie assigned, and the commissioners were swoorne, supposing that by this meane, some landes would be lefte, that for a small price, might be awarded to the poore. But regarde was there none, neyther of Lawe nor of the othe, and if some did seeme for manners sake, to obey the lawe, and make a counterfeyte deuision to theyr neyghbours, the moste parte dyd vtterly contemne the lawe, tyll *Tiberius Sempronius*

Tyrnius Gracchus a godlye noble man, honourable and eloquente, whereby he was more notable than al the other Tribunes, made a solemne oration, in the prayse of the *Italian* people, lamentyng that so warlike a nation, and of the Romaines alliaunce, shoulde shortly be dispeopled and brought to penurie without all hope of remedy. He inueyed againste the race of Slaues, as vnfitte for the warre, and vntrustye to their Lordes: he called to remembraunce, a fresh affliction in *Sicelie*, by slauish seruauntes against their maisters, the which had their increase also, by being vsed in countrie businesse, whom the Romaines could not subdue, without long and sharpe warre, full of variable and daungerous successe: and hauing spoken to this effecte, hee renewed the law.

That no manne shoulde haue more than fiue hundered Acres.

That their children shoulde haue halfe so muche: which he added to the old lawe.

That three men chosen and changeable euerye yeare, shoulde make diuision to the poore.

The riche men toke this matter verye grieuously. For nowe they coulde not eiude the Lawe, as they dyd before, bycause of them that were appointed for the deuision, nor purchase theyr Landes, that hadde theyr partes assigned, for *Gracchus* hadde prouided for that, forbydding all manner of sale. They assembled togyther in seuerall companies, fyndyng faulte wyth the Lawe. They were in a marueylous disdaine and griefe, that the poore shoulde possesse theyr auncient inheritaunce, their plantings & buildings, and that they shold forgoe the purchase of the lands that they had payd for to some of their neyghbours. Others reppyned at the losse of their forefathers * Sepultures, conteyned within their groundes, and the partitions of theyr portions, lefte of theyr parentes.

Some obiected theyr wyues marriage money, and

Thys *Gracchus* vvas sent *Pretor* to *Numantia*, vvhere the Consul *Mancinus* vvas ouerthrovvne, and seking for peace the *Numantines* vvould graunt none, excepte *Gracchus* vvere sent to thē, vvhiche being done, a peace vvas made, the vvhiche the Senate did not approue, though xx.M. Citizens vvere saued thereby, beside the slaues and rascals, inso much as the consul vvas sent thither againe naked & bounde, but *Gracchus*, the people praysed that had saued so many Citizēs vpon vvhich occasion he became an enemye to the Senate, and a friend to the people.

* A Syrian slaue in *Sicelie* after a mad sorte raging vvith a desire to make rebellion, pretended a religion of doing honor to the goddesse of *Syria*, and called bondemento libertie and ar-

B.iiij. consumed

mes, and that he might seeme to do that by the vvil of God, he held a nutte in his mouth stuffed vvyth Sulphure, and fire, the vvhich vvhen he spake, did cast forth flames.

* The olde Romaines did bury in their possessiōs and it vvas long after Christ, ere mē vvere buried in sacred places.

consumed vppon the same, or the lande of inheritaunce to theyr children: and some declared what debt they were fallen into, by reason of interest, so as there was great disorder, quarelling, and indignation among them.

The poore offended.

The poore men on the contrary side, complaine that they were brought from good wealth, to extreme want, and thereby to decay of continuaunce, not being able to bring vp their children. They shewed how many tymes they had bin a warfare to winne thys land, and myght not beare to be bereft their publike portiõ. They rayled on the riche, that in the steade of frée men, Citizens, and souldiers, they had chosen bonde seruauntes, a generation euer vnfaithfull and stubborne, therfore not fitte for the warre. Thus the one reuiling and vpbrayding the other, the multitude, that either were of the Romaine foundation, or of their owne gouernement, and al other, that any wayes were partakers of the lande, fearing the losse therof, resorted togither, and were deuided wyth the one or the other, and so being enbolded by number, they waxed fierce, stirring rebellion, and abiding til the law should be discussed: the one by no mean to suffer it to preuaile: the other, that it might take place to the vttermost. Both sides were ambitiously bent for the sequele of it, and against the appointed day prepared themselues. *Gracchus* minde stode vppon a resolution, not to further aboundance of riches, but the encrease of men, in procuryng of the which commoditie, he muche magnifyed himselfe, as in a trauell that to *Italie* could not be of more honor nor importance, the difficultye wherof he did not conceiue. When the day of making Lawes was come, he made a long plausible Preface, and asked of them, If it wer right ỳ publike things shold be deuided in common: and if a citizen were to be preferred before a seruant: and if a souldier were more profitable, than he that was vnapt for the war, and a partaker of publike profit more wel willing: Not tarying lõg in this comparison, as needelesse, he streight turned his tale to vtter the hopes and feares of his countrey, that where they had by the warre wonne so muche lande of their enemies, and had good hope to get the rest of the earth, they woulde nowe put al in hazarde, whether to conquer al that remayned, by

The Latin translation of *P. Candidus* and the *Italian* differeth from the Greeke.

Gracchus talke.

encrease

encreaſe of lytte mē, or to loſe this through want of their owne, and enuie of their enimies. He ſet forth the glory and wealth of the one, and the daunger and doubt of the other. He exhorted the rich to regard, if it were not more for their profite to gratifie the people with land to bring vp their children, in hope of the wealth to come, than to ſtriue for trifling matters, and to neglect the greater things; they hauing ſufficient recompence of their charges beſtowed, by poſſeſſion of fiue hundred acres of choyce, free and certen land, and to euery of their children (if they had any) halfe ſo much. After this ſort *Gracchus* ſpeaking much, kindling the poore, and other to, that ſtode vpon reaſon, rather than deſire of poſſeſſion, he commaunded the Clearke to pronounce the lawe. But *Marcus Octauius* the other Tribune, whome the poſſeſſioners had made to reſiſt, and with the *Romaines* being euer more able to forbyde, commaunded the Clearke to ſilence. When *Gracchus* greatly blaming him, deferred the Court till the next day, when, hauing prepared a ſufficient force to compell *Octauius*, commaunded the Clearke with threates to propound the lawe to the people: but *Octauius* forbadde him againe, and put him to ſilence. Then the Tribunes fell to chaſing one with an other, ſo as the lawe could take no place for the tumult, wherefore the great men required to committe their difference to the Senate, *Gracchus* tooke holde of that offer, thinking euery reaſonable man to be inclining with the lawe, & came into the Senate houſe, where being greatly moued of the rich, as among the few chiefe men in a ſtraight, he came againe into the common place, and ſayd he would deferre the tryall, till this next dayes aſſemblie, both for the lawe, and for the authoritie of *Octauius*, and whether by order a Tribune reſiſting the lawe, might bee depoſed from his office: and ſo he did, at whyche time *Octauius* nothing abaſhed, made reſiſtance againe. Wherefore *Gracchus* put the matter ſtraight to the voyces, and when one company had giuen againſt *Octauius*, *Gracchus* turned to him, and prayed him to leaue his purpoſe, but he carey not for it, and ſo they proceeded. There was fiue and thirtie companies, whereof fiue and thirtie gaue againſt him with great furie, and when the xxxvj. ſhould haue determined the matter, *Gracchus* againe

M. Octauius reſiſteth the lawe.

Gracchus to the Senate.

* The word ſignifyeth the great men, or a ſtraight.

Fiue and thirtie companies in Rome.

in the sighte of the people, lamentably desired him, that being in that daunger, he woulde not hynder so profitable and honorable an acte to all *Italy*: nor to withstande so greate desire of the people whyche he ought to further, beyng a Tribune: nor to suffer the disgrace of losing hys office. Thus he spake, and called God to witnesse, that agaynste hys wyll hys fellowe was depaised. But when no perswasion woulde serue, he made the decree: *Octauius* beyng deprriued, he secretely conueyed hymselfe away, *Quintus Mummius* was chosen Tribune in his place. The lawe of landes was pronounced, and the firste officers appoynted to see it executed, was *Gracchus* hymselfe the lawmaker, and a brother of hys name, and *Appius Claudius* hys father in lawe. So muche dyd the people feare, that all the labour of the lawe shoulde bee lost, vnlesse *Gracchus* and all hys familie hadde the execution of it. *Gracchus* was marueilously magnifyed for hys lawe, and accompanyed of the people to his house as a preserver, not of one Citie or Countrey, but of all the nations of *Italy*. Thys beyng done, they that had the day, returned to the lawes in the Countrey from whence they came for that purpose, but they that lost the day, remayned discontented, and talked that *Gracchus* shoulde not escape blame when he shoulde bee out of office, that durst violate a Magistrate of so greate authoritie, and gyue occasion of so manifest sedition in *Italy*. Nowe was it Sommer, and the tyme of chosing Tribunes at hande. It seemed that the ryche woulde so labour, as the office should bee gyuen to some of *Gracchus* greatest enimies. The tryall beyng at hande, and he afrayde that he shoulde not bee elected Tribune for the yeare to come, called people out of the Countrey, to gyue voyce in the election, but they beyng occupyed in Sommer businesse, and the daye drawyng nygh, he was compelled to make the people of the Citie hys refuge, and wente aboute to euery one aparte, to desire them to make hym Tribune agayne, beyng in daunger for their sakes. When the daye was come, the two firste companyes chose *Gracchus*, but the ryche men cryed, that it was not lawfull for one to bee Tribune twyce together. *Rubrius* a Tribune, to whose turne it came

Gracchus excuseth himselfe of the deprivation of his fellowe.

Octauius deprived.
Q. Mummius chosen.
Lawe of landes.
Officers for the lawe.
Appius Claudius.

Gracchus labours the people.

came to bée chiefe of the election, doubted of the matter. *Albinus* succeſſor to *Octauius*, prayed hys felloins to committe the order of the election to hym, whyche hée dyd, but the other Tribunes affyrmed, that thys muſt be tryed by lotte, for where *Rubrio* hadde hys turne, the appoyntmente dyd appertayne to them all.

Doubt in the election.

The contention béeyng greate, and *Gracchus* hauyng the worſe, he deferred the diſcuſſing tyll the nexte daye, and béeyng vtterlye diſcouraged, although yet in office, he remayned the reſt of the whole daye in the common place, beſeechyng euerye man to bée hys helpe, as though he ſhoulde ſtreyght haue bin deſtroyed of hys enimies. The poore men were moued wyth compaſſion, and conſiderying that they were not vſed indifferently as Citizens, but rather as ſlaues to the luſt of the ryche, and fearyng for *Gracchus* ſake, who ſuffered for theyr ſake with lamentation, they all brought hym to hys houſe at nyght, and bade hym bée of good cheere againſte the nexte daye. *Gracchus* béeyng thus encouraged, aſſembled hys parte in the nyght, and gaue them a watchworde to fyght it out if néede required. Then hé went to the Temple of the Capitoll, where the election ſhoulde bée, and when the aſſemblie was come together, and hé in the myddeſt of them, ſome of the Tribunes and the ryche men woulde not ſuffer the election to proceéde for hym: wherefore hé gaue hys watche worde, they that were prime to it made a greate ſhoute, and begamne the fray, ſome ſtode about *Gracchus* to guarde hys perſon, ſome tore the ſeates, ſome wrang the roddes and maces out of the Sergeantes handes, ſome rente aſunder euerye thyng, and bet the ryche menne out of the place, wyth ſuche a tumulte and terroure, as all the Tribunes ranne awaye, and the Prieſtes ſhutte the Temple doores. The flying and running was confuſed, and the ſpeeche not well vnderſtanded. Some thoughte that *Gracchus* hadde depoſed an other Tribune, for ſeyng none of them there, it was lyke to bée ſo. Some thoughte hé hadde made hym ſelfe Tribune agayne wythoute anye Election.

Tumult by Gracchus.

Temple of Fayth.

In the meane time the Senate assembled in the Temple of Faith. Surely I maruell, that where the office of one ruler had many times before preserued the state in like troubles, that now they vse not chuse a *Dictator*. In former times it was founde most necessarie, but nowe neyther in memorie, nor after cared for. When the Senate, as wel as they could, had resolued what was to be done, they went vp to the Capitoll, and *Cornelius Scipio Nasica*, by the name of chiefe Bishop led the way, and spake with a loude voice that they should follow him that would haue their Countrey safe. Then he pulled the skirte of his gowne ouer his head, either to giue a token by his garmẽt, that the more might follow vpon him, or for a signe to them that sawe it, that he would fight, or for that he would as it were hide from the Gods what he meant to do. Being come to the Temple, and thrusting in among *Gracchus* route, they gaue place vnto him, as to a most worthy man, whome they sawe all the Senate follow: then vpon his company wyning the weapens out of the others handes, and gathered the peces of the broken seates, with any other things that they could get in the place, and set *Gracchus* part so violently, as they droue them to the brinke of the hill, in the whyche tumulte *Gracchus* was slayne, and many with him at the Temple doores, before the Images of the Kings. Thus *Gracchus*, beyng sonne of that *Gracchus* that had vii. twice Consull, whose mother was *Cornelia* daughter to *Scipio* that conquered *Affrica*, meaning well to his Countrey, but going about it vnwisely, was slayne in the Capitoll, being yet Tribune.

Dictator.

Chiefe Bishop. *P. Scipio Nasica.*

Superstition.

The fray.

Gracchus slayne, who was a gentle curteous man, sober and eloquent, with modestie.

First Sedition.

As this was the first mischiefe that was done in the place of election, so did it not cease till many more were done from tyme to time. The Citie was deuided into two factions, *Gracchus* death, some lamented for themselues as well as for him, that the present state was no more a common wealth, but rather a Tyrannie and cruelty. Other reioyced at that was done, whereby they had obteyned their purpose. This was done, whē *Tiberius* the contended with the Romaines for the Lordship of Asia. *Gracchus* being

* *Aristonic?* was a base sonne to *Eumenes*, by a wench of *Ephesus*, that was a Minstrels daughter.

Attalus sonne to *Eumenes*, made his Testament after this sorte, *Populus Romanus bonorum meorum hæres esto.*

The *Romaines* stayed the prouince of *Pergamo*. *Aristonicus* as heyre to his father inuaded it, and killed *Licinius Gracchus* that was sent against him. Then *M. Perperna* ouerthrew him at *Stratonice*, and was killed in prison, by the Senates commaundement.

being thus slayne, and *Appius Claudius* dead, the eight were *Fului-us Flaccus*, *Papirius Carbo*, and *Gracchus* the yonger, toke vpon them the defence of the law, and where the possessioners denied their lands to be surueyed, they made proclamation, that the surueyers should vewe them, of the whiche grewe a multitude of difficult matter, for all the lande adioyning together, whether it was solde or deuised to their companions in warre, came to be examined how it was sold, and how it was diuided. Euery man had not his conueyance, nor the portions appointed them, and they that had, were found doubtfull. And where lande should be diuided againe according to the order, some of the owners must be put from their grounds and manors, to darken sede, and from frutefull and well planted places, to Fennes and marrish groundes. And where at the beginning of the lands conquered, there was no great certentie kept, & now that by decree all lande diuisible must be labboured, many had entred vpo their neighbors boundes, whereby the forme of the places were confounded, and time hadde so altered the sell, as it was hard to find the wrong that the rich had done, although it were great: so was there nothing but confusion, euery one changing & chopping into others right. The *Italians* were very much greeued at this sharpe dealing of the commissioners, and made sute to *Cornelius Scipio* that ouercame *Carthage*, to be their defence against these iniuries, who for that he had had there good seruice in the warres, was much greeued they shoulde be misused, wherefore he came into the Senate house, where he did not directly speake against *Gracchus* lawe, but shewed the difficultie of the matter, and wished it should not be determined of them that had the dealing of it, because of suspition, but of some other that might be thought indifferent, the which he quickly obteined as a thing reasonable. *Tuditanus* the Consull was appointed to be the iudge, but he entring into the cause, and finding it so intricate, toke in hande a voyage against the *Illirians*, seeking that occasion to be rydde of this. They that were first appointed for the diuision, because no man required suffice of them, did nothing in the same. Wherevpon all hatred and grudge of the people did growe against *Scipio*,

F. Flaccus. P. Carbo.

Proclamation.

The Italians sueth to Scipio.

Scipio.

Tuditanus.

The Illirians, now Sclauonians.

that he woulde haue more care of the nations of *Italie*, than of the people of *Rome*, whyche for hys sake had diuers tymes gotten the displeasure of the greate men, and twice made him Consull before he might so be by the lawe. This beyng knowen, his enimies spake manifestly against him, affyrming that he went aboute vtterlye to breake *Gracchus* lawe by force and violence, whyche when the people hearde, they were afrayde, till *Scipio* in an euening, takyng a payre of Tables to note what he woulde say the next day, was founde dead without any wounde, eyther by the practise of *Cornelia* mother to *Gracchus*, that hys lawe shoulde not be forsaken, and by the helpe of *Sempronia* hys daughter, who was married vnto *Scipio*, whome she loued not, nor he her, for that she was foule and barren, or rather (as some thynke) that he kylled himselfe, because he could not fulfill hys promise. Some saye, that hys seruauntes beyng racked, confessed, that certayne straunge men vnknowen to them, were lefte in at the backe doore, and that they did choke their maister, and because they sawe the people angry with him, and to be glad of his deathe, they durst not bewray it. Thus dyed *Scipio*, and was not thoughte worthy a publike funerall, although he had done so great seruice to his Countrey. So muche could presente displeasure preuayle ouer benefytes passed. This happe gaue courage to *Gracchus* faction, although the diuision of landes was diuerslie deferred by the possessioners, whereof some thought good that all companions in warre shoulde be called to the freedome of the Citie, to make the benefyte the more common, and so leaue the contention for land. The *Italians* accepted this very gladly, and preferred the freedome of the Citie, before the lande in the Countrey. *Fuluius Flaccus* being Consull, and a diuider of land, was a great doer in this matter, but the Senate did not allowe, that they that were their inferiours, shoulde now become their fellowes: so this deuise take no place, and the people that was in hope of the diuision, was vtterly discouraged, till *Caius Gracchus*, brother to him that made the lawe of landes, was thoughte the most mete man to be a Tribune, who since hys brothers deathe had liued in rest: and though many of the Se-

The people of *Rome* against *Scipio*.

Sempronia and *Cornelia* suspected of *Scipios* death.

This was *Scipio Iunior Africanus*, nephew to *Scipio Africanus* that ouerthrew *Annibal*.

Seruauntes confession.

Ingratitude.

Freedome of the Citie.

Fuluius Flaccus.

Caius Gracchus the seconde Tribune.

nate

nate enuyed hym, yet he stode for the office, and obteyned it with great glory. He deuised to deceyue the Senate, by making a lawe that the people should haue a distribution of a monethes Corne of the common store, whiche thing was neuer seene before, wherby streight he wanne the peoples hearties, and *Liuius* beyng his friende, he was declared Tribune for the yeare to come: for now there was a lawe made, that if a Tribune hadde nede of furtherance to perfourme his promise, the people afore all other should make choyce of hym, and so *Caius Gracchus* was chosen Tribune the second time. Hauing thus allured the people by his largesse, he wanne also the Gentlemen by another deuice. They being in dignitie next the Senatours, in the middest betweene them and the people, he turned the iudgements ministred by corruption from the Senatoures to the Gentlemen, obiecting against them things lately committed, that *Cornelius Cotta*, *Salinator*, and *Manius Acilius*, who subdued *Asia*, being openly condemned of bribery, were releassed by the Iudges, when the Embassadours were present, gaping about, and crying out upon them with great slaunder, wherof the Senate hauing aduertisement, gaue place to the lawe, the people proclaymed it. Thus were these iudgements translated from the Senatoures to the Gentlemen. When this lawe was made, *Gracchus* (as they report) sayde, he would dispatch the Senate quickly, which saying soone found true by the following therof. For where the Gentlemen had the iudgements of corruption, banishment and diffamation, whyche they vsed extreamely ouer the *Romaines*, and the *Nation*, yea the Senatours themselues, all the Gentlemen were like Princes exalted, and the Senatoures like Caitifs reiected, hasting for to the Gentlemen, ioyning with the Tribunes in relations, to gratifye them against in euery thing they would. The Senatours were fallen into so great a feare, as though the state should streyght here be changed, they only hauing the name, and the Gentlemen the authoritie, who in processe of time, did not only preuayle the Senatours, but bid them open fight against all lawe. They dealte with matters of corruption, and felte so of continuall gayne as they vsed their authoritie more rigorously

Distribution.

A lawe for the Tribunes benefite.

Gentlemen, *Equites*, Take vengeance of the Senators after the order of the *Athenians*, when they were able to find an horse.

Iudgements of corruption. *Cornelius Cotta. Salinator* did the toll of sale. *Manius Acilius* ouercame *Antiochus*.

Corruption, Translation, reuiual of Iudgements.

Cruelty of the Gentlemen.

and moderately. They brought in prinie accusours against the rich, and by their faction and force ouerthrew the lawes of corruption, so as the custome of triall of indegementes was vtterly ouerthrowne, and a newe disturbance concerning lawes of Iudges stirred vp, as like so long to continue as the former. Vpon was *Gracchus* making of long high wayes in *Italy*, seeking thereby to help the inuitude of the labouring men, to haue them ready in any enterprise at his commaundement. He also placed diuers newe inhabitances, and furthermore stirred the Latine nation to require the freedome of the *Romaines*, as a thing to procure hate to the Senate, if they should denie it to that natiō that was so nigh allied vnto them. He also gaue authoritie to other confederates of *Rome*, to giue voyces in elections, whether might not so by euident maner, that he might haue the more helpe to procure lawes as his pleasure, for the which the Senate was much troubled, and commaunded the Consuls to make proclamation that no man, (vnlesse he had a right in elections) should remaine in the Citie aboue .v. dayes out of the tribes, and appoint a place without the walles of the Citie, where the assemblies for the lawes might be. They perswaded *Liuius Drusus* the other Tribune, to repeale *Gracchus* lawes, not making the people acquainted with it, and it was graunted, that who so would repeale, should not need to shew cause thereof. Thus to win the commons hearts, they decreed twelue new inhabitances to be made, wherewith the people was so wonne, as they cared not for the lawes. *Gracchus* being thus deceyued of the peoples fauour, sayled into *Affrike* with *Fulvius Flaccus*, who was Tribune with *Gracchus* after he had bin Consull, where an inhabitance was appointed, by cause of the plentie of the soyle, which was deuised purposely, that by the absence of the people, the Senate might haue some rest from their stirres. This inhabitance was appointed where *Carthage* was, little regarding that *Scipio* the former of it, did haue it for euer to be a place of habitation. Other thinges was alleged, which indeed ought to haue bin false, that they might the rather please the people. When returned to *Rome*, and gathered the multitude out of all *Italy*, but when it was spitten out of *Affrike*, that the Colonie had destroyed

Gracchus maketh newe wayes.

Gracchus giueth voyces to the Giants.

Liuius Drusus.

The Senates deuice to ouerthrow the lawes.

Gracchus sayleth into *Affrike*.

Colonie.

An inhabitance where *Carthage* was.

stroyed the plat of the citie, which *Gracchus* and *Fuluius* had layd, the Southsayers affirmed, that the inhabitantes shoulde be vnlucky, wherefore the Senate called a counsell, that the lawe of inhabitance might be reuoked. *Gracchus* and *Fuluius* being deceyued of this hope also, like mad men, layd the Senate did lye, touching the token of the Wolues. The vnruly sorte of the rumors fauouring them, came with their weapõs to the Capitoll, where the assemblie shoulde be for this inhabitance. Whē the people was assembled, and *Fuluius* beganne to speake, *Gracchus* came vp to the Capitoll, garded with them that were priuie of his purpose, but being resisted of them that vnderstode he woulde make new busines, he lefte the way to the Capitoll, and toke a lowe Gallerie, there waytyng to deceyue his aduersaries. One *Attilius*, a man of the commõ sorte, seeyng him in these turmoyles, and making sacrifice in that gallerie, came and toke hym by the hand, either to perswade him, or suspecting him, or otherwise to talke with him, prayed him he woulde spare his Countrey: he was ỹ more troubled, as fearing to be apprehended, & looked angerly vpõ him, whereat one of his people, without any commaundement or token giuen, but only by cõiecture of *Gracchus* grimme loke, thought it now to be time to please his Captayne, if he began the fray, drew his sworde, & ranne *Attilius* throughe. A greate hoote being made, and the dead body seene among them, euery man fledde out of the Temple with feare of like displeasure: *Gracchus* wente to the common place, minding to say somewhat to the people touching this fact, but no man woulde harken to him, euery mā detesting it as a wicked fact. *Gracchus* and *Flaccus* were out of hope, hauing lost this occasion, which they thoughte to haue preuented, and ranne home to their houses, accompanyed with their companions. The rest of the people, as in time of daunger, about mydnight toke the common place, and by breake of day, *Opimius* the Consull had appointed men in armoure to keepe the Capitoll, and called the Senate together by publike officers, himselfe in the meane time abiding in the Temple of *Iupiters* children, to prouide for the necessitie. This being thus ordeyned, the Senate sent for *Gracchus* and *Fuluius* to answere for

Inhabitance reuoked.

Attilius.

Attilius killed.

Gracchus was detested.

L. Opimius.

themselues in the Counsell house, but they in armoure went to the hill called *Auentine*, hoping by the strength of the place to bring the Senate to some composition, and offered libertie to bondmen that would repayre vnto them: but no man made anye accompt of them, wherefore they toke the Temple of *Diana*, and fortifyed it. Then they sent *Quintus*, some to *Flaccus* vnto the Senate, requiring a pause with a truce of concord. The Senate willed them to leaue their armoure, and come to say what they could for themselues, or else to sende no more: neuertheles he came agayne, and *Opimius* the Consull not taking him for a messenger because of their disobedience, caused him to be deteyned, and sent souldiours against *Gracchus*, and he fledde ouer the woodden bridge, vnto the other side of the floude into a groue, with one man, to whome when he saw he shoulde be taken, he offered his throte to be cutte. *Flaccus* fledde into a shoppe of one of his acquaintance. They that followed him, threatned to burne the whole streete, vnlesse they deliuered him. His friend being ashamed to betray him in his calamitie, bade an other do it, and so was *Flaccus* taken and killed, and both their heads were brought to the Consull *Opimius*, who gaue the waight of gold for reward, and the people spoyled their houses. The Consull toke their companions, & committed them, till they were executed. To *Quintus* he granted to chose what maner of death he would: then he purged the Citie of bloudshed, & by the Senates sentence, erected the Temple of concord in the comon place. This was the ende of *Gracchus* the second his sedition. Not long after a lawe was made, that anye man might sel the land y was in controuersie, the which the former *Gracchus* had forbidden, whereby the riche men agayne did buy the poore mens parts, or thrust them out by violence, til *Spurius Borius* the Tribune did deuise a law, y land should be no more deuided, but remaine with the owners, & a tribute to be rayled of it for the people, the money whereof should be distributed, whereby the poore had some relefe, but to the increase of me it was no help at al. Thus was *Gracchus* law abrogated by a sleight, which might haue bin very good and profitable, if it had bin vsed accordingly. Not long after, by an other Tribune, the distribution also was

Auentine was one of the seuen hils of *Rome*.

Second seditiō.

The woodden bridge was at that part of *Tiber* that goeth to the hill *Ianiculo*.

Gracchus and *Fuluius* slayne. This *Gracchus* was very eloquent, but so vehement, as he would moue vp and downe, and cast his Gowne off his shoulders.

Purgation of the Citie.

Temple of Concorde.

Lawe to sell lande.

Diuision by money.

Sp. Borius.

was take away, so as the people was vtterly destitute of al help, wherof followed wante of Citizens and souldyers, reuenewe of lande, of tripende, and of lawes, the space of fiftene yeares after *Gracchus* lawe, with a more quietnesse. In this meane tyme *Scipio* the Consull threw downe a Theatre that *Lucius Cassius* had begun and almost ended, either as an occasion of new sedition, or for that he wouldde not haue the *Romaine* people acquainted with the *Greekes* pastimes. *Q. Metellus* a maister of maners, minded to haue removed *Glaucias* that had bin Consul, and *Apuleius* hauing bin Tribune, from their dignitie, for their euill life, but he coulde not do it, because his fellowe was againste it. A little while after to be reuenged of *Metellus*, *Apuleius* laboured to be Tribune againe, because *Glaucias* was forbyd, & should be thiefe in the election: but *Nonius* a noble man, vsing free speech againste him, & reprouing *Glaucias*, was chosen Tribune. They fearyng that he being in authoritie, would punish them, sent a band of bande fellowes as he went from the election, and killed him, entring into a shoppe to saue himselfe. This murther being committed, they of *Glaucias* faction, before the people could assemble againe, chose *Apuleius* Tribune earely in the morning, & by this meane was the deathe of *Nonius* not followed, men being afraide of the Tribune. *Metellus* was banished by ỹ help of *C. Marius* now fiue times Consull, who bearing secrete hate againste him, conspired with his enimies. *Apuleius* did make a lawe to deuide certayne landes of the *Frenche*, wonne by the *Cymbrianes*, whome *Marius* hadde driuen away, as nowe no longer of the *Frenche*, but belongyng to the *Romaines*, and therefore might be deuided. It was promised that if the people wouldde allow the lawe, the Senate shoulde confirme it the fifth day by an oth, and he that refused to sweare to it, should be removed frõ the Senate, and be condemned to the people in twenty Talents. This was a deuice to be reuenged of *Metellus*, who for his grauitie wouldde not sweare vnto it. The lawe being in this forwardnesse, *Apuleius* appointed ỹ day, and in the meane time sent into ỹ Countrey for such as had serued *Marius* in ỹ warres, to haue their help, but because ỹ *Italians* shoulde be more aduaunced by this lawe than the *Romaines*,

A Theatre was a place of Playes to bee seene of the people, and it was round saue in one place. An Amphitheatre was round euery where. Sometime the Theatres serued for the people to learne Orations. *Q. Metellus* Censor.

This *Nonius*, of other is called *Memmius* and *Mamius*. *Nonius* killed. In this matter this Author seemeth to varie from other.

Metellus. *C. Marius* was an enimie to the nobilitie, and a laborers sonne, voyde of learning, and rude in manners, yet so good a Souldiour, as when *Scipio* vnder whome he serued in Spayne, was asked whome hee thought meete to be generall after him, hee clapped *Marius* on the shoulder and sayd, peraduenture this man

the people was not content with it. So discord arose in the time of the meeting. *Apuleius* did put backe from the higher place all that were against the law. The people of the Citie cryed that it thundered, which when it hapned, it was not lawfull for the *Romaines* to conclude any thing in their consultations. Neuertheless *Apuleius* bande vsed violence still, wherefore the Citizens girded their gownes, and toke such weapons of woodde as they coulde get, and resisted the Countreymen. They agayne being encouraged by *Apuleius*, stucke to it, and with their staues and battes beate the Citizens so, as the lawe was wonne. *Marius* the Consull forthwith propoūded the oth, and bycause he knew *Metellus* a constant and sound man in his purposes, he firste shewed his owne opinion, affirming he would not sweare, and all to deceyue *Metellus* who sayd the same, wherefore both of them beyng commended of others, *Marius* brake vp the house. The fifth daye after, which was the time appoynted for the oth, the Consull assembled the Senate on a suddaine about tenne of the clocke, and sayde, he was afrayd of the people that fauored the lawe so feruently, yet he had deuised a shift and a subtiltie for it, and that was this, that a man might sweare to the wordes of the lawe so farre forthe as it was lawfull, and so for the time the Countrey people might be sente home, and after it might be well proued that it was no law, which by violence and by the thundering of *Iupiter* was made contrary to the order of the Countrey. When he had sayd thus, every man was silent for feare of entrapping, and the suddaynesse of the time: wherefore he arose and went to the Temple of *Saturne*, where the common treasourers shoulde sweare. Himselfe ware first, & so did his frends: other Senators did the like for feare. Only *Metellus* would not sweare, continuing in his former sentence without dread. *Apuleius* the nexte daye sent a Sergeant to pull him out of the Courte, but the Tribunes defended him. Then *Apuleius* and *Claudius* came to the Countrey multitude, affirming that they neither could haue lād, nor law take place, vnlesse *Metellus* were banished: wherefore a decrée of his banishmente was made, and a Proclamation from the Consull, that no man should succoure *Metellus*, neyther with fyre

Obiection against the lawe.

Thunder stoppeth any proceeding in elections and assemblies.

The Citizens against the Countreymen.

The lawe wonne by force.

Marius dissembleth.

A deuice of *Marius* to illude the lawe.

The wordes be, Μηχάνημα and σοφισμα *commentum & subtilitas.*

Metellus refuseth the oth.

tyre nor water: and one only day was giuen him for deliberation of the matter. The people of the Citie were offended, and went about *Metellus* with their weapons: he thanked them for their good will, but said, his Countrey should not be brought into trouble for him. So *Apuleius* pronounced the decree of his exile, and *Marius* confirmed it. Thus was the most worthy man of the Citie banished, after the which *Apuleius* was Tribune the third time, and for his fellow, one *Gracchus* a runnagate was appointed, reporting that he was sonne to olde *Gracchus*, the people fauouring him for the names sake. The election of the Consuls being at hand, *Marius Antonius* was chosen for the one, without any striking: for the other, *Glaucias* and *Memmius* contended. *Memmius* was of more estimation in the Citie. *Glaucias* and *Apuleius* feared themselues, and sente certayne men with daggers into the assemblie, whiche layde vpon *Memmius*, and killed him. Thus was the solemne assemblie disturbed, no regarde being had now of law or iustice, nor reuerence of God or man. The people was greeued at it, and the nexte day gathered together to dispatche *Apuleius*, but he got the company of his new multitude of Countreymen, with *Glaucias* and *C. Sepheius* a treasourer, and toke the Capitoll. The Senate commaunded they should be taken and dispatched, but *Marius* unwilling to it, did for a shewe arme men very slowly. Some there were that did cutte away the water that went into the Temple, wherefore *Sepheius* that could not abide the lacke of water, persuaded the to set the Temple a fyre, but *Glaucias* and *Apuleius* yelded themselues first, and after so did *Sepheius*. And where euery man called vpon their execution, *Marius* shutte them in the Senate house, as to deale with them more according to lawe. But the people perceiuing this to be a delay, pulled the tiles of the roofe of the Temple, and neuer left throwing vpon them, till they had killed all three, whereof one was a Questor, an other a Tribune, and the third a Pretor, and all at that time clad with the robes of their office. With them also was slayne a greate number of the people, entangled with their sedition, and in it the other Tribune, that was thought to be sonne to *Gracchus*, the first day of the entring

The moderatiō of *Metellus*.

Metellus banished.

Gracchus the runnagate, who was aduanced by *Marius*.

Memmius killed.

Sepheius, *Glaucias* and *Apuleius* killed.

into his Tribunelhyp, for nolo neythee libertie nor dignitie, neythee land nor office was able to releeue any man, whe as the Tribunes office, created for the repelling of wrongs, and defence of the people, as a sanctuary and holy thing, was waxen a worker of iniuries, and had iniurie done against it selfe. After *Apuleius* and the rest were killed, the Senate and the people decreede to call home *Metellus*, but *Furius* Tribune, not borne of a free man to his father, but made free of a bond man, boldly did refuse them, and reuoked his tonne by force, beseeching him with teares vpon his knees in the sight of all the people, which yong man for that pitifull aide, was euer after called *Metellus* the dutifull. *Caius Caninius* Tribune the next yeare, did accuse *Furius*, and the people that would not suffer to haue him tried by iudgement, did teare him in peeces. Thus euer one mischiefe or other was committed in the common place. *Metellus* was called home, and (as they say) a daye did not suffice for them that came to welcome hym home at the gates of the Citie. Thus the thirde sedition, after the two former, made of the two *Gracchi*, begunne by *Sempronius*, and bringing much trouble to the *Romaynes*, was ended. In the meane tyme kyndled a fiere called the fellowes warre, whiche as it was longyne, so it tho[r]tye grewe verye great, and caused dissention to reaise at home, for feare of trouble abroade, and when it was ended, it rayled newe turmoyles and worker of disco[r]de, not for making of Cities, or creating of officers among the people, but verye mightye armyes seekyng one anothers destruction, the whyche I thought good to ioyne with thys hystorie, because it proceeded of ciuill dissention, and increased to a farre greater tumulte, the begynnyng whereof was thys. *Fuluius Flaccus* beyng Consull, was the fyrste that openly encouraged the *Italians* to aske the freedome of *Rome*, that of subiectes they mighte be coequall in authoritie. And because he was to earnest in the cause, the Senatoures sente hym to a forayne warre, where he laboured to be Tribune. When hys office shoulde ende, and broughte to passe that he was chosen Tribune with *Gracchus* the ponger, both the whyche going about to make lawes in the fauoure of the *Italians*, were slayne

(as

Furius his Tribunelhyp.

Metellus the dutifull.

Furius torne in peeces.

Metellus reuoked.

The thirde sedition.

Fellowes warr, and the cause of it.

Flaccus sent into *Liberia*.

(as ye haue heard) whereby the *Italians* were the more sharpe set, taking it greeuously, that they were rather vsed like vnderlynges than fellowes, and that *Fulvius* and *Graccius* for their sakes were so destroyed, after whome, *Liuius Drusus* a noble man and Tribune, badde promised the *Italians* to make a lawe in their fauours touching the freedome of the Citie, whereof they were verye desirous, as the onelye meane of Sea uauntes to be made Superiours. To gratifye the people of *Rome*, the Tribune leadde newe inhabitances as well in to *Italie* as *Sicile*, determined before, but till that tyme deferred. He also toke in hande to make pacification betweene the Senatours and the Gentlemen, whiche were fallen out for authoritie of iudiciall matters, and when he saw he coulde not directlye restore the Senate to their former iurisdiction, he deuised a policie with them both, for where the Senate by reason of sedition were scarcely the number of three hundred, he deuised that so many more shoulde be chosen of the Gentlemen, and of them all Iudges to be chosen in time to come, to heare matters of corruption, whyche was nowe no more regarded, for men were waxen so shamelesse, as it was thoughte no faulte; but this policie badde contrarie successe, for the Senate was greeued that so many Gentlemen shoulde be suddainely be made them fellowes, hoping by the that they in like authoritie would agree with them. The Gentlemen were afrayde that the whole order of iudgementes shoulde be in the Senate, the which thing now hauing tasted of great gaine, with much authoritie they began, (not without cause to suspect) hereafter forth an emulation grew among themselues, which of the twoo shoulde be thought worthier than other, to be chosen to the three C. and he that was, was sure to be enuied, but nothing did more trouble them, than that the triall of corruption shoulde be called againe to the ordinary court, the which was now out of vse, and in this the Senate and the Gentlemen, though they agreed not among themselues, yet they both conspired against *Drusus*. The people was pleased with their newe habitations. But the *Italians*, for whose sakes the Tribune badde begunne

Liuius Drusus.

Encrease of Senatours.

Drusus told them there was nothing now left to be deuided, but earth or ayre.

all

It should seeme by some that he vvould haue reuoked certayne inhabitances. *Tuscanes.* *Vmbriones* be nowv *Ducato di Spoleto.*

all these things, could not away with the placing of newe habitacions, for if the diuision of common land should ceasse, the rich men, some by force and some by fraude woulde winne it, and streight get it from them, and be euill neyghbours to them that would withy-holde them. The *Tuscanes* and the *Vmbrians* hauing the like affection, were brought of the Consul in pretence to dispatche *Drusus*, but in deede to resist the lawe, againste the whiche they openly cryed and appeared the day of determination. When the Tribune hearde of this, he came not abroade, but gaue audience at home in a darke gallerie, and in an euening dismissing the people, it happned as that he cryed, I am hurt, and withy woꝛde he fell downe dead, for was found he was stricke with a Shoomakers knife in y flanke. Thus *Drusus* y Tribune was slayne. The Gentlemen of this determination toke occasion to picke quarels againste their enimies, and induced *Q. Valerius* the Tribune to take vpon him to accuse all them that eyther priuily or apertly had furthered the *Italians* in the publique matters, hoping thereby the great men should haue but brought into slaunders and defamation, and they be their Iudges, whyche being rydde away, they should yet haue greater power in the common wealth. And whereas other Tribunes did refuse to propounde the lawe, the Gentlemen with swoꝛds in hand, did chase the place, and caused the lawe to be made, which as soone as they had obteyned, they brought in accusers againste the Senatours, whereof one *Bestius* would not obey, but wente into voluntarie banishment, as he that would not giue himselfe into the handes of his enimies. *Cotta* appeared in iudgement, and when he had very boldly declared his seruice for the common wealth, and reprehended the Gentlemen, before he should be cast out by decree, he wente away willingly. *Rutilius* that ouercame *Greece*, being promised of the Gentlemen to be released, was deceyued, and forced with shame to the iudgement, and to leade his life in the Ile of *Delos*. The people began to be grieued at this disorder increasing dayly againste the best men, lamenting that so many and so good Citizens should be so vnnaturally taken from them. The *Italians* hearing of *Drusus* death, and the cause of so many

L. Bestius exiles himselfe. *Cotta* vvillingly exiled.

Rutilius exiled vvho ouercame *Cornelius* and thereof vvas called *Achaicus*, bycause it stoode in *Achaia*.

mens

mens exile, thinking no longer to be suffered, that such a sort of their chiefe patrones should be thus vsed, and not hoping any other way to obteyne the frédome of the Citie, determined to leaue the *Romaines*, and to make warre vpon them. At the beginning of this confederacie, they secretely gaue hostages for assurance of their faith, which thing was long hidde to the *Romaines*, bycause of their dissention and iudiciall causes, but when it was perceyued, they sente diuers abroade to vnderstand the thyng closely, one of the whiche, marking that a yong man of the Citie of * *Asculo* was delinered to an other citie as pledge, he did vtter it to *Seruilius* the President of that prouince: for at that time, it should séeme, that the *Romaines* had presidents in diuers partes of *Italy*, whiche manner *Hadriane* when he was Emperoure desired to renue, but it cõtinued not lõg after his time. *Seruilius* came in great anger to *Asculo* at a feast, and sharply rebuked them, wherevpon they killed him, bycause they were discouered by hym. They killed also *Fonteius* ỹ was his legate. They had ỹ name of Legates among the *Romaines*, that were sent in commission to the Presidents of the Countrey. After these two were slayne, there was as little courtesie shewed to the rest of the *Romaines*, for they were al killed, and their godes set to spoyle. The conspiracie being now opened, all the neighbours about *Asculi* wente to armes. The *Marsians*, the *Molinians*, the *Vestinians*, the *Marrucians*, and beside them the *Picentines*, the *Ferentines*, the *Hirsians*, the *Pompeyans*, the *Venusians*, the *Iapigianes*, and the *Samnites*, whiche people before had euer bin enimies, and hurtfull to the *Romaines*. All other nations from the flood * *Lario*, which floweth, as I take it at * *Linterne*, to ỹ Gulfe of *Ionia*, did send theyr Embassadors to the *Romaines*, complayning, that where the Senate had vsed their seruice and trauell, alwayes in getting theyr great Empire, they made no regard of it, nor for all their paines thought them worthy to be partaker of their Citie. To whome the Senate sharply answered, that if they repented theyr former doings, they shoulde send Embassadors, if not, they shoulde sende none. They armed desperate, prepared for the warre, and made a common army of all the Cities, one of fourteen, and an other

* *Ascolo*, Thys Citie is in that part that is called *Abruzzo*, neere to the territorie of *Ancona*, appertayning to the Pope. There is another of thys name in *Apulia*, called *Asculi de Sassano* for a difference.

Presidents. *Hadriane* the Emperoure.

Proconsulles. *Seruilius* killed at *Asculi*.

Fonteius killed.

Marsians in Campania di Roma.

Molinians in Campania felici.

Vestinians in *Abruzzo*.

Marrusians *Abruzzo*.

Picentines Campanites di Lauoro.

Ferentines in Catio.

Hirsians *Abruzzo*.

Pompeyans in terra di Lauoro.

Venusians in Apulia.

Iapigianes otrãto.

Samnites *Abruzzo*.

All these natiõs be beyõd *Rome*.

* This flood *Iris Isario*, now *Glariano* in *Campania*.

* *Linterno* was a Citie in *Campania*, where *Scipio* chose to ende his life, after he had found the people of *Rome* vnthankefull.

of horsemen, to the number of one hundred thousande. The *Romaines* made power as greate againste them, partly of their owne, and partlye of the Confederate Cities that yet remayned in league. *Sextus Iulius Cæsar*, and *Publius Rutilius Lupus*, then Consulles, were leaders both, as in a warre at hande, and daungerous. The rest remayned at home to defende the gates and the walles, and bycause mens mindes were entangled thys waye and that waye, by reason of the newe lawe, they appoynted assistantes to the Consulles, whome they called Legates, meane of the best sorte. To *Rutilius*, was ioyned *Cneus Pompeyus*, father to *Pompey* that was surnamed Greate, *Quintus Capio*, *Caius Perpenna*, and *Valerius Messala*. To *Sextus Cæsar* *P. Lentulus*, brother of the sayde *Cæsar*, *Titus Didius*, *Licinius Crassus*, and *Cornelius Sylla*. And beside these, *Marcus Marcellus*. These many appoynted to the Consuls, serued as Lieutenantes in seuerall places, and the Consuls wente ouer all, to whome and to the other the *Romaines* sente euer newe supplyes, as in a trouble of greate danger.

The army of the *Italians*.

Sex. Iulius Cæsar, *P. Rutilius* Consulles.

Assistantes to the Consulles.

The *Italians* hadde theyr Captaynes out of euerye Citie, beside the whyche, as in a generall cause, these were the Generalles, *T. Afranius*, *C. Poncilius*, *Marius Egnatius*, *Quintus Pompedius*, *C. Papius*, *M. Lamponius*, *C. Iudacilius*, *Virius Asinius*, and *Petius Cato*. These deuyding theyr armyes togyther, wente againste the Romayne Captaynes many tymes with the aduantage, and many tymes with the lotte; the chiefe of both the whyche briefly to declare, were these: *Petius Cato* putte to flighte, *Sextus Iulius* kylled two thousande of hys menne, and droue him to *Asernia*, a Citie of the Romayne deuotion, where standyng to theyr defence, *L. Scipio* and *L. Metellus* in flames apparell fledde awaye, and the enimies with fyre and hanger consumed theyr walles. *Marius Egnatius* tooke *Venafro* by treason, and kylled two companies of the *Romaines*.

Generalles of the *Italians*.

Sextus Iulius ouerthrowyne.

Venafro lost. It is neere the flood *Vulturno*.

P. Presentenius dyd ouerthrowe *Perpenna* a leader of tenne thousande, kylled foure thousande, and tooke the armoure from the

Perpenna ouerthrowyne and discharged.

most

moste parte of the reste. Wherefore *Rutilius* the Consull discharged *Perpenna* of hys leading, and committed the remnaunte of the Armye to *C. Marius*. *M. Lamponius* slewe eyghte hundred of them that were with *Licinius Crassus*, and chased the other to the Citie of *Grumento*. *C. Papius* gate *Nola* by treacherie, and made Proclamation to two thousande *Romaines* that were there, to come and serue, whyche they dyd, and hée accepted them: but the Captaynes that refused to obey hys Proclamation, hée toke, and famished them to deathe. He warne also *Castabuli*, *Minturnio*, and *Salerno*, that were habitations of *Rome*, and caused all the prisoners and Captynes to serue in hys Campe. He burned all aboute the compasse of *Nuceria*, whyche caused the nerte Cities to yelde for feare. Hée requyryng an armye of them, they sente hym tenne thousande meune, and one thousande Horse, wyth the whyche hée besieged *Acerre*. *Sextus Cæsar* wyth tenne thousande Frenche footemen, and manye *Numidian* Horsemenne, approched to *Acerre*.

Grumento. *Li. Crassius* lost. *Nola* vvonne, a Citie not farre from *Naples*.

Castabuli in *Campania*, *Minturna* in *Campania*, vvher *Marius* hidde himselfe. *Salerno* beyonde *Naples*. *Nuceria* beseeged, thirtie miles from *Naples*. *Acerre* a Citie in *Campania*, vvhiche *Anniball* burned, the people beeyng escaped.

Papius brought out of *Venusie*, *Oxintha*, some to *Iugurthe* sometyme kyng of *Numidia*, where hée was kepte of the *Romaines*, and claddyng hym wyth Purple, shewed hym manye tymes to the *Numidianes* that were wyth *Cæsar*, of the whyche manye fledde thycke unto hym as to theyr kyng. Wherefore *Cæsar* sente awaye the rest as suspected into theyr Countrey, after the whiche, *Papius* came vppon hym wyth contempte, and bette downe parte of hys trenche. Hée sente hys Horsemenne aboute, whyche kylled fyre thousande of *Papius* Souldyoures, whiche done, *Cæsar* remoued the Campe from *Acerre*.

Oxintha sonne to *Iugurth*. *Venusio* in *Apulia*. *Numidians*. *Papius* kylled.

To *Iudacilius* in *Iapigia*, the *Canusians*, *Venusians*, and manye other Cities dyd yelde, some that woulde not hée ouercame, and as manye noble meune of the *Romaynes* as he founde, hée slewe, the Commons and the slaues hée vsed in hys Host.

Rutilius the Consull, and *C. Marius* made Bryages, not farre asunder to passe ouer the River of *Liris*. *Sextius Cæsar* camped

nigh the bridge of *Marius* and layde an ambushe ouer against the Consuls bridge. In the morning he suffered him to passe ouer, and set vpon him with that fleyght, and many of his people he killed on the lande, many also he drowned in the floud. The Consull in this conflict was hurt in the head, and dyed shortlye after. *Marius* being at the other bridge, and perceyuing ỹ chance by the bodyes that were brought by the streame, passed the floud with great spéede, and set vppon *Catos* Camp, kept off a few, and made him lodge the nighte where he had wonne the day, from whence for lacke of victuall he was compelled to depart. *Rutilius* corpse, and many other Gentlemen, being sent to *Rome* to be burned, it was an heauie sight to sée the Consull and so many other destroyed, and cause of many daies mourning: whereforе the Senate decréede, that they that dyed in the warre should be buryed there, least the other by the sight should be made afraide to goe to the fielde. No successor was made to *Rutilius* that yeare, bycause *Sextus Cæsar* had no leysure to goe to the election, but hys host, the Senate appointed *Caius Marius* and *Q. Capio* to rule. *Q. Pompedius* lying against *Capio*, fledde as a rúnagate, and brought two slaues as pledges, cladde in purple as his sonnes: and to haue the more credite, he brought certayne wedges of leade, layde ouer with siluer and golde. He exhorted him to set vpon his men being without a Captayne easie to be ouerthrowen. *Capio* was so light of beliefe, as he wente with him. When *Pompedius* was nigh the place of embushment, he came vp to an hill as to espie the enimie, to whome when he had giuen his token, they appeared, and ouerthrew *Capio*, and many moe with him. The Senate committed the rule of his armyes to *Marius*. *Sextus Cæsar* marching with thirtie thousand fotemen, and fiue thousand horses, among hilles and rothy streyghtes, *Marius* vnwares fell vpon him, and compelled him in the fame, to fledde away in a litter (bycause he was sicke) to a riuer, where was but one bridge to passe, there he lost the greater part of his armye, the other threw away their armoure, with whome he hardly escaped to *Theano*, them he armed against as well as he could, and with an other multitude that came vnto him, and ouer head, he approched

The Consull killed. *Marius.*

Heauinesse at *Rome* for the death of the Consull.

Pompedius deceyueth *Capio.*

Capio slayne.

Sextus Cæsar fleeth.

Theano in the end of *Apulia.*

approched to *Acherre*, which *Papin* had beleeged. Their Campes lay hard togither, yet for feare durst not prouoke one the other. *Cornelius Sylla*, and *C. Marius* did followe valiantly the *Marsians* that lay against them, vnto the hedges of the Vineyardes. The *Marsians* with much adoe gote through the hedges, in the whiche *Marius* and *Sylla* thought not good to pursue them, but *Sylla* wayting with his Camp on the other side of the Vineyards, encountred them as they would haue escaped out, and killed manye of them, so as the slaughter of that day was aboue fiue thousande, and the harnesse that the *Romaines* toke, was a great deale more. By this chaunce the *Marsians* like madde men were the more fierce, and armed themselues againe, and went on to prouoke the *Romaines*, who durst not come to hand with them, nor begin the fight, for they be a nation most warlike, and through this chance this only triumph was made of them, where before (as the saying is) neyther was there triumph of them, nor without them. About the mount of *Falerne*, *Iudacilius*, *Titus Afranius*, and *L. Pastidius* togither, did ouerthrowe *Gn. Pompeius*, and drone him to the Citie of *Firmo*. They wente their way, and bette *Afranius* to beseege *Pompey*, who armed his men speedely, but would not come to fighte, yet by the comming of an other army, he sente *Sulpitius* about to be on the backe of *Afranius*, and he came for the same cause. The fight being vnlusti on both sides, *Sulpitius* set the enimies Camp on fire, which when they sawe, they fledde to *Asculi* without order or obedience, where *Afranius* was killed continuing in the fight. *Pompeius* proceeded to the winning of *Asculi*. *Iudacilius* was borne at *Asculi*, and fearing the losse therof, he toke eyght companies and went toward it, sending to the *Asculians* before, that as soone as they had sight of him, they should yelde vppon the ensignes, that they might be taken but both sides but they would none of it. *Iudacilius* entred through the Camp with as many as he could, and rep[ro]wed his Countreymen for vnfaithfulnesse, and vnthankfulnesse, but hauing no hope to kepe the Citie, for he had killed all his auntient auditors, then those that of late had caused the multitude to disobey him at this instant. Whereupon, he prepared a fyre in the

Marsia a valiant people in *Latio*, nowe *Campania*.

Falerio in *Campania* where the good wine is praysed.

Firmo a towne in the march of *Ancona*.

Afranius killed.

Iudacilius.

Crueltie of *Iudacilius*.

Temple, and sette a bedde vppon it, then he did banquet with hys friendes, and after he hadde made merrie with them, he dranke off hys poyson, and layde hym downe on the strawe, and bade them sette it on fyre. Thus *Iudacilius* desyrous to dye honourablie for hys Countrey, made hys ende. *Sextus Cæsar*, the tyme of hys office beyng expyred, was made Mycecon full of the Senate. He sette vppon twentie thousande as they remoued theyr Campe, and kylled eyghte thousande of them, and wounded many more, lying long at the siege at *Asculi*, he dyed of a disease, and appoynted *C. Bebius* to serue in his place. These were the things done in *Italy*, aboute the *Ionian* sea.

Iudacilius death.

S. Cæsar dyeth.

The *Hetrurians* and *Vmbriaues* on the other syde of *Rome* hearyng of this, they and other Countreys theyr neyghboures were disposed to rebell. The Senate beeing afrayde, least the enimie being rounde aboute them, they shoulde bee vndefended, sente garrisons of free made menne to all the townes betweene the Citie and *Cuma*. This was the firste tyme that they were admytted to serue in Warre for wante of free menne. Those *Italians* that remayned in good faith, they made free of the Citie, of the whyche all were desirous. Thys benefyte they sente also to the *Hetrurians*, who receyued that freedome beyng friendelye. The Senate by thys curtesie made theyr welwyllers the more lyghtly, putte them oute of doubte that were in feare, and caused the enimie (for hope of the lyke) to bee the more remysse. The *Romanes* dyd not receyue these newe Citizens into the tyne and thirtie companyes (for so manye they were) least that they beyng more than the olde, shoulde prevayle in elections, but brought them into newe companyes, deuided by tenues, whereby they were last in the elections, and manye tymes theyr voyces were in vayne, bycause the olde tyne and thirtie were firste called, and more than halfe. Whether thys was not knowen at the firste, or that the *Italians* were contente with it, afterwarde it was cause of newe contention. Then aboute the

Cumæ in Campania felici. Freemade men sent to warre.

Hetrurians NOVV *Tuscanes*.

The *Italians* made Citizens of *Rome*.

mian Sea, not bearyng of the *Hetruriaues* repentaunce, sente fiftene thousande menne in ayde to *Hetruria*, with long and laborious iourneys. *Cn. Pompeius* nowe Consull, mette wyth them, and kylled fyue thousande of them, the reste returnyng home by waylefull places, sharpe season of Wynter, and by eatyng of Arrowes, were the halfe destroyed.

Cato slayne.

What fame Wynter, *Cato Hortensius* fellowe, made warre vppon the *Marsiaues*, and was slayne. *Sylla* lay in Campe at Mount *Pinque*, *L. Ignatius* wyth greate despyghte, encamped wythin halfe a myle of hym. *Sylla* coulde not abyde thys contumelie, but sette vppon hym, not tarryng for hys forragiers, and was ouer to fle, but when hys forragiers were come, he sette vppon hym agayne and putte hym to flyghte. Hee then Camped farther off, hauing a supplye of Frenchmen the agayne placed hys Campe were to *Sylla*. The armyes beyng thus vygh together, a Frenchman of mighty stature came forthe alone, and challenged anye of the Romaynes to fyghte wyth hym: a little *Marussian* answered hym, and kylled hym wyth the whyche the Frenchmenne were so discouraged, as they fledde theyr way, whereby the Campe beyng troubled, no commaunde of *Clœlius* coulde staye it, but wyth confusion fledde to *Nolam*. *Sylla* pursued, and kylled thirtie thousande in the chase. And whereas the *Nolanes* receyued them but at one gate, for feare the enimie shoulde also enter, he slewe aboute the walles twentye thousande, among whome *Clœlius* manfully fyghting, was also slayne.

Sylla slayth Clœlius.

Sylla wente agaynste the *Hirpinianes*, and besieged *Aquilano*. They lokyng for the *Lucanes* ayde that haue, desired respite to consider of the perteyning theyr treatie, gaue them one houre, and in the meane tyme sette ladders to the walles, whyche were made of woodde, and at the ende of the houre sette them on fyre. They hauyng a trayne yeelded, yet he spoyled it, because they yelded not of

Hirpini in the Province. Lucanes be they that nowe be of Basilicate.

Aquilano taken. Citie in Britaine.

Sylla fleeth.

Sylla putteth to flight.

A Combate. A Numidian.

god

good will, but of necessitie. Other that yelded he receyued, till he had subdued all the *Hirpian* nation. Then he wente against the *Samnites*, not that way which *Mutilus* their Captaine kepte, but an other vnknowen by a compasse, and came vppon them suddainely, and killed many of them, and the other ranne hither and thither, and *Mutilus* was hurt, and with a few fledde to *Asernia*. *Sylla* went against the *Brianes*, where the common counsell of the faccions were kept. This Citie had three fortresses, and whyles the *Brianes* came wholly against *Sylla*, he sente aboute certayne, whome he willed to take any of the fortresses that they coulde, and to fyrnishe it by a mote, whiche being done, he gaue a hote assault on the front three houres togither, and gote the Towne. Where things that Sommer were happily done of *Sylla*, and towarde comitia he went to *Rome* to stande for the Consulship. *C. Pontidius* fauored the *Marsians*, *Asculanians*, and the *Vestinians*. *C. Cossinius* a Lieutenant of the Samnites, *Salapia*, and tooke *C. Pepe*. By the commyng of the *Samnites*, both whome he fought valiantly, till nyght parted both sides. He was sayne to leaue the siege of *Canusio*, and gote to *Canne*. *Trebatius* the Captayne of the *Samnites*, sente vnto *Cossinius*, that either he should come ouer the riuer that deuided their armies to fight, or gote backe, that he might come to him: he went backe, and when *Trebatius* was comming ouer, *Cossinius* set vppon him, and had the better in the fight, and as he would haue fledde ouer againe, he killed fiftene thousande of *Trebatius* men, who with them that were left, fledde to *Tabulso*. *Cossinius* hauing spoyled the landes of the *Larinates*, *Venutians*, and *Asculans*, inuaded the *Pelignians*, whome he wanne in two dayes. *Caelius Metellus* became his successor to his army, who went against the *Vestinians*, and ouerthrewe them by battayle, in the which *Pompedius* one of the Generalles of the reuolted people was killed, the rest fled by heapes to *Caelius*. Thus was the sharpe contention in *Italy*, called the Allyes warre, till all the same were receyued into the ciuilitie of *Rome*. Except the *Samnites*, *Lucanes*, *Brutians*, the why the (as it should seeme) were after receyued also, and were appointed to their seuerall companies as the former, least being ioyned with the olde, they should, being more in number, haue the vpper hand

Mutulus ouerthrowen.

Asernia in *Brutij*.

Brianes nowe *Boniano* in *Abruzzo*.

Salapia a Citie of *Apulia*, where *Annibal* was caught in loue.

Canue nowe *Berletta*.

Canusium a citie in *Apulia*, where is the best wooll in *Italy*, nowe *Caroffa*.

The floud *Anfido*.

Trebatius is discomfited by *Cossinius*.

Larinates &c. people of *Apulia*.

Pentrij in *Calabria*.

Pompedius killed.

Italians receiued to the freedome of *Rome*.

hand in elections.

Now beganne the Vsurers to contende one against another in the Citie, bycause some had bought debtes with the interest, beyng forbidden to take vsurie vpon vsuries by an olde law, and a payne appoynted to him, that so woulde vse his vsuries. It should seeme that the olde *Romaines* detested vsurie as muche as the *Greekes*, as a matter intollerable to the poore, and cause of debate and euill will. The *Persians* also by their lawe do accounte it full of fraude and leasing, but vsurie being confirmed by custome and time, they reuoked it accordingly. The diuers alledged cause of delay forbought that also sedition, and some forcarried the vsurers with the feature. *Asellio* a Iudge, to whome that iurisdiction belonged, sought to date them, but could not, wherefore he gaue them leaue to trie the controuerse by lawe, putting the Iudges in remembrance, as well of the fulsome, as of the law, as a thing bounteful. When the vsurers heard *Asellio* make mention of the olde law, they were greeued, and replied him after this manner: It was his turne to make oblation in the common place to *Iupiters* children, the multitude standing about the sacrifice, one of the former yeres a stone at him, and hit him, wherefore he slang downe the vessell of sacrifice, and ranne toward the Temple of *Vesta*, where being preuented and excluded, he fledde into a shoppe, and there they slew him. Many that went after him thinking he had bin fledde among the *Priestes*, came into places where it was not lawfull for men to come. Thus *Asellio* a Iudge, sacrificing and clade with an holy vesture of golde, as in such solemnities is woont, was killed the second time among the Temples in the midst of the common place. The Senate made Proclamation, that who so euer woulde deliuer the killer, if he were a freeman, he should haue libertie: if he were bond, he should haue freedome: if he were guilte to it, he should haue pardon: but no man would do it, for the vsurers kept it secrete. These murthers and ciuill dissentions hapned yet now and then, but afterward Captaynes of sedition with great armies contended together by lawe of warre, their Countrey hauing as a pray to them that could catch it, the beginning & proceeding whereof

Vsurie.

Romaines, Grecians, and Persians, hate Vsurie.

Asellio.

Sacrifice to *Iupiters* children.

Vesta the Goddesse of Virginitie.

Disorder.

Asellio killed.

after the fellowes warre was this.

Beginning of Ciuill warres.

When *Mithridates* King of *Pontus*, and other nations hadde inuaded *Bithinia*, *Phrigia*, and *Asia*, pertaining to the same (as I haue shewed in my Booke of that matter,) it was by lotte assigned to *Sylla* the Consull, beyng yet in *Rome*, to gouerne the armye in *Asia* in that warre of *Mithridates*. But

Marius.

Marius, who thoughte this warre woulde be ease to dispatch, and very muche worth, desirous also of the Generalles rome, attempted *P. Sulpitius* Tribune of the people, with manye promises, to be his friende. And he putte the newe Citizens of *Italy* in good hope, that were vncertaine in elections, to be distributed thorough all the Companies, not shewing that he wente aboute any matter of his owne, that he myghte vse them as faithfull ministers in all assayes. *Sulpitius*

Sulpitius.

straightway propounded a law for it, which if it had taken place, *Marius* and *Sulpitius* shoulde haue had their willes in all, bycause the newe Citizens did so farre exceede the olde, which thing the auntients perceiuing, did stoutely resist the new, and both sides vsed stones and staues in their defence. This euill growing still greater, and the Consuls fearing the passing of the law that was at hand, did proclayme a vacation for many dayes, as in festiuall tymes was wont to be done, that some intermission myghte be hadde of this lawe and inconuenience. *Sulpitius* coulde not abyde this vacation, and therefore willed his faction to come to the common place with weapons hidde, and do as should fall out, not sparing the very Consuls if nede were. This done, he spake agaynste the vacation, as a thing contrarye to the lawe, and bad the Consulles, *Sylla*, and *Q. Pompey* forthwyth to reuoke it, that he myghte procede to the approbation of the lawe. A tumulte began, and they beyng prepared, drewe their daggers, and threatned to kyll the Consulles if they spake agaynste them: wherefore *Pompey* secretely fledde, and *Sylla* went aside, as to take aduice: But *Pompeys* sonne, beyng sonne in lawe to *Sylla*, was kylled of *Sulpitius* faction, bycause he spake somewhat liberally agaynste them. Then *Sylla* returned, and reuoked the vacation, and wente to *Capua*, to the armye which was to passe into *Asia*, for the warre

Vacations.

Sulpitius against the vacation.

Vacation reuoked.

of *Mithridates*, not knowing any thing yet what was meante agaynste hym. The vacation beeyng followed, and *Sylla* gone out of the Citie, *Sulpitius* propounded the lawe, and to *C. Marius* for whome he had done all this, he assigned the rule of the warre agaynste *Mithridates* in *Sylla* hys place. *Sylla* heating of it, and determining to trye it by fight, called hys Souldyoures toge-ther, whyche were desirous to goe thys iourney for the gayne thereof, and knewe that *Marius* woulde vse other Souldyoures in it, and declared vnto them what spyghte *Sulpitius* and *Marius* hadde done hym, not shewyng playnely hys meaning, for he durst not yet make mention of any suche warre, but only exhor-ted them to bee readye, as occasion shoulde requyre. They vn-derstanding hys intente, and afrayde to be preuented of thys warfare, opened *Syllas* cogitation, and badde hym boldly leade them to *Rome*. He beyng gladde thereof, marched wyth fyue Legions. All the officers of hys Campe, but one Treasourer, posted to *Rome*, and coulde not abyde to goe agaynste theyr Countrey.

Embassadoures came to hym by the way, and asked hym why wyth armes he dyd inuade hys Countrey: he answered, to deliuer it from Tyrannes. Hee made hys answere choice by choice to seuerall Embassadors, and wythall required, that the Senate wyth *Marius* and *Sulpitius* myghte meete hym in the fielde of *Mars*, and there he woulde doe, as by counsell shoulde seeme good.

When he was come nygh, *Pompeyus* hys fellowe resorted to hym, allowing and prayfing hys doynges, and ioynyng wyth hym in all thynges. *Marius* and *Sulpitius* not prepared for so shorte a distaunce, sente other Embassadoures, as di-rected from the Senate, willyng hym not to come nygher than fyue myles to the Citie, tyll they hadde consul-ted of the presente state. *Sylla* and *Pompey* well vnderstandyng theyr meaning, promised so to doe, yet followed as soone as they were gone. When *Sylla* toke the gate called *Celi-montana*, and the wall nerre it, with one Legion; and *Pom-pey* toke *Collina* Gate wyth an other. The thyrde he placed

Capua the chiefe Citie of *Cam-pania*.

The warre of *Mithridates* appoynted to *Marius*.

Sylla to hys Souldyers.

Sylla returneth to *Rome* in Armes.

Officers of good conscience.

Treasyrer of *Sylla*.

Celimontana Gate.

Collina Gate.

at the bridge of Inodue, the fourth he left as a warde vnder the walles, with the rest he entred the Citie with enimies mind and deede: wherefore the dwellers aboute did stoppe him, by callyng vpon him from aboue. He threatned to burne their houses, and then they ceassed. *Marius* and *Sulpitius* came against him in the playne of *Esquily*, with as manye, as of the suddayne they coulde bring armed. This was the first fight that euer was in *Rome* of suche enimies, not noine for anye pretence of dissentipit, but by playne force, with Trumpet and ensignes, as in lawe of warre. To such inconueniences were they now come by nourishing of dissentions. *Sylla* hys souldyoures gaue backe, wherefore he toke the standerd, and stode to it with daunger, so as the reuerence of their Generall, and the feare of dishonor that come to them that forsake their ensigne, did stay them straighte from fleeyng. *Sylla* called frethe Souldyers from the Campe without, and sente others to the streete called *Suburra*, to compasse the enimies on the backehalfe. *Marius* company made but laine resistace against these new men, and fearing to be compassed on euery side, called to the Citizens that fought yet in their houses, and proclaymed libertie to seruauntes if they would come to help: but none comming to him, and they, in vtter despayre, fledde out of the Citie, and so did euery noble man that was of their faction. *Sylla* passed to the way called *Holy*, and such as made any spoyle, he punished in the sight of all men. He also set garrisons in the Citie, and both he and *Pompey* watched, going aboute euery where, that no hurt should be done eyther of them that had lost, or of them that had wonne. Day being come, they called the people to a counsel, they lamented that the state was betrayed of certayne troublesome men, and that they were constreyned by necessitie to doe that they had done. Further they affirmed, that nothing of importance should be propounded to the people, but that were before debated of the Senate, renuing an auntient lawe, nowe of longtime out of vse, and that the elections shoulde not be of the ordinarie companies of warres, but of the generall assemblie by the rate of substance, according to the institution of kyng *Tullus*, supposing by these two things, that if no lawe were propounded

Sylla entreth the Citie with armes.

Esquilie was the hill in *Rome*, vppon the which *Tullus Hostilius* kept his Souldioures.

First fight of the armies in *Rome*.

The boldnesse of *Sylla*.

Suburra, in the old writing *Succurra*, a streete in *Rome*, where Souldyers were placed, to releeue them of *Esquilie*.

Marius fleeth.

Holy way in *Rome* so named of the peace that *Romulus* made with *Tatius*.

Sylla renneth olde lawes.

Comicis Cēturiatis where the best men gaue voyces.

King *Tullus*.

pounded

pounded to the people before the Senate, and that elections should not consist in the voyce and bolde sorte, in steede of the wise and substantiall men, there should not be suche occasion of sedition. Many other things they spake of the Tribunes, in writting against that power as Tyrannicall, whereby the Senate was growen into contempt by so vnfyt men: therefore they chose together three hundred of the best sorte, and whatsoeuer had ben done by *Sulpitius* after the vacation of the Consuls, they reuoked it as vnlawfull. Thus sedition from strife and contention, byd growe to murther, and from murthers to very warre, and this was the first army of Citizens that inuaded the Countrey as enimies. Yet sedition ceassed not by this trial of armes, for continuall inuasions were made against *Rome*, the walles were beaten downe, and all other extremities of warre done, no reuerence eyther of lawe, common wealthe, or Countrey, being able to restrayne the violent mindes. Then was banished *Sulpitius* the Tribune, and with him *Marius*, fiue times Consul, and his sonne *P. Cethegus, Iunius Brutus, C. & Q. Granius, P. Albinouanus, M. Lectorius*, and other, to the number of twelue Senators, as stirrers of tumult, rebellious to the Consuls, prouokers of slaues to reuolt, by offering them libertie, for the whiche they were proclaymed enimies to the Romaine state, and that it should be lawfull to kil them without punishment, or bring them to the Consuls. Their goodes were confiscate, and serchers ranne aboute to catch the, who founde *Sulpitius* and slew him. *Marius* alone without seruant or fellow fledde to *Minturne*, the rulers of that Citie for feare of the proclamation, keeping him in a close house, that hadde bin fiue times Consull, and done so many notable feates, would not be aduentours of his death, but sente a Frenchman that was there by chance, with a sworde to kill him. The Frenchman (as they say) wente in to him lying on the strawe in the darke house, and was afrayde, for he thoughte that his eyes dyd cast forthe beames and flames of fire, and that he did rise from hys couch, and cryed with a loude voyce, darest thou kil *Caius Marius*. The Frenchman fledde as fast as he could out of the house like a madde man, crying, I can not kyl *Marius*, whereby the Rulers

Marius &c. proclaymed Traytors.

Sulpitius slayne.

Mynturna in *Campania* betwene *Formia* and *Sinuessa*. *Marius* fleeth to *Minturna*.

A Frenchman appointed to kil *Marius*, can not do it.

Marius escapeth.

that doubtfully hadde determined this, were stricken with a diuine feare, and a fame spoken from his childhode, that the man shoulde be seauen times Consull, for they say, when he was a childe, seuen yong Eagles fell into his lappe, whiche the Southsayers did shewe, that he shoulde seauen times haue the greatest honor. The Magistrates of *Minturna* remembring this, and thinking the Frenchman was feared by Gods operation, they conueyd *Marius* out of their Citie, to saue himselfe as well as he could. He knowing that he was sought for of *Sylla*, and followed of the Horsemen, went toward the Sea by vnbeate wayes, and chansing vpon a Cotage, staied there, and couered hys body with leaues, he hearde a noyse, and lay still couered wyth hys leaues, but hearing it more and more, he lept into an old Fishermans bote, and toke it away spight of his teeth: a tempest arose, and he cutte the Cable, and hoysted the saile, and committed himselfe to fortune, and so he came to an Iland, where he founde a Shippe of his friendes, with whome he sayled into *Lybia*, but beeing reiected from thence by *Sextus* the Presidente, as an enimie, he lined all that Winter in the Sea, vnder the Mountaynes of *Numidia*. Being thus againe a seabonde and knowen, of hys friends, there sayled to him *Cithegus*, *Granius*, *Albenouanus*, *Lectorius*, and others, and his sonne, all the whiche being valiant men, fledde from *Rome* to a *Numidian* Prince, and being afrayde of Treason, departed from thence. These had good will to set vpon *Sylla*, whome they thought violently to vse their Countrey, but lacking army, they tarried till occasion might serue. *Sylla* beeyng the first that euer entred the Citie with armes, and able to haue made himselfe in *Rome* equall with a Monarch, after he was auenged of his enimie, he did willingly refrayne from violence. He sent his army to *Capua*, and ruled againe as a Consull. The faction of the banished, chiefly the riche menne and women that were full of money, being deliuered of feare of the army, were earnest for the returne of their men, and omitted neyther care nor cost, laying wayte for the Consulles hoppes, because if they were well, their matter were bashed. Howbeit when *Sylla* shoulde leaue his office, the army that was appoynted him against *Mithridates*

Token of *Marius* honor.

Hard happe of *Marius* in escaping.

rhinates should be his defence. *Pompey* the other Consull, the people pitying his case, appoynted him the gouernemente of *Italy*, with the army that was vnder *C. Pompeius*. When *Cneus* heard of this, he toke it euill, yet he receyued *Quintus* into the Campe, who the next day doing his office, *Cneus* wente aside as a priuate man, till a number pretending to beare the Consull, enclosed him and killed him, other fleeing away. *Cneus* returned as though he had bin marueilous angry that the Consul should be so vnlawfully slayne, but angry as he was, he straight toke the rule vpon him agayne. When the newes of the Consuls death was brought to the Citie, *Sylla* was afrayd of himselfe, and straight carried his friendes with him whereseuer he wente, and in the night had them about him also, and so not tarrying lõg, he went to *Capua* to his army, and frõ thence sayled into *Asia*. The frends of the feedde men had great confidence in *Cinna* that was Consul after *Sylla*, and stirred the new Citizens to the deuises of *Marius*, and thought it meete that they shoulde be mixt with the olde companies, least being last of all, their tomes shoulde be lost. This was the plat, for *Marius* and his friends returne. The olde Citizens stode stiffely against it. *Cinna* stode with the newe Citizens, corrupted (as it is thought) with three hundred Talentes. *Octauius* the other Consull defended the olde. *Cinna* his companie, closely armed, toke the cõmon place, & tryed to be mixed with ỹ cõpanies. The other multitude better minded, resorted to *Octauius* with their weapons also, to whome tarrying at home to take aduisement, worde was brought, ỹ the most part of ỹ Tribunes did resist these doings, & that there was a tumult of the new Citizẽs, with weapons drawne in the way againste the Tribunes of ỹ contrary side, rushing into the cõmon place. When *Octauius* heard of this, he wẽt the way called *Holy*, with a great cõpany, & throging through ỹ middest of ỹ cõtrary side, gote ỹ cõmon place & stayed thẽ. Whẽ he had thus afraide thẽ, he went into ỹ Tẽple of *Iupiters* childre to auoide *Cinna*, but they that were with him, without any commaundement, ranne vppon the newe Citizens, and killed manye of them, and chaced the other fleeing to the Gates. *Cinna* hauing his trust in the newe Citizens,

Pompey the Consull killed.

Cinna.

Octauius.

VVay Holy.

Tumult in the which the new Citizens are killed.

and

and thinking to haue done all by force, and now contrarie to his opinion, seeing the boldnesse of a few to haue ouercome, he went about the Citie, and called slaues to libertie, but when none came, he ranne to the nerte Cities, which he not long before were made free of *Rome*, that is, *Tibur*, *Preneste*, and other as farre as *Nola*, and stirred them to sedition, and gathered money for the warre. *Cinna* being thus occupyed and deuising, some Senators of his minde fledde vnto him, as *C. Malonius*, *Quintus Sertorius*, and the other *C. Marius*. The Senate did decree, that *Cinna* should no more be taken as Consull nor Citizen, bycause being Consull, he left the Citie in tumulte, and called bondmen to libertie, and in his place they appointed *Lucius Merula*, *Iupiters* Priest. They saye that this holye Priest only might euer weare the wand of his hatte alway, where as other might not do it, but in sacrifices only. *Cinna* went to *Capua*, where was an other armye of the *Romaines*. He did make sute to the Rulers of it, and so as many Senators as were there. He went in the middest as Consull. He threwe away his maces, and like a priuate man wepte, and sayde. If you (O Citizens) receyued I this dignitie, the people gaue it me, and the Senate haue taken it from me without you, and as I suffer in mine owne cause, so am I greeued for your sakes: why should we now desire fauours at the companies in our elections? What nede haue we of you, how shal you be any longer Lords of elections, of assemblies, or of chiefe officers, if you cannot maintayne that you haue giuen, and take away when you see cause? When he had spoken thus to stirre them, and lamenting muche his owne cause, he rente his garment, and ranne from the Chaire, and fell flatte among the, and still lay downe, till they for pities sake take him vp, and set him againe in his Chaire, and take him the bundelles of authoritie, and bade him hope well, as became a Consull, and to vse them as occasion should require. The officers of the Campe by this meane did relent, and sware to *Cinna* the oth of a Souldiour, and so did all the rest. This done, he went boldly to the confederate Cities, and stirred them, as for whose sakes he suffered this calamitie. They relieued him with money, & many of the other great

Tibur nowe *Tiuoli* xxteene miles from *Rome*. *Preneste* nowe *Pilastrina* in *Champaine* of *Rome*. *Nola* nine miles from *Naples*. *Cinna* deposed.

The thing vvas called *Apex*, vvhich vvas a vvand vvound about vvith vvoolI in the heigth of his hatte. *Iupiters* Priest. *Cinna* to the Souldiers.

Cinna restored to his dignitie.

great men of the Citie came vnto him, whiche did not like the quiet state of the common wealth. Thus *Cinna* did. *Octauius* and *Ritula* the Consuls, fortifyed the Citie with rampiers, and preparation of engines of warre. They sente for Soudoyers to the Cities that remayned obediente, and into *Fraunce* their next neyghboure. They also called home *Cneus Pompeius* the Proconsull, leading an armye at the coast of the *Ionian* Sea, to come with all speede to serue hys Countrey. He so dyd, and planted hys host at the Gate called *Collina*. *Cinna* came also, and encampeth by him.

The Consuls prepare for defence.

Collina a gate in *Rome*, nowe *Salaria*.

Cinus Marius hearing of thys, passed the Sea to *Hetruria* with his fellowes banished, and Seruauntes, and there came to him aboute fyue hundred of hys friendes of *Rome*: he with vile apparell and long heare to moue pitie went to the Cities, shewing his wrongs and honoures agaynste the *Germanes*; and by fyue tymes Consullshippe, and (that whyche pleased them best) promised to doe for them in the lawe of elections: and so he gathered fyue thousande *Toscanes*; and came with them to *Cinna*, who gladly receyued hym into the societie of his doynges.

Marius returneth.

The *Germanes* were called *Cimbranes*, nowe thought to be *Danes*.

Beyng mette togyther, they ordered theyr army at the flouue *Tiber*, and deuided it into three parties, *Cinna* and *Carbo* ouer agaynste the Citie; *Sertorius* aboue it, and *Marius* towarde the Sea.

Ostia spoyled, being at the mouth of *Tiber*, about twelue miles from *Rome*, *Arimino* is in that part that nowe is called *Romania*, next to *Lombardie*, and was the diuision of olde *Italy* at the flouue *Rubicon*. *Cecilius Metellus* is too precise, and giueth occasion of aduantage to his enimie.

They made Bridges ouer the Riuer, that they myghte keepe victuals from the Citie. *Marius* toke *Ostia* and spoyled it. *Cinna* sente to take *Ariminum*, that no army shoulde come out of nyghe *Fraunce*. The Consuls were afrayde, hauyng neede of an other army, and bycause they coulde not call home *Sylla* beeyng entred into *Asia*, they commaunded *Cecilius Metellus* that was aboute the remnaunt of the fellowes warre againste the *Samnites*, that he shoulde dispatche it as honestly as he coulde, and come to helpe hys Countrey that was inuaded. He stode to muche vpon termes with the *Samnites*, whyche when *Marius* heard, he graunted them all theyr demaundes, and so the *Samnites* ioyned with *Marius*. *Appius Claudius* a Captayne, and

Marius entreth *Rome*.

Appius Claudius receyueth *Marius* into the Citie.

keper of the hyll *Janiculo*, and the walles there, hauing receyued a good turne, and myndfull of the benefyte, opened the gate by breake of day, and so *Marius* entred, and *Cinna* followed, but they were soone repulsed by *Octauius* and *Pompey*, that came agaynste them.

Marius repulsed.

It chaunced so, that there was greate lyghtnings that fell vpon *Pompeys* armye, whereby he and manye noble menne were destroyed. *Marius* kepte all victuals from the Citie that came from the Sea, or aboue from the freshe water, and hee rode to the nigh Cities, where anye Corne was layde for the *Romayne* store, and by subtaynte comming to *Antio*, *Aricia*, and *Lanuuio*, hee toke them all, and some other Cities by Treason. And thus keping awaye victuals by lande also, hee approched towarde *Rome* boldly, by the way called *Cassia*, before any victualles coulde bee brought from anye other place, and wyth *Cinna*, *Carbo*, and *Sertorius*, Camped twelue myles from *Rome*, *Octauius*, *Crassus*, and *Metellus* dyd lye agaynste them at Mount *Albane*, and considering for the tyme to come, although they were superioure in strength and number, yet hadde they a compassion to putte theyr Countrey in hazarde by ony battayle.

Pompey destroyed by lightning.

Antium, novv *Neptuno*.
Aricia tenne mile from *Rome*.
Lanuuium novv *Indouina*.
Marius keepeth victuals from *Rome*.

Cinna sente Trumpettes aboute the Citie, proclayming libertie to Seruauntes, whereby a multitude of fugitiues came vnto hym. The Senate was afrayde thereby, and doubtyng of the people, bycause of the want of thynges in the Citie, chaunged theyr mynde, and sente Embassadoures to *Cinna* for reconciliation. Hee asked them firste, whether they came to hym as a Consull, or as a priuate person. They doubted what to answere, and returned to *Rome*.

The vvay called *Appia* vvent from *Porta Capena* to *Bruns dusi*, paued vvith foure square stone.
Mount Albane nigh *Rome*, vvith a lake of the vvhich a prophecie vvent of the *Romaines* victorie.

Reporte to *Cinna*.

Nowe many of the freemen came vnto him, some for faction, and some for feare of famine, and to see the sequeale of it: and nowe prowdely he approched the walles, and Camped within an arrowe shotte. They that were with *Octauius* were in feare and doubte, and slowe to fighte, bycause of the runnawayes, and ofte sendyng betweene, the Senate was greately amazed.

They

They thoughte it vnmeete to depose *Lucius Merula*, *Iupiters* prieste, that was chosen in *Cinnas* place, and hadde not offended; but beeyng oppressed wyth the greate mysteries, they sente to *Cinna* as Consull, and as they loked for no greate god thereby, so they requyred *Cinna* to sweare, that hee woulde commytte no murther. Hee refused to sweare, but promised that willingly hee woulde bee no cause of manslaughter. Hee willed also, that *Octauius* that came in at the other gates, shoulde gette hym away, least some displeasure mighte be done hym agaynste hys will. Thys he answered from an hygh Throne as Consull, to the Embassadoures of the Citie. *Marius* *Marius*, standyng nerte the Senate, was silente, but by hys cruell countenaunce, it was perceyued that he was bente to murther.

The Senate sendeth to *Cinna* as Consull.

Doubtfull answvere.

The Senate accepted thys, and willed *Cinna* and *Marius* to enter, well knowyng that *Marius* dyd all, and *Cinna* assented to it. *Marius* spake in seekyng wyse, that it was not lawfull for a banished manne to enter, wherefore the Tribunes dyd reuoke the banishmente, and dissolue the decree made againste hym by *Sylla*. Then they entred the Citie wyth the feare of all that receyued them. They made people of the contrarye parte, wythoute feare. *Cinna* and *Marius* sente theyr othes to *Octauius*; but the Southsayers and Diuiners badde hym not truste them, and hys friendes counselled hym to flée, but hee protesting neuer to leaue the Citie, whyles hee was Consull, wente among them to *Ianiculo*, with the noble men, and parte of the armye, where hee remayned, and sate downe in the seate, cladde with his robe of rule, being wayted vpon wyth the roddes and axes, as Consulles were wont. *Censorinus* came agaynste hym with certayne Horsemenne, hys friendes perswadyng hym to flée with hys armye, and bringyng hym an Horse, he woulde not allowe of it, nor once ryse, but abode the deathe. *Censorinus* cutte off hys heade, and broughte it to *Cinna*, and was the fyrste Consulles head that was sette vppe in the common place: but after him, the heads of the other that were slayne were set vp also, and this mischiefe

Marius scorneth

The banishment of *Marius* reuoked.

Marius and *Cinna* giue their oth for *Octauius*.

He is counselled to flee.

The constancie of *Octauius*.

Censorinus commeth to kill *Octauius* contrary to the oth.

Octauius Consull headed.

beginning with *Octauius*, continued still in such murthers of them that were counted enimies. Searchers ranne straighte aboute for to fynde their foes, and there was no regarde of Senator or Gentleman, nor no differences made. All the heads of the Senators were put vp in the common place. There was neyther reuerence of the Gods, nor respect of men, or anye matter made of murther, but all bent to cruell actes, and from actes to horrible sightes, killing, crueltie, and cuttyng off the heads of them that were kylled, to the feare & astonishmēt of the beholders, making thereof most miserable shewe. *C. & Lucius, Iulius*, Brethren, *Attilius, Eranius, P. Lentulus, G. Numitorius*, and *M. Babius* were slayne, beyng mette in the way. *Crassus* fledde wyth his sonne, and preuented them in killing him, then himselfe was killed of the pursuers. *Marcus Antonius* an Orator fledde into a Ferme house, the keper whereof receyued him gentlye, and hydde hym, and sendyng a Seruaunte for Wyne to a Tauerne ofter than hee was wonte, the Tauerner asked hym why hee boughte Wyne so ofte, he tolde hym secretely in his eare, then the Vintner sente one straighte to *Marius*, and opened the matter, whereof hee was so glad, as he mynded to haue gone and kylled hym himselfe, but beyng stayed of his frendes, a Captayne of a bande was appoynted to it, who sente hys Souldyoures into the house, whome *Antonius*, beyng so singulare an Orator, dyd detayne wyth swete speaches, dyuers wayes mouyng them to pitie. The Captayne maruellyng at the matter, wente into the house, and founde them attentiuely hearkenyng to hys tale, wherefore himselfe kylled hym, as he was yet eloquente in speakyng, and sente hys head to *Marius*. *Cornutus* lying hydde in a Cotage, hys meyne carefullye kepte hym. They founde a dead bodye, whyche they threwe into a fyre that they hadde made, and when the searchers came, they sayde it was theyr maisters bodye, whome they hadde fyrste strangled. Thus was hee saued by hys Seruauntes.

Confusion.

Noble men killed.

Crassus killed.

M. *Antonius* Orator, bewrayd by a Vintner.

Marius glad to haue *Antonius* killed.

Eloquence.

Cornutus saued by his Seruauntes.

Q. Ancharius wayted when *Marius* shoulde make Sacrifice in the Capitoll, truslyng in the tyme of Sacrifice to fynde hym the more mercifull. When he hadde begunne the Sacrifice,

crifice, and sawe *Anharius* comming vnto him, he commaunded hym to be killed there, so hys head, *Antonius*, and other Consulles and Senatours were sette vp in the common place. None of they? bodies thus slayne, were thoughte worthye to be buried, but the carcalles of so many noble men, were throwne downe to be deuoured of Dogges and Foule. Many other horrible actes were done vpon them, expulsion from their possessions, publication of their goodes, deprtuatio of their dignities, & reuocation of all things that *Sylla* had done, whose friends and kinsfolke were killed, his house pulled downe, his goods confiscate, and he proclaymed enemie to his countrie, his wife and his daughter with great daunger escaped. finally, there was all sortes of mi eries and mischiefe that could be inuented, and for a shewe of law and authoritie, after so many murders without law, accusings were brought in against *Merula Iupiters* priest, for anger of his office, whiche he tooke without any displeasure to *Cinna*, and against *Catulus Luctatius*, who was felow with *Marius*, in the warre against the *Cimbrians*, and ofte saued by *Marius*, but now thought vnthankfull, for that he was for against him after he was banished. They were kept in close prison till the court day, and then called to iudgement, whose they might be foure times cited by certen distaunce of houres, *Merula* in the meane time cut hys vaynes, and by a wrytyng made by him, did confesse, that he had layde of his priestly attyre whiche he tok his vaynes, for it was not lawfull for a Priest to die with that vpon him. *Catulus* choked himself in a chamber new made and moysty with a smoke, and thus they two died. The bondmen that came to *Cinna* by proclamation were al made free and serueng him as Soldiours they did not onely runne aboute and spoyle euery house, but also slew whome soeuer they mette, not sparyng their owne maysters. *Cinna* many times did mouithe this, but they were neuer the better, wherefore in the night when they were at rest, he sent y French bandes, and killed them euery one. Thus these slaues receyued worthy punishment, for they? vnfaithfulnesse against their maysters. The yeare folowyng, *Cinna*, the seconde tyme, and *Marius* the vij. tyme were chosen Consuls, to whom

Anharius killed in the Temple.

Sylla proclaymed rebell.

Accusers. *Merula*.

Catulus Luctatius.

Merula dieth.

Catulus dieth.

Cinna killeth the free made.

after his banishment, and proclamation that any man might kill him, the token of seuen Egles appeared, againe vnto him. He being bent to all extremitie againſt *Sylla*, died the firſte moneth of his ſeuenth Conſulſhip. *Cinna* tooke *Valerius Flaccus* in his place, and ſente him vnto *Aſia*, who beyng dead alſo, he choſe *Carbo* to be his fello in his office.

Marius dyeth.

Flaccus in *Marius* place, dyeth in *Aſia*.

Sylla thynkyng long to returne againſt his enimies, made ſhorte ende with *Mithridates*, and, as wee haue ſayde before, in three yeares, and them not complete, he deſtroyed one hundred and threeſcore thouſande menne. He reſtored to the Romaine Empyre, *Grecia*, *Macedonie*, *Aſia* and *Ionia*, with other nations that *Mithridates* had oppreſſed. He toke from hym his nauie, & ſhutte hym within the compaſſe of his Fathers kyngdome: he returned with an armie mightie, obedient, experte, and coragious, in their doynge paſte, he braught alſo a multitude of ſhippes, money and furniture of all thynges fitte, whereby he was feared of his enimies. *Cinna* and *Carbo* beyng perplexed, ſente diuerſe ouer all *Italie* to prouide money, menne and victuall, the riche menne with their ſubſtaunce they made ſure, the Cities they ſtayed, eſpecially the newe made Citizens, for whoſe ſake they were now in daunger. They prepared a nauy with great ſpede, they called home the ſhippes of *Carbo*, they kepte the coaſte ſure, & omitted nothing that might be done, with ſpeedy care and diligence. *Sylla* with haughty harte wrote to the Senate of himſelfe, ſhewyng what hee had done in *Lybia*, when he was Treaſourer, againſt *Iugurth* kyng of *Numidia*, what againſt the *Cimbrians*, what in *Cicelie*, when he was Admirall, and what in the ſeruiles warre, when he was Conſull: but the late affayres done againſt *Mithridates*, he chiefly extolled, rehearſing at large the infinite ſorte of nations that he had taken from hym and made ſubiecte to the *Romaines*, notwithſtandyng all the which, becauſe he had receyued certayne afflicted Gentlemen of *Rome* baniſhed by *Cinna*, and comforted them in calamitie, hee was of his enimies proclaymed rebell to his countrey, his houſe was pulled downe, his friendes were ſlayne, his wyfe and children coulde ſcarcely ſaue themſelues

Actes of *Sylla* in *Aſia*.

Sylla wryghteth to the Senate.

and

and flie vnto hym. But notwe he woulde comme and be auenged of them and the whole Cittie for theyr doynges, as for the other Citizens, and them that were helpe made he woulde not blame any of them. Theſe letters being redde, euery man was afrayd, they ſent Embaſſadours, to treate of attonement with his aduerſaries, and if he requyred any aſſurance, that the Senate woulde fulfill it, and commaunded *Cinna* his officers to leaue gathering of mē, till *Sylla* anſwere were heard. They promiſed ſo to do, but when the Embaſſadors were gone, they made themſelues Conſuls for the nexte yeare, bycauſe they knewe not the turne of the ſuddayne ſtyr by the elations, and vprore about *Italy*, gathering men, whiche they ſente into *Lybarnia*, as they were ready, there intending to ſette vpon *Sylla*. The ſhippe that wente had proſperous iourney, the nexte were beaten with tempeſte ſo as when they came to harbor, they returned euery manne theyr Countrey, as though they woulde not willingly ſeruc againſte the Citizens. The other hearing of this, refuſed to ſayle into *Lybarnia*. *Cinna* was diſpleaſed, and tourned them to aſſemble, myndyng to compell them: they with anger wente, thynkyng to be reuenged. One of the Sergeaunts makyng way for *Cinna*, and hitting one of the Soudyers ouer the legges, another of the army ſtroke the Sergeant againe. *Cinna* commaunding him to be taken, they all made a great ſhoute, and fell to throwing of ſtones. They that were next him, drewe theyr ſwordes, and killed him. Thus *Cinna* being Conſul, was murthered. *Carbo* called frō *Lybarnia* them y ſayled thither, and being afrayd of theſe doynges, woulde not returne to *Rome*, albeit y Tribunes diligently requyred him to come to y election of a new fellow in office, at length threatning him y they woulde make him priuate, he came a pre-pounded y electiō of a newe Conſull. The day being vnlucky, he appointed an other. That daye the lightenynge falling vpon the Temple of the Moone, y Counſelle of Corne, y ſhrines of Ceres monies, and offerres y deuotion, ſo ſtrongly rauyng high of y Sommer Sonne, y *Carbo* was Conſul alone. In the meane time *Sylla* made this anſwere to the thyrd comme to him frō the Senate, that he coulde not be friend to them, that had dealte ſo outragiouſly

Didmus is now part of *Slauonia*.

The Soudyers refuſed to goe againſt their Countreymen.

Cinna killed. *Carbo* afrayde to goe to *Rome*.

Lightnings vpon the Temple of the Moone and *Ceres*.

The anſwere of *Sylla*.

by

by him, but with the Citie, that desired his preseruation, he had no quarrell yet he sayd they should be most sure, that would trust to him, whome to defend, he had a voel willing armye. By this meanes it was chiefly vnderstanded, that he woulde not dissolue his armye, but intended to play the Tyraunte. He requyred hys dignitie, hys substance, his Priesthode, and anye other office he had, to be restored vnto him, without exception, and with the Embassadoures he sente certayne of his, to require the same, the whiche hearing that *Cinna* was slayne, and the Citie troubled, returned from *Brundusie* to *Sylla*, doing nothing: then *Sylla* with fiue legiones of *Italyans*, fyue thousand horse, and certaine other of *Peloponese* and *Macedonie*, marched, hauing in the whole fortie thousande, from *Pireo* to *Patre*, and from *Patre* to *Brundusie*, with syx hundreth shippes. The *Brundusians* receyued him willingly, wherefore he gaue them priuiledges which they yet holde.

Peloponese nouv Morea.

Pireo vvas the porte of *Athens* nouv Porthan.

Patre in *Achaia*.

Sylla giueth priuileges to *Brundusie*.

From thence he remoued his armye and went forwarde. *Metellus* hearing the dueefull, that was lefte to finishe the feloweshippe, and for *Cinna* and *Marius* came not into the citie, but remayned in *Liguria* to see what woulde happe, came vnto him vncalled, as fellowe in the warre, and he accepted his societie as yet honourable, for they that he once beleeue, do continue till they returne to *Rome*. After *Metellus*, *Cn. Pompeius*, that not long after was called greate, came to him that was killed with the lightning, as we sayde before, came vnto him with a legion of the *Picentes*, who for the glory of his father, might doe muche with that people, and to auoyde suspition, not thought to be *Syllaes* friende, and shortly after brought two legions more, and was the moste forwarde man in the aduauncement of *Sylla*, wherefore *Sylla* had him in greate honour, and as they say, would onely rise to him when he came, though he was but very yong: and this warre ceasing, he sente him into *Libia* to breake *Carbos* friendes there, and to restore *Hiempsall*, whome the *Numidians* had expulsed, for the whiche *Sylla* graunted him to triumph of the *Numidians* being yet yong, and but a gentleman. By this meane, *Pompey* growing greate, he was sente into *Spayne* against *Sertorius*, and after into *Portugall* against *Lepidus*. *Cethegus* also

Metellus the dueefull commeth to *Sylla*.

Pompeius commeth.

Pompey honored of *Sylla*.

Hiempsall restored by *Pompey*.

Cethegus.

came

came to *Sylla*, that was his most earnest enimie, with *Cinna* and *Marius*, and with them put out of the Citie. He humbled himselfe vnto him, and promised to do what seruice he would haue him. Thus hauing a very greate army, and many noble friendes, he vsed them as Lieutenants, but he and *Metellus* were yet Proconsuls, and had the highest place: for it was thought that *Sylla* being Proconsul in the warre against *Mithridates*, was not yet discharged of it, though he were iudged a Rebell of *Marius*. The hate he bare to his enimies, was grieuous and close, who being in the Citie, and well conteminge of his nature by his last iniuries thereof, hauing the taking of the same yet in their eyes and their decrees made against him still in memorie, his house ouerthrowne in their sight, his goodes confiscated, his friends killed, and his familie hardly escaped, were in maruellous feare, and thinking no meane to be betweene diuine and vtter destruction, did with feare conspire with the Consuls against him. They sente about *Italy*, they gathered men and money, leauing off nothing in their extremitie, either of forcsight or diligence. *Caius Norbanus*, *Lucius Scipio*, both Consuls, and with them *Carbo*, who the yeare before had an authoritie, hauing all like hate against *Sylla*, with feare a continuance of that they had done against him, were more then other, gathered in the Citie as great an army as they could, and an other out of *Italy*, and went seuerally against *Sylla* with two hundred bands of fiftie men at the first, but after with more than these, for the fame of most men enclyned toward the Consuls: for the doings of *Sylla* comming against his countrey, had the shewe of an enimie, but that the Consuls and their friends dyd, had a pretence of the state. The common sorte knowing their former offences, ioyned with them, as partakers of their dread, for they perceiued certainly that *Sylla* did not minde the correction, strayning of punishment of a fewe, but the destruction, slaughter, and vtter vndoing generally of all, whiche opinion was not payne, for this warre consumed all in the which, twenty thousand, (twetie thousand did many times fall in one fight, and about the Citie fiftie thousande of both sides was slayne, and to the rest *Sylla* left no kinde of miserie to come, neither to priuate men, nor to

The preparation of *Sylla's* enemies.

C. Norbanus.
L. Scipio.
Carbo.

The Consuls against *Sylla*. Twenty thousand men.

Sylla seemeth as an enimie to his Countrey. Consuls carry authoritie.

whole Cities, till he had made himselfe a Monarke of the Romaine Empire, and brought all to his will and pleasure. All this was (as it were) by inspiration showed before vnto them, for fearefull things against reason did vexe all men priuately and publikely ouer all *Italy*, and the olde prophetes most fearefull were called to memorie, and many Monsters were daily seene. A Mule did bring forthe. A Woman deliuered a Viper for a child. God with earthquakes shaked the Cities, and ouerthrewe many Temples, and that most grieued the *Romaines*, the Capitoll that before from the kinges had continued foure hundred yeares, was sette afyre, and no man could tell the cause, all the which did foreshewe the multitude of men to be killed, the ouerthrowe of *Italy*, the Captiuitie of *Rome* and hir Citizens, and the change of the common wealth. This warre beganne when *Sylla* arrided at *Brundusi* the CLXXXXI. *Olympiad*. The length of it is not so great, as the sharpnesse of the extremities, euerye man his priuate meanes was followed, because the vehemencie of their affections caused in short time the more and sharper effects to followe. Three yeares it continued in *Italy*, till *Sylla* gote the principalitie. In *Spayne* it continued longer, but the battayles, the skirmishes, the expugnation of fortes, the sieges, and all the formes of warres in *Italy*, both of the whole armies, and of part of them, by their seuerall Captaynes were many, and al notable. The greatest and most worthy of the whithe to speake briefly were these. The first was at *Canusium* by the Proconsuls against *Norbanum*, where *Norbanus* lost vj. M. men, and *Sylla* lxx. but many more were wounded. *Norbanus* fledde to *Capua*. *Sylla* and *Metellus* being at *Theano*, *Lucius Scipio* came with an other armye verye faintly, and desired peace might be made. They that were with *Sylla* sent to *Scipio* to agree vpon articles, not so much hoping so to do any good, as because they thought his army would rather revolt, by reason of their discouragement: yet they met, & *Scipio* toke hostages for the agreemets, & went, & came into the field. Their of eyther side did conferre, so as it was not knowen what they dyd. *Scipio* thought good to send *Sertorius* to *Norbanus* his fellow, to signifie what was spoken of, both armies remaining in quiet lokinge

for

Prophecies.

Monstrous tokens.

Capitoll burned.

The sharpnesse of this warre.

Three yeares lasted this warre.

The battayle at *Canusio*. This is the place called *Cosne*, where *Anniball* gaue the *Romanes* their great ouerthrowe. Another of that name *Canossa*. *Theano* in *Apulia*.

for answere. *Sertorius* in his iourney toke *Sweſſa*, that was a towne of *Sylla*. *Sylla* sent a messenger to complaine with *Scipio*. He either priuie to the fact, or doubting of the answere, as a thing not fitte for *Sertorius*, sent the hostages againe to *Sylla*. His army being offended at this deede of *Sertorius* in a time of treaty, and at the sending againe of ỹ hostages, not being required, layde all the blame vpon the Consuls, & priuily cõpacted to reuolt to *Sylla* if he would draw neere, which he doing, they all wēt vnto him, leauing *Scipio* the Consull, & *Lucius* his sonne in the tente, & were taken of *Sylla*. We thinke it is a straunge thing, sure vnfitte for a Captayne, to be ignorãt of such a practise of his whole army. Tho he *Sylla* could not persuade *Scipio*, he did let him & his sonne goe without hurte, & sent other mẽ to *Norbanus* to treate of conditions, eyther because he was afraid of ỹ force of *Italy* ỹ conspired with the Consuls, or ỹ he went about to detaine him as he had done *Scipio*, but no man cõming with answer (because it seemeth *Norbanus* feared the like blame of his army) *Sylla* marched toward him, walking all things as an enimie. *Norbanus* did the like, but toke other wayes. *Carbo* made hast to the Citie, & proclaimed *Metellus*, & other that were gone to *Sylla*, Rebels. At this time ỹ Capitoll was on fire, & some say it was *Carbos* worke or the Consuls, some say *Sylla* sente to do it, but the certẽtie is vnknowen, & I could neuer learne which way it came. *Sertorius* being before chosẽ Pretor of *Iberia*, after he had determined *Sweſſa*, he fled into his prouince, and the former Pretors not receiuing him, it caused the *Romaines* to haue much to do. The army of ỹ Consuls encreased euery day frõ the more part of *Italy*, & from the hither syde of *France*, about *Eridanus* the River. *Sylla* was not idle, but sente some of his into euery place of *Italy*. He got many for loue, some for feare, some for money, and some for hope, and thus was the rest of that Sommer consumed. The yeare following, *Papirius Carbo* againe, and *Marius*, nephew to the mighty *Marius*, being xxxij. yeares old, were chosen Consuls, the Winter & the cold continuing long, did deuide the armies. At the beginning of the Spring, about the Ides *Aprilis*, frõ morning tyl midday, was a greate battaile fought, betwixt *Metellus* and *Carinna*, one of *Carbos* Pretors; at the which *Carinna* losing manye,

Sweſſa taken in the time of treatie by *Sertorius*, a Citie in *Campania* nigh *Mont Maſſico*.

Scipio the Consull betrayd of his army.

Iupiter Temple in the Capitoll on fire.

Sertorius fleeth into *Spayne*.

River of *Po*.

Aeſis nowe *Fiemeſino* betweene *Spoleto* and *Ancona*.

The fight betweene *Metellus* and *Carinna*.

fled away, all ỳ Countrey yelded to *Metellus*, & forsoke the Consuls. *Carbo* came vpõ *Metellus* & besieged him, til he heard ỳ *Marius* the other Consull had a great ouerthrow at *Preneste*. When he remoued his Cãp toward *Arminum* ỳ rereward wherof was set on of *Pompeius*, and greatly distressed. *Sylla* tooke *Sessa*, & *Marius* who was lodged nigh him, withdrew by little & little, til he was come to the place called *Holy Port*, there he set his mẽ in order, and gaue *Sylla* a battel, in ỳ which he fought very fearcely, til his left wing began to giue backe, of the which fiue bãds of footemen, & two of horsemen, not looking for any other turne, threw downe their ensignes, & fled to *Sylla*, & this was the cause of *Marius* ruine, for after many were slayne, ỳ rest fled to *Preneste*, whom *Sylla* followed in chace. The *Prenestines* did receyue them ỳ came first, but when they saw *Sylla* at hand, they shut the gates, & tooke in *Marius* with ropes. The other about ỳ walles were all slayne & taken, whereof many being *Samnites*, *Sylla* cõmanded to be killed, as ancient enemies to the *Romaines*. At this time also, the residue of *Carbo* army was ouercome of *Metellus* fiue bands, whiles they fought, revolting vnto him. *Pompeius* ouerthrew *Marius* all *Sessa*, & sacked the Citie. *Sylla* hauing *Marius* shut in *Preneste*, made a fresh about the Citie, & a great while gaue ouer all, appointing *Quintus Ofella* to ỳ charge, not otherwise meaning to deale with *Marius*, but with famine. *Marius* not looking for any help, would needes kill his priuate enimies, and sent to *Rome*, the Senate of ỳ Citie to assemble thẽ for another purpose, & til *Publius Antistius*, & the other *Papirius Carbo*, *Iunius Domitius*, & *Lucius Scevola*, the great Bishop of the *Romaines*. These two were slayne in Counsell, as *Marius* commanded, *Domitius* seeing, was stricken as he was going out, & *Scevola* was slayne a little before ỳ Senate house. Their bodies were vilely vsed, for now it was not safe to bury any that were beloued of *Sylla*. *Sylla* sent his army seuerally by diuers wayes to *Rome*, & willed them to take the gates of the Citie, & if they were repulsed, to retire to *Ostia*. The Citizens perceiuing this, ran out, with great feare, and opened their Gates, wherby ỳ Souldiours entred, and when they came to the Citie it selfe, they opened the Gates, for being pined with hunger, and oppressed with desperation of present helpe, they

were

Preneste not farre from *Rome*. *Arminio* now in *Romania*. *Sessa* not farre from *Terracina*. The battayle betweene *Sylla* and yong *Marius*.

Part of yong *Marius* Souldiers reuolt to *Sylla*. *Samnites* killed.

Sessa a Citie in *Tuscane*, an hundreth miles on this side *Rome*.

Cruelty of yong *Marius* against some Citizens. *P. Antistius*, *Pap. Carbo*, *I. Domitius*, and *L. Scevola* slayne.

were in dye to suffer the mightier power, whiche *Sylla* when he knew, came forward with his Camp, and planted it in the fielde of *Mars* before the gates, and entred. All the contrarye faction fleeing out of the Citie, their goodes he made common, or caused them to be sold by Trumpet. He called the people to a Counsell, and lamenting the present time, bade them be of a good cheere, for he wouldo set all in quiet, and bring the common wealthe to better estate, and whatsoeuer he should ordeyne, all should be for the best. Hauing thus disposed his matters, leauing certayne of his frends to garde the Citie, he went to *Clusio*, where the remnant of the warre was. In the meane time, certayne Spanishe Horsemen sente from the Capitaynes of *Iberia*, came to the Consuls, with whome *Sylla* making a fight on Horsebacke, he killed fiftie of them at the flood *Clanis*, and two hundred and 70. fledde vnto him, the residue *Carbo* destroyed, either hating the suddaine reuolting of that nation, or fearing the like vnto by them. At that time with the other part of his armye, *Sylla* ouercame his enimies about *Sanninia*, and *Metellus* comming to *Ranenna* by shippe, did winne the region of the *Picentines*, abundante with graine and Corne. Certayne other of *Syllas* people entring *Naples* by treation in the nighte, slewe all that were there, sauing a fewe that fledde, and tooke away the Galles of the Citie. Betweene *Carbo* & *Sylla* was a sore fight at *Clusium*, till the Euenne wente downe, & when they had fought with like courage on both sides, nighte did ende the fight. In the field of *Spoleto*, *Pompeius* and *Craſſus*, both Lieutenants to *Sylla*, did kill three thousand of *Carbo* Souldiers, and besieged *Carinna* that was Camped ouer against them. *Carbo* intended to relieue *Carinna* with his other hoste, which *Sylla* perceiuing, placed an ambushment, and as they were passing, destroyed two thousand of them. *Carinna* in the darke nighte, full of rayne and showers, although his enimies perceiued, but cared not for it, for the tempest he fledde away. *Carbo* vnderstanding that *Carinna* his fellowe was departed with hunger at *Preneste*, commaunded *Martius* to go thither with eight Legions, against whome *Pompeius* lying in ambushe in a straighte, put them from their fourney, and hauing killed many, beset the other as besieged

Sylla entreth *Rome*.

Sylla to the people.

Clusio is vnder the dominion of *Sena*, vvhere *Porsena* the king of *Tuscane* helde his Court.

Spanish Horsemen.

Clanio, *Clanius* not farre frō *Naples*, at the Citie of *Acerra*.

Sanninia in *Campania*.

Picentes not farre from *Orsento*, but farre from *Ravenna*.

Naples.

The battell betweene *Carbo* and *Sylla*.

Fight at *Clusio*.

Fight at *Spoleto* an auntient Citie, the vvhiche valiantly droue away *Anniball* after his victorie at the lake of *Perugia* and tooke continually to the *Romaines*.

Carinna fleeth.

Martius goeth to relieue *Marius*.

vpon an hill, where vppon *Martius* without any companion, the fiers being still kept, fledde away. The army laying the blame of the deceyte vpon him, fell to diuision, and one whole legion vnder their ensignes without anye commaundement, marched to *Arminum*, the other wente euery man to his Countrey; so as there remayned but seauen bandes with the Captayne. *Martius* with this infelicitie came to *Carbo*. *Marcus Lamponius* from *Lucania*, *Pontius Telisius* from the *Samnites*, and *Capuanus Gutta* leading seauenty thousande men, came to deliuer *Marius* from the siege. *Sylla* vnderstanding of it, kepte them backe at a streight where they must needes passe. *Marius* being vtterly voyde of all helpe without, made a saute in the playne that was large betweene both hostes, into the which he brought his army and ensignes to face *Lucretius*, with the whiche attempting manye warres in vayne, he retyred againe into *Preneste*. At this time, *Carbo* and *Norbanus* in *Placentia* came on the suddayne in the euening to the place where *Metellus* lay, and being within one houre of ẏ night amõg the Vineyards, fondly and furiously set vpõ him, thinking by their suddaine assault to ouerthrow *Metellus*, but being ouercome by the iniquitie of the time and place, entangled among the vines, tenne thousand were slayne, vi. thousand yelded to the enimie, the rest ranne away, and but one thousande departed in order to *Arretio*. Another legion of *Lucanes*, led by *Albinouanus*, hearing of this losse, fledde to *Metellus* for aught he coulde doe. *Albinouanus* in greate rage came to *Norbanus*, but shortlye after making a secret compact with *Sylla* to be assured as he should do a notable seruice, he inuited *Norbanus* and his chiefe Captaynes to a bāquet, as *Caius Antipestrius*, *Flauius Fimbria* his brother ẏ in *Asia* had killed himself, & al other his officers presẽt of ẏ Camp. All the whiche being come (except *Norbanus*) who onely was absent, he slew them in his tent, and fledde to *Sylla*. *Norbanus* hearing of the losse at *Arimine*, and that diuers of their armyes were fledde to *Sylla*, supposing nowe no more truste to be in friendship (as in aduersitie it hapneth) tooke priuate little boate, and sayled to ẏ *Rhodes*, in the which place, being required after of *Sylla*, and ẏ *Rhodians* doubting what to do, he killed himselfe in the middest

The army reuolteth from *Martius*.

M. Lamponius, *Pont. Telisius*, *Gutta Capuanus* come to releeue *Marius*.

Marius issueth vpon *Lucretius*.

Placentia is in *Lombardy*, vvher *Annibal* ouerthrevv the *Romaines*.

A fight of *Carbo* and *Norbanus* against *Metellus*.

Arretio one of the tvvelue Cities of *Tuscane*, about thirtie miles from *Florence*.

Albinouanus.

Fimbria killed himselfe in *Asia*, not to be taken of *Sylla*.

Albinouanus killeth his friends, and fleeth to *Sylla*.

The ende of *Norbanus* at *Rhodes*.

middeſt of their common place. *Carbo* commaunded *Damaſippo* at *Preneſte* to take two Legions, and to deliuer *Marius* to the ſiege, but he could not do it, becauſe the ſtreyghtes were kepte of *Sylla*. All the Frenchmen that from *Rauenna* dwelte to the *Alpes*, did reuolte to *Metellus*. *Lucullus* did ouercome another part of *Carbo* his hoſt at *Placentia*, whiche when *Carbo* heard, hauing yet thirtie thouſande Souldyers at *Cluſie*, two Legions of *Damaſippus*, and many other with *Carinna*, and *Martio*, and a greate number of *Samnites*, who refuſed no payne in paſſing the ſtreyghtes, beyng out of al hope, cowardly ſayled into *Lybia* with his frtends, being yet in opinion to turne *Lybia* againſt *Italy*. They that remaynedat *Cluſie*, came to a fyghte with *Pompey* before that Citie, and loſt aboute twenty thouſand of their men, whiche loſſe had, the reſt returned to their owne Countreys.

France on this ſide the Alpes.
Lucullus.
Placentia nowe *Paſcenca in Lombardy.*
Carbo quayleth.
The battayle at *Cluſio.*

Carinna, *Martius*, and *Damaſippus*, with the *Samnites*, met at the ſtreyghtes, to paſſe by very force, which when they could not do, they marched toward *Rome*, thinking (as bolde of men & ſtrength, and for lacke of victual) to take it. They encamped at *Albino*, tenne miles off. *Sylla*, fearing that their comming myghte winne the Citie, ſente his Pollemenns with all diligence to encounter them by the way, and himſelfe with his mighty army came at midday, and lay at Porte *Collina*, a little from *Vennis* Temple.

The enimies encamping alſo at the Gates of the Citie, a great fight begonne a little before the Sunne ſet. In the ryght wing *Sylla* had the better, the left wing hauing the worſe, flewde to the Gates. The olde men that were there, ſeeing the enimie alſo comming among the other, let downe the Portcullice, and killed many, whereof ſome were Senatoures, and ſome Gentlemen. The other of force and neceſſitie turned to their enimyes, and fought all night with a great ſlaughter.

A fight before *Rome*.
Part of *Sylla* army ſleeth.
The Portcullice let downe, cauſe of ſlaughter.

In this battell was ſlayne *Teleſinus* and *Albinus*, both Pretors, and theyr Campes taken, *Lamponius*, *Lucanus*, *Martius*, *Carinna*, and other Captaynes of *Carbos* faction flewde. Greate was the ſlaughter at this fyghte, for it is ſaide, there was ſlayne about fiftie thouſand, and aboue eyght thouſand take priſoners, and

Fiftie thouſande ſlayne before the gates of *Rome*.

and bycause the greater part of them were *Samnites*, *Sylla* caused them all to be shotte to death. The next day *Martius* and *Carinna* were brought captiue vnto him, whome he did not pardon after the *Romaine* maner, but put them to death, and sent their heads to *Lucretius*, to naple them on the wall at *Preneste*, which when the *Prenestines* saw, and hearing that al *Carbos* armies were destroyd, and *Norbanus* fledde out of *Italy*, and that the rest of *Italy* with the Citie of *Rome*, were for *Sylla*, they did yelde the Citie to *Lucretius*.

Syllas cruelte against the *Samnites*.

Martius and *Carinna* put to death.

Marius killeth himselfe.

Martius hidde himselfe in a Caue, and shortly after killed hymselfe. *Lucretius* cutte off his head, and sente it to *Sylla*, who hanged it vp in the common place, giuing him this taunt for his yong yeares to be a Consull. A man muste firste be a Mariner before he can be a Maister.

Sylla taunteth.

When *Lucretius* had receyued *Preneste*, he killed part of the Senatoures that were for *Marius*, and part he putte in prison, all the which *Sylla* at his comming put to deathe, and commaunding all the *Prenestines* to come without armour into his Campe, he chose of them suche as he thoughte had done hym seruice, whiche were but few. The other he deuided into three partes, *Romaines*, *Samnites*, and *Prenestines*. He pardoned the *Romaines*, although as betolde them, they had deserued death. With the other he commaunded to be done to death with dartes. The women and the children he suffered to goe away free. The Citie he sacked, whiche was very riche, and thus was *Preneste* taken.

The taking of *Preneste*, and cruell handling of it.

Prenestines plaged.

Norba.

Norba an other Citie did still stoutely resist him, till *Aemilius Lepidus* gate into the Citie by policie in the night, whiche thyng the Citizens perceyuing, and being in desperation, part killed one an other, part killed themselues, part hung themselues, part shut their doores, and part set their houses a fire, whiche by the winde grew so great, as the Citie was burned, and no man had the people. Thus they manfully died.

The miserable end of the Citizens of *Norba*. There is another Citie of this name in *Spayne* called *Norba Augusta*, now *Alcantara*.

Italy beyng thus afflicted with fire, famine, and slaughter, the Captaynes of *Sylla* went to euery place, setting watches where suspect was, and *Pompeius* went into *Sybin* and *Picen* against *Norbanus* and his partakers. *Sylla* called the *Romaines* to a Counsell, speaking very magnifically of himselfe, and very horribly for them, making this conclusion, that he would reuenge the *Romaine*

Sylla to the *Romaines*.

people to better state if they obeyed him, but he purposed not to spare one of his enimies, but extreamely to punish them, were they Praetors, Questors, Tribunes, or any other that had conspired with his foes, since the daye that *Sylla* brake promise with him: which being thus, he proscribed to death to the Senatours, Proscription is condemnation of death vvithout Iudgement. and a thousand fyue hundred Gentlemen of the Romaine state: for all that we finde, did proscribe men to die. He appointed rewards for the killers, and the bewrayers of the offenders, and penalties for them that did hide any of them. Shortly after he added more Senators to the list, which suddainely were spied where they were founde: some in the streetes: some in their houses: and some in the Temples: some were brought vnto him in high, exhibition before his face: some were dragged, some were beaten, no man daring speake one word at the pitiful sight hereof, for feare of the like: some were banished, and their goodes gyuen to other: some were sought for that were absent, and being scourged euery where, were miserably slaine to death, against the Law. Horrible crueltie of *Sylla*. Also were many murthers, many banishments, & many publications of their goodes, that had any way obeyed *Carbo*, *Norbanus*, or *Scipio*, or any of their officers, for the which, sharp iudgement was giuen ouer all *Italy*. Many and diuers accusations also were made vpon Captaines and Armyes, and them that leuie any money, or shewed other seruice or counsell against *Sylla*. Hospitality also and curtesie done by the way in iourneys, or any other like friendship, as lending or borrowing of money, or keeping company, was punished. The rich men were most sharply handled in all these things, & when accusations failed in particular men, *Sylla* turned to whole Cities, some he punished by pulling downe their Towns, some their walles he made equall with the ground, to some, he put a publike payne, or else a yearely taxe, some he gaue in habitation to them that had serued him, among whome also he deuided the houses and landes of the Citizens, whiche thing made them sure to him all his life, and as men that were certen of nothing but by his weale and safetie, they mainteyned his quarell after he was dead. This was now the state of *Italy*. *Pompey* had intercepted *Carbo*, and such noble men as were with him, flying

Sylla to the Romaines. Extremities.

from Ilbia to Sicilia, and from Sicilia to Cosyra, commaunding all to be killed, before they came in his sight, except Carbo, who was brought bound vnto him, and layde before his feete, hauing him thrise Consull. After a long rebuke, he condemned him to death, and sente his head to Sylla, who hauing all thinges as he would against his enemies, sauing Sertorius, who was farre off, and the only enemie remaining, he sente Metellus to ouerthrowe him in Iberia. All ciuill matters be vsed as he listed, lawes, creations by voices, elections by lottes, was no more frobren of euery man fearing, either biding themselues, or holding their peace, as confirming by decree as sure and irreuocable, whatsoeuer he had done, either as Consull, or Proconsull. Ther set vp his Image of golde vpon Horsebacke, in the common Palace with this Title,

Cornelius Sylla the happy Captayne.

For so did Flatterers vse to call him in his fortunate fightes against his foes, whiche name beginning of flattery, remayned firme and stable. I haue seene in some writings, that he was called by decree Sylla the gratious, whiche thing is not incredible to me, bycause he was after named the Fortunate, which he names very nigh to lucky and gratious. There is also an Oracle of continuance when he searched for things to come:

Crediture (O Romaine) Venus hath giuen great power
Vnto Aeneas lasting line. But thou, honour
Each of the Gods yearely, and do them not forget.
Thy giftes to Delphos send, and one, the Mount so great
Of cloudy Taure, shall climbe, where Venus auntient race
At Carea Citie dwell, and doth surname the place,
And offering there alone axe shalt take the royall mace.

The Romaines wrote the same vpon his image, whiche as I thinke, they did to taunt him, or to mollifie him: he sent a crowne of golde, and an are with this inscription.

To thee (Venus) these giftes the Monarch Sylla sends,
According to his dreame that all to battell tends,
To Mars and martiall feates, his supple sinewes he bends.

Being nowe a King or Tirante, not chosen but by force and violence, wanting an apparance to seeme to be chosen, he inuen-

ted

Cosyra an Iland in the coast of Affrica.

Carbo put to death.

Pemultus. Faustus.

Oracle.

VVhen he vvrote to the Grecianes, he named himselfe Epaphroditus, that is, acceptable to Venus.

ted this craft. In old time, Kings for their vertue did rule Rome, & when any of the diuide, vnto seuerall after them they did rule fiue dayes, til the people had chosen an other to be King, & hee fulfilled those fiue days, they called a King betweene, for in that meane time, he was a King. The elections of the Consuls was euer done by them that ended their office, but if by chance there was no Consul present, the was there also a King betweene made, til the Consuls were elected. Sylla following this custome, no man being Consull after the death of Cinna in Africa, & Marius in Italy, he was vnto all Citie, & commanded the Senate a King betweene them to be chosen, & so by the Valerium Flaccho was chosen, thinking he would haue proceeded to the Consuls elected: but Sylla secretly by his letters willed Flaccus & he should propose to the people, that Sylla thought it expedient & one should be created the ruler of the Citie, & was named Dictator, neither did fowre C. yeares since whom soeuer they chose, they should perswade him not to giue it ouer at a time, but to retaine it, til he had appeased Rome, Italy, & other kingdomes, now all stood well to it. Euery man in his mind thought this was meane of Sylla, & he did not much dissemble it, for in the end of his letters he signified & he it was, if it should so seeme to him, & should be so profitable to the Consuls wealth. Thus he wrote. The Romaines now could do nothing in lawfull elections, nor had now any authoritie, embracing a shew of election, as an Image of pretence of a libertie, in wants of all things did create Sylla a Dictator to rule as he would. The office of Dictator hauing some similitude of a King, in old time was sore enuied, but now & first time, without any limitation it was made very tyrannie in deede. Only for the names sake of election, they chose him Dictator to make lawes, & vse the Common wealth as he thought good. Thus the Romaines hauing Kings first, in the honored Olimpias, after being a popular state, with yeare by Consuls, another honored Greeke Olimpias being passed, they had Kings againe, after the Chr. Olimp. In Greece, ther was now no more a mistake vsed in the Olimps, but running of the race, for the Champions & other fightes, Sylla had removed to Rome, as some recreation to the people after the warre with Mithridates & the troubles of Italy, for he pretended that he

A diuise of Sylla to be chosen Dictator.

Interregnum.

A King for the meane time.

Interex.

Valerius Flaccus

Dictator.

The office of a Dictator did ende in two monethes.

Kings.
Consuls.
Kings.

Olimpias a kinde of shewes vsed in Greece euery fiue yeares, according to the which they made their accomptes of yeares.

would refresh and cōfort ỳ people after their long labours, & so shew a figure of a cōmon wealth, he willed the to chose Cōsuls, so first were chosen *Marcus Tullius*, & *Cornelius Dolabella*, and he like a King ouerlooked them. Being Dictator, foure and twenty ares were borne before him, as was wont before the old kings. He had also a great garde about his body, Some natiues he made, and some he reuoked. He would haue none to be Praetor before he were Questor, nor none Consull, before he were Praetor, and forbadde any man to haue that office twice, before tenne yeares distance. The Tribune ship of the people he so defaced and diminished, that no man cared greatly for it, for he ordeyned that he that was once Tribune, should haue none other authority wherefore all they that were renowned of noble, vtterly refused that office, and I cannot affirme whether *Sylla* did translate it to the Senate, as it now is, or no: and because the Senate was consumed by warre and ciuill discord, he chose three hundred of the order of Gentlemen to be Senatoures, and haue voyce by companies in elections. The seruants of them that were slayne, being yong and lusty, he made free, to the number of tenne thousande, and declared them Citizēs of *Rome*, and named them of himselfe, *Cornelians*: and by this meane he had of the commune rout thousand to do his commaundement. He prouided the same throughout *Italy*, and to the xxiii. Legions that serued vnder him, he gaue much lands in diuers Cities (as I haue said wherof a parte was neuer denied, and part was forceably taken) & was feared in all things, and so ready to anger, as he slew in the middle of the Pallace, *Lucretius Ofella*, by whom he besieged *Praeneste*, and wonne that Citie, and otherwhile his guest bitterly, because he desired to be Consull before he had bin Questor or Praetor, being of the Gentlemens order. And when he had deuised him, he not leauing his suit, because he trusted to the great seruice he had done, but made requeste to the Citizens, he called the people to a Counsel, and then said, friends, knowe you, and giue regard to me, I haue killed *Lucretius*, bycause he was disobedient vnto me, so the he shewed a reason. A certaine Plough man was bitten with lyce, and scraped his Plough staffe to picke them out

Some name M. *Tullius*, and *Cornelius Dolabella*. Consuls chosen. *Sylla* Dictator.

Alteration of officers.

Tribuneship defaced.

Encrease of Senatoures.

Seruants made free, and named *Cornelians*.

Lands giuen.

Lucretius killed.

Sylla to the people.

out of his rote, but when they put him the third time, he threw his cote in the fire, so doe I aduise all, as subdued, that they doe not proue the fire at the third time. Thus he astonished all men, vsing his authoritie at his pleasure, & triumphed of the warre against *Mithridates*. Some in a iest, called his rule, a negatiue kingdome, because only the name of a King was denied: but other, turning it to the contrary in deedes, named it a playne Tyrannie. So great inconuenience had this warre brought both the *Romaines*, *Italians*, and all other nations, partly with Pirates, partly with *Mithridates*, and partly *Sylla* his inuasions, partly with consuming their treasure in sedition, and oppression of extreame exactions: all the nations and Kingdomes, all confederates and Cities, as well tributaries as other, that by league and oth had ioyned themselues to the Romaine Empire, (for they had societie in warre, and other seruice, tired with their owne lawes and were free) he caused all to pay and to obey him, and frō some, portes & prouinces granted by league, were takē away. *Sylla* receiued to his protection *Alexander* sonne of *Alexander* King of *Aegipt*, brought vp in the Ile of *Coo*, and of thē deliuered to *Mithridates*, and from him fledde to *Sylla*, and by decree made him king of *Alexandria*, being now destitute of a man King, because the women that were of the royall blood, wanted a man of their kinne, thinking to get great gayne of this rich Countrey, but the *Alexandrines* whō he had ratified nineteene dayes, sharply bearing himselfe of *Sylla*, brought him from the Court into the common schole, and there killed him. So they for the greatnes of their proper kingdome, and not seeking the shame that other had done, cared not for others power. The yeare following, *Sylla* hauing all the authoritie of Dictator, yet to shewe it a forme of populare state, was chosen Consull, and with him *Metellus*, surnames Pius, and by this example perauenture, they that be now Kynges of *Asia*, made their Consuls, & they themselues be Consul a fewe time alte, thinking it no iniurie, to haue that office with a greater authoritie. The yeare following, the people desired *Sylla* to be Consul againe, but he refused it, & appointed *Quintus Hortensius*, & *Claudius Pulcher*, to that office, and he without any compulsion,

Denied Kingdome.

All nations plaged by *Sylla*.

King of Egipt. This *Alexander* was left in Coo of his Grandmother *Cleopatra* with great riches.

Alexandrianes kill their king.

Sylla being Dictator, is chosen Consull. *Metellus Pius*. The Empire vnder Consuls. *Sylla* resigneth the Consulship. *Cornelia* called *Faustus*, for *Faustus* is resisting in little *Asia*.

Sylla giueth ouer his rule.

gaue ouer the office of Dictatorship freely, being the highest dignitie of all other, and surely I marueil, that he, who was no wel theefe of all other, and alone in authoritie, would giue ouer so noble a dignitie, not to his children, as *Ptolomeus* in *Aegipt*, *Ariobarzanes* in *Cappadocia*, and *Selencus* in *Syria*, but to them that had suffered by his tiraunie: It seemeth beyõd reason, that he, who by violence, passing so many perils, hadde made himselfe a Pyture, shoulde so freely leaue it, & beyonde al mẽs opinions, haue no feare of the alteration. After he had killed moreathan a hundred M. mẽ in warre, slaine so many ciuill enimies, aboue nine C. Senators, xb. Consuls, and 2600. Gentlemen, and banished a great number more, some of the whiche he spoyled of their gõdes, some their liues, not suffering them to be buryed, that he was neither afraid of them at home nor abroade, nor of the Cities, of some of the which he had bet downe their forts and walles, from some, take away their gõdes and landes, and put tributes vpon them, but would nédes become a priuate man. So great a confidence and fortune had this man, that in the middest of the common place he durst say, ỳ therefore he gaue ouer his authoritie, that he might render an accompt of it if he were required. The roddes and the axes he layd away. The gard of his person he remoued, and wãt alone with his friends in the middest of the people, the multitude beholding and amazed at the thing. Only once as he went home, a yong man reuiled him, and bycause no man did forbid him, he toke courage to giue him euill lãguage, til he came to his house, so as he that before was so furious against the greatest men and Cities, could now patiently suffer this yong man: only thus he said, entring his house, either by natural reason, or by a diuinatiõ of things to come: This yong man will be the let that an other man hauing such authoritie, wil not so giue it ouer, which thing shortly after happened to ỳ *Romaines*, for *Caius Cesar* would not so leaue his power. Surely *Sylla* appeareth to be in al things behement, from a priuate man to make himselfe a Tyrant, and from that to be a priuate man again. This done, he gaue himselfe to quietnesse of ỳ Countrey, & went to *Cume*, a Citie of *Italy*, to bye downe landes, leading a quiet life at the sea side, and sometime bũ-

Sylla, *Ptolomeus*, *Ariobarzanes*, *Selencus*, vsurpers.

The rare resignation of *Sillas* authoritie.

Confidence of *Sylla*.

Sylla suffereth a yong man to reuile him.

The answvere of *Sylla*.

Cæsar followeth not the example of *Sylla*.

Cume is a plesant place, not farre from *Naples*.

ting

thing in the field, not for any misliking of the priuate life in the citie, nor for want of power to enterprise any thing that he would, for, for his age, he was in good strength, and of body very sound. About *Italy* he had an hundred and twenty thousande men, that lately warred vnder him, which had receiued great gifts, & mouth land of him, and in the citie there were tenne thousand of *Cornelians*, and other multitudes of his factiõ, al frends faithful to him, and feareful to other, all the which had their whole truste in him, of that they had done, & in him repoſed the ſuretie of all they had. Notwithſtãding all this (as I thinke) he was weery of war, weery of dominion, & weery of the Citie, & therfore ſought a vacation as it were, and quietneſſe in the Countrey. After this, the Romaines being deliuered of tirannie, fel again to ſedition: for whẽ they had created *Cæius Cotulus* one of *Sylla*s faction, and *Lepidus Æmilius*, of the contrary, Conſuls, enimies one to another, and readie to contend by and by, it was certaine that a new incommenience would take beginning of theſe. They ſaye, that whiles *Sylla* lay in the Countrey, he had a viſion that a God called him, the which in the morning he told to his frends, & with greate ſpẽde made his teſtament, which being ſigned that day, in the euening a litle ſoke him, and in the night he dyed, of the age of lxv yeares, a mã in all things moſt happy to his end; & as he was ſurnamed, ſo was he fortunate in dede, if he be happy that can do what he liſt. And there was a contention in *Rome* about him, ſome would haue his body brought with great pomp through *Italy* to *Rome*, & ther in the common place to be honored with publike funeral. *Lepidus* and his friendes were againſt it, but *Catulus* and other of *Sylla*s ſide preuailed. So his body was brought through *Italy* in a litter of gold, in royal maner, numbers of muſitians, horſemẽ, and other armed multitude followed. All his Captaines & Lieutenãts that had ſerued vnder him, came to this pomp, frõ euery place in armour, and as they came, ſo were they ſet in order. Other multitudes alſo repaired, as never had bin ſeene at any buſineſſe. The enſignes and ares that he vſed in his dignitie, were borne before, and when he was brought into the Citie, greate honor, and exceeding ſhewe didde encreaſe. Two thouſande Crownes of Golde and more, were of purpoſe made, and preſented.

The power of *Sylla*.

Nevv occaſion of ſedition by the Conſuls, *C. Catulus*, and *Lepid. Æmilius*.

Viſion of *Sylla*.

Death of *Sylla*.

Age of *Sylla*.

Happy.

Contention for the buriall of *Sylla*.

*Sylla*s corpſe in a litter of gold.

Funerall of *Sylla*.

The

The gifts of Cities, of Legions that had serued him, and of euery priuate friend, were deliuered, other ornaments were added to his funerall, the sumptuousnelle whereof, no man can expresse.

The receiuing of his body.

His body being brought in with the army, the religious people, both holy men, and sacred Virgines, did receyue and beare by course: the Senate and Magistrates, with all their tokens of office, did the like: the troupes of Horsemen, the bands of Footmen, deuided in order, did attende: seuerall benenolence was shewed, bringing banners of golde, wearing harnelle of siluer, which yet be vsed in triumphes. There was a great nũber of Trumpets, which in order did sound an heaute noyle.

Prayses of *Sylla*.

The Senate prayseth him first, then the Gentlemen, after the army, and all the people, whereof some desired his life, some that feared him and his army, did now no lesse marueil about his dead body: for remembring in their minds the noble feates he had done, and the maner of his death, they could not but be astonished, confessing him to be of al other, though their enimie, the most happie man, to be being dead, he was dreadfull vnto them. Being brought into the common place before the Tribunall, where Oratiõs were wonte to be made, the most eloquente man that then was aliue, made the funerall Oration, because *Faustus* his sonne was yet vnder age. The noblest of the Senate did take the litter, and beare it into the fielde of *Mars*, where none was wonte to be buryed but kings. The Horsemen and the army marched about the fyre whiles his body was consumed. This was the end of *Sylla*.

Affections of men.

Funerall Oration.

Faustus his sonne vnder age.

In the field of *Mars*, none buryed but kings.

The Consuls going from the funerall, did contende with wordes and spitefull speche, intending betweene them to make diuision of the rule that belonged to the Citie.

Contention.

Lepidus to flatter the *Italians*, required they might be restored to the lands that *Sylla* had taken from them. The Senate fearing this falling out, did binde them both by oth, that they shoulde not contende by armes. *Lepidus* being appointed by lotte to the prouince of *France* beyond the *Alpes*, did not returne to the election, because he intended the next yeare to make warre vpon *Sylla*s faction, without respect of his oth, for it seemed he had fulfilled his promise, in keping of it during his office.

The Consuls bound by oth.

Lepidus refuseth to returne to the election.

This

This his purpose not being secreate, the Senate sent for him: He, not ignorant why he was called, came with al hys army as though he would haue entred *Rome* therewith, but being forbidden, he proclaymed warre by a Trumpet. *Lepidus* maketh warre.

Catulus of the other side did the like: but long after making a battel in the field of *Mars*, *Lepidus* was ouercome, and without any great share he fled into *Sardinia*, where being vexed with a consuming disease, he dyed. His armye disturbed in sundry partes, was dissolued the greatest part of it, *Perpenna* fled into *Spaine* to *Sertorius*. A Battel betweene the Consuls. *Lepidus* ouercome and dyeth in *Sardinia* in the sea of *Libya*, called *Sardonia*, by cause it is like the sole of a foote.

The lasse people left to *Sylla* was this warre of *Sertorius*, continuing eight yeares with difficultie, not as *Romaines* against *Spaniardes*, but as one with another against *Sertorius*, who ruled in *Iberia*. He, when *Carbo* and *Sylla* were at warre, take the Citie of *Sueffa* by composition, as we haue said, and fled from thence to his office, leading with him an armye of *Italians*, and gathered vnto of the *Celtiberians*, with whome hee expulsed the officers that were there for *Sylla*, who would not admit him, and fought very valiantly with *Metellus*, that was sent against him of *Sylla*, and being couragious to atchiue fame, elected a Senate of three hundred of his priuie friends, which he called the *Romaine Senate*, in despight whereof hee named it, the *Christ Counsell*. *Sylla* being dead, and after him *Lepidus*, *Sertorius* hauing another army of *Italians*, which *Perpenna* brought vnto him, a Poet of *Lepidus*, he had an opinion to be able to make warre vpon *Italy*: which the Senate fearing, sente another armye and another Poet, which was *Pompey*, for the army that was before in *Iberia*. Who being but a young Gentleman, was renowned for the seruice he had done vnder *Sylla* in *Libya* and in *Italy*. He passed the *Alpes* very boldly, not that hauing that *Annibal* did so notably, but by the other way by the fountaines of *Rodanus* and *Eridanus*, both the white flouds, haue their springs not far asunder from the high *Alpes*. *Rodanus* runneth by the Frenchmen that be beyond the *Alpes*, into the *Tirrene* sea: the other within the *Alpes* falleth to *Italy* and in the end of *Eridanus* is called *Padus*. Being come into *Iberia*, *Sertorius* straight did ouerthrow one le-

Sertorius maketh a Senate in Spayne. *Perpenna*. *Pompey* into Spayne. *Rodanus* Rose in Fraunce. *Eridanus* Poo in Italy.

gion goyng a foraging with their baggage and slaues. The Citie of *Lautone* in *Pompeius* fighte he spoiled and ouerthrew.

Iustice. A valiaunte woman.

At this siege a woman being misused of a souldior, with courage beyonde nature of hir kinde, pulled out hys eies. *Sertorius* hauing vnderstanding of the chaunce, putte to death the whole bād, being counted corrupted in like things, though it were al of the *Romaines*: then winter comming on, they rested. The Spring approching, they came forth, *Metellus* and *Pompey* frō the mount *Pirenei*, and *Sertorius* with *Perpenna* from *Lusitania*. They met at a Citie called *Sura*, where giuing battell, though an horrible thunder, in ẏ clere aire, which is marueilous, & lightnings out of reason did flath vpon thē, yet they as expert souldiors without feare kept ẏ fight, & made great murder one of another, til *Metellus* had ouerthrown *Perpenna*, and scattered his men, & *Sertorius* ouercome *Pompey*, who was hurt in ẏ thigh with a darte, and escaped with much dāger. This was the end of the first battel. *Sertorius* had a white Harte tame, & to him very louing, the which being lost, he toke it for an euill tohen, & would not come forth for griefe, thinking his Hart had bin takē of his enimies, who scorned him for it: but when ẏ Hart was sene again, & came running to him, by & by, as by ẏ prouoked, he set vpō his enimies, & made diuers light fightes. Shortly after they fought a great battel about *Sagūtia*, frō none till night, in ẏ which he ouercame *Pompey* in the battel of horsmē, & slew vp. xx. of his enimies, & lost halfe so many of his own. *Metellus* of ẏ other side, killed. v. xx. of *Perpēnas* camp.

Pirenei mountaines diuide *Spaine* frō *Fraūce*. *Lusitania*, *Portugall*.

Battel at *Sura* nowe *Sucrone*.

Metellus ouerthroweth *Perpenna*.

Sertorius ouercōmeth *Pompey*.

A white Harte. Some thinke this battel was fought at *Segobrida* a towne in that part of *Spaine* also.

Segunti nowe called *Murudero*.

The nexte day *Sertorius* with all huge nūber of *Barbarians*, a little before night set vpō *Metellus*, & had broke his campe, (& *Pompey* had not approched) & made him leaue his bold enterprises. These thinges being done in sunder, they retired to their winter harborow. The yere folowing, being ẏ. C. lxxij. Olimp. x. of ẏ tributed nations did fal to the *Romaines*. *Bythinia* giuen by *Nicomedes*, & *Cyrene* by *Tolomeus Lagus*, called *Appion*, leauing it to thē by Testament. On the other side, great enimies discouered them selues against *Sertorius* in *Spain*, *Mithridates* in ẏ Gulf, rulers ouer al ẏ sea, & & in *Creta*, & a tumult of the slaue players of *Italy*, very sodain and sharp. The *Romains* diuiding their power for this purpose, set. iij. legions into *Iberia*, which being come, *Metellus* & *Pompey* remoued

Pompey looseth, *Metellus* gayneth.

Bithynia is the nexte Region to Troy, ouer against Thracia. Two regions fell to the *Romaines* by Testament.

Trouble.

from

frō their wintrings at ꝑ mount *Pineus* into *Iberia*. *Sertorius* & *Perpenna* came frō *Lusitania*, at the which time, many fled frō *Sertorius* to *Metellus*, with the which *Sertorius* being grieued, he hated many cruelly & barbarously, wherby he grew into hate of the army & the rather for ꝑ he remoued the *Romains* frō the custody of his body, & put the *Celtiberians* in their place. They could not abide to be reproued of vnfaithfulnesse, though they serued against their owne *Rome*, but this thing chiefly grieued them, that they were counted rebels to their countrey, for his sake, & yet suspected of him, & that with him ther was no difference betwene a fugitiue & a faithful. The *Celtiberians* also vsed the dispitefully, & taunted them as vnfaithfull: notwithstanding the *Romains* did not vtterly forsake him, bycause of their commodities: for there was not a more valiant nor fortunate captaine than he, insomuche as the *Celtiberians* would call him *Annibal* for his prouoptnesse, who was the moste politicke and forwarde Capitayne that they could forbearse. After this sort kepte the army with *Sertorius*, *Metellus* perplexed daily & molested the Cities, & cappell many to yelde vnto the. *Perpenna* besieged *Palantia*, and with a ladder hauing made readie to scale the wall, *Sertorius* came to the rescue, and vtterly dispersed the siege. *Perpenna* burned his timber worke, ouerthrowe the walles, and retyred to *Metellus*. *Sertorius* repaired the Citie, and spared not to trauaile *Celtiberia*, where, ouercōming with the sworde there, he killed a good nōber of them, and tooke great bootyes in diuers places.

Sertorius remoueth the *Romains* from the guard of his person.

Sertorius cruell.

Griefe of the *Romains*.

Aragon.

Sertorius compared to *Annibal*.

The yere following, the *Romain* Capitaines with greater courage set vpō the Citie of *Lauro*, yelded vnto them of the other they sought to get by policie, as they did, not doing they lyke to force at euery assault. Whē the yere following came Metellus to the field, & did their things with more confidence, *Sertorius* began to decay. Which being vnderstanded, and how daily the lawes & traunailes of warre did weare him, he gaue himselfe to drinke drunkennesse, and lechery, stealing & drinking: for these causes he was many times ouerthrowe, falling into ambushes craftely layed for him, & suspected euery man. Wherefore *Perpenna*, hauing the fauour of *Sertorius* came into him with a great army, begā to doubt of his life & conspired against him with certayne other, the which being discouered, some were hanged, and some escaped, but *Perpenna* not beeyng named,

Sertorius deceiueth.

Perpenna Conspireth.

Death of *Sertorius*.

as was his maruellous good hap, perseuered the rather in hys purpose, he desired *Sertorius* to a banquet, and although he neuer wente without hys Guarde, yet at the feaste, little respect being had, and bee and all they ouerladen with Wine, *Perpenna* cut off his heade in the place where he feasted. The armye with great ire and tumulte rose againste *Perpenna*, chaunging theyr hate into loue of the Capitaine, for though before they hadde no greate lyking of hym, now that hee was deade, remembrance of his vertue tourned their mindes to pitie. And in thys present case, they contemned *Perpenna* as a priuate man: and thinking their only weale pth consist in *Sertorius*, they could not abide *Perpenna*, & not only they, but the *Lusitanes* and other *Barbarians* thought as much, whome *Sertorius* chiefly vsed in the warre, and when the tables of his Testament were vnsealed, and *Perpenna* founde to be his heyre, euerye man hated hym the more, bicause hee was not onely a Traytour to hys Capitayne, but to hys friende, and benefactour, and then hadde they not helde theyr handes, but that *Perpenna* hyde himselfe, and pleased some with gifts, and some with promise, some he made afrayde with feare, and some he sharpely vsed with the terrour of other. Wherefore euerye man sorte be bounde himselfe, and suche as were in power by *Sertorius* be deliuered, and to the *Lusitanes* rendred their pledges, whereof they were content to take him as their Captaine. What hope had he after *Sertorius*, yet not without great difficultie, for being cruell, he soone felte sharpe punishing, and of the *Romaines* that came with hym, he killed three of the noblest sorte, and hys olde friende *Manlius* also was. *Metellus* gone to the other side of *Iberia*, thinkyng *Pompey* to be sufficient to ouerthrowe *Perpenna*, whyle whyle spente the tyme in makyng skirmishes, not desiryng for the their whole power. The tenth day, with all their battailes they came into a fielde, to fighting with that one or two, to remaine an ende. *Pompey* passed little of *Perpenna* experience. *Perpenna* was full of his auncient countenance to obedience, somwhat rather willing to try all at once. *Pompey* giuing the onset the more fiercely, *Perpenna* not abiding his Captaine and the mayne battle of footemen, was soone ouer come, & many men flying, *Perpenna* hid himself

Miserie causeth pitie.

Portugales.

Perpenna founde to be heyre to *Sertorius*.

Perpenna cruel.

Fight betweene *Pompey* and *Perpenna*.

Ouerthrowe of *Perpenna*.

a tuffte of bushes, fearing more his own, than his enimies, & bé-
ing taken of certaine horsemen, they dragged him to *Pompey*, & of
his owne people hee was euil spoken of, for his offence againste
Sertorius: he made great ado to be brought aline to *Pompey*, to re-
neale vnto him gret matter of ỳ *Romaine* factiõ, eyther to tel the
truth or to sane himselfe, but *Pompey* sent to haue hym kylled be-
fore he came in his sight, fearing leaste hee might haue vttered
some strange matter, ỳ might haue bin ỳ beginning of a new stir
in *Rome*, wherin *Pompey* seemed to do very well & wisely, & wan a
great opinion therby. This was the end of the war in *Iberia*, and
of *Sertorius* life, which if he had not bin dead, would not haue bin
finished, neyther so sone, nor so easyly.

Death of *Perpenna*.

VVisedome of *Pompey*.

The warre of *Spartace*.

In this time in *Italy*, a Sword-player that kepte in *Capua* for
shewes, called *Spartacus* a *Thracian* borne, had serued in war vyth
the *Romaines*, & now was as a slaue in custodie for to shew his cu-
ning in plaies: he perswaded.lxx. more of his fellowes, to aduẽture
for their libertie rather thã to be slaues for shewes, & with thé for-
cing ỳ keepers, he ran away, & arming such as beuet with staues
& swordes: he fled to the Mount *Vesuuius*, whither many slaues,
& some freemen, flying to him frõthe Countries, he receiued thé,
& robbed the plaines adioyning, he appointed two officers, *Æne-
mus* and *Crissus* other two Sword-players, & making equall di-
uision of his pray among them, in short tyme great multitudes
came vnto hym. Whom to ouercome *Varinius Glabrius* was first
sent, & after hym *Publius Valerius*, not vvith army of any regard,
but such as for hast they could gather by ỳ way. For ỳ *Romaines*
did not think it should need any other, nor looked for such effect at a
Sword-players hand. But when it came to the battell, the *Ro-
maines* were ouercome: *Spartacus* killed *Varinius* horse, & it lacked
but little, that ỳ *Romaine* Captain was not také of a vile Sword
player, after this fight more & more resorted to *Spartacus*, and he
had now an army of.lxx.M. for whom, he made armor & al other
prouision. The *Romaines* sent the Consuls with two legions, a-
gainst whome *Crissus* came vvith.xxx.M. and was ouercome at
mount *Garinus*, losing two partes of his army and his life also.

Spartacus.

Flores de Roma.

Aenomaus, *Crissus*, or *Varinius Glabr.* P. *Valerius* vvere ouercome of *Spartacus*.

Firste the battel betvveene *Spartacus* and the *Romaines*.

Mount Garguno in *Appulia* novve called *Mount S. Angelo*.

Spartacus passed ouer mount *Apennine* to go into France beyond the *Alpes*: but one of the Consuls laye in the waye and stopped his passage, and the other followed him: he fought with them both and ouercame them in seuerall fightes: so as the Cōsuls retyred with tumult. *Spartacus* did sacrifice three hundered Romaines to his felowe *Crassus*, and with twentie thousand Romaine footemen, he wente to Rome, burning all vnprofitable birdes, and killed all Captiues and the beastes of cariage, to march the faster. Many fugitiues comming vnto him, he would admitte none.

Spartacus ouercometh the Consuls.

Sacrifice of mē

The Consuls encoūtred him at *Picene*, where was a notable fight, and many of the Romaines slayne, and losse the day. Yet durst he not go directly to *Rome*, bycause he did not thinke hymselfe equal with the Citizens in feates of warre, nor had an army throughly instructed, for neuer a Citie toke his part, but only slaues and fugitiues, and a confused multitude following him: he turned to the mountaines at *Thurus*, & besieged the towne: hee forbad any merchāt to bring gold or siluer into his campe, nor to be vsed: but wasse & yron he admitted, paying well for it, & did not hurt thē that brought it. Wherby hauing matter abūdant, he made verye fayre armour, and vsed to seeke pray in the countrey, and fought with the *Romaines* againe, and had the victorie: & went away with a great spoyle. Now were three yeares past, and this warre remayned horrible to the *Romaines*, which at the first they contemned, as a play of Fence. The election of ỳ new Consuls being come, such a terror was of him, as no mā desired the office, till *Licinius Crassus*, notable in *Rome* for his house and riches, toke it vpon him, and with fiue other legions wente against *Spartacus*: and being come nigh, he receyued the armies of the two Cōsuls, of the which he put to death euery tenth mā, as hapt by lot, bycause they had bin so oft ouercome. Some thinke otherwise, that they al fought and were ouercome, and thē he so punished them by the tenth, & kylled foure thousande, hauing no doubt of the multitude. But whither so euer he dyd, it auayled much to the ouerthrow of his enemies, for by and by he set vpō them ten thousand of *Spartacus* men that camped by thē, whereof he

Thurus in *Apulia* vvhich the *Romaines* made a colonie and called it *Copia*.

Three yeares vvarre.

Licinius Crassus.

Crassus doth execution.

Crassus ouercometh.

he killed two partes, and then with like courage so fiercely encoutryng with *Spartacus*, he ouercame him with a notable fight, and chased him to the sea, wher he thought to escape by ship into *Sicilie*, but he ouertoke him, and enclosed him in a trench, and when he had forced him to flée to the *Samnites*, *Crassus* killed fiue thousand of them at the sunne rise, and as manye at the sunne set, three only of the *Romaines* beyng killed, and seauen hurt, so great an alteration was there of victorie, after the execution of that punishmente. *Spartacus* loking for horsemen to come vnto him, did not nowe come forth with all his men, but by tymes did much annoy the besiegers, sodaynely issuing vppon them & throwing firebrandes into their campe, burned their wall, and put them to much difficulties and trouble. A *Romaine* Captiue he hung vp in the middest of his campe, shewing to his souldiours what they should suffer if they did not ouercome. The *Romaines* in the Citie seing of this siege, and thinking it a dishonor to be so long holden with a sworde player, appointed *Pompey*, who was returned frō *Iberia* with his army, (waying the difficultie of the thing) to take the charge therof. *Crassus* seeing the glory of this war shold be taken from him by *Pompey*, made hast to trie it with *Spartacus*, and *Spartacus* thinking to preuent *Pompey*, would haue made agreemēt with *Crassus*, but being refused he thought to proue the vttermost, and with his horsemen that were come, he issued out of the campe with al his bands, and fled as fast as he could to *Brundusie*, *Crassus* following him: but when he heard that *Lucullus* was come to *Brundusie* with his army from the warre of *Mithridates*, then in desperation of all things he encountred with *Crassus*. The fight being long and difficulte, as among so many souldiours driuen by deliberation, *Spartacus* was hurte in ỹ thygh with a dart, by ỹ which wounde falling on his knee, he defended himselfe with his shield, & foughte with the that came vpō him, many of the which he ouerthrew, till he ỹ cōpanies about him were discomfited, the other multitude without order fled, and were killed without number: of the *Romaines* a thousand were slayne.

The third battel. *Spartacus* flyeth tovvard *Sicilie*.

The fourth battel. *Samnites*, novv *Abruzzo*.

Spartacus holden in.

Pompey appointed to this vvar.

The last battel vvherin *Spartacus* vvas slaine.

Spartacus

Spartacus being dead was neuer founde, a great multitude frō the battaile went to the Mountaines, against whome *Crassus* followed. They diuiding themselues into fortye partes, fought it oute, till they were all slaine, saue fiue thousande, which being taken, were hanged in the way betweene *Rome* and *Capua*.

Capua the chiefe Citie of *Campus*.

Thys dyd *Crassus* in fiue moneths, contending with *Pompey* for glorie, and would not leaue his armye, because *Pompey* would not leaue his, and both of them sought to be Consull.

Contention betweene *Crassus* and *Pompey*.

Crassus seketh to be Consul, after *Syllas* appoyntment.

Crassus hauing bene Prætor according to *Syllas* lawe, *Pompey* neither hauing bin Questor nor Prætor, being yet xxxiii. yeares of age, promised the Tribunes to reduce their office to ỹ antient authoritie: and being both chosen Consuls, neyther of them would leaue their army. *Pompey* sayde he would stay for *Metellus* to make his triumph of *Iberia*.

Pompey, after the auncient maner.

Both chosen Consuls.

Crassus affirmed that *Pompey* ought first to giue ouer.

The people perceyuing that discorde was readye to tyde, and two armies at hand, requested ỹ Consuls sitting in their places to come to reconciliation, which at the first they both denyed: but the southsayers declaring great and grieuous calamities to follow, vnlesse they were agreed, the people agayne with lamentation did desire them, recordyng the miserable time of *Sylla* and *Marius*: with the which thyngs *Crassus* beyng moued, rose first from his seate, and came to take *Pompey* by the hand and to be reconciled. *Pompey* rose also in hast and came fast to ỹm, and one embraced another, gret thankes with teares, was gyuē vnto them, and the people would not let them depart, til they had determined the dissolution of their armies.

The people requyre reconciliation.

Crassus relenteth first.

This contention, that by all mens opinions seemed, would haue growen very great, was happily ended the xi. yeare of the Ciuil warre from the death of *Tiberius Gracchus*.

The end of the first booke of Ciuil dissentions.

The second Booke of Appian of *Alexandria* touching the ciuill discorde of the Romaines.



ter its Monarchie at Sea, and all that *Scipio* & *Pompey* did by Land, other like Ciuill quarrells set among the Romaines, til *Caius Cæsar* and *Pompey* the great, warred one vpon another. *Cæsar* ouercame *Pompey*, and remaine in the Senate killed *Cæsar*. How this was done, and how both *Pompey* and *Cæsar* were destroyed, the Second Booke of Ciuil causes shal declare.

Pompey had lately ouerrun the seas of Romes which robbed in euery place beyond all reason, and after them subdued *Archelaus* King of *Pontus* and set order in his kingdome, and al nations as farre as the Caspij. *Cæsar* was yet a young man, forwarde in wonde and deede, bolde to any thing, and hoping of euerything, inclined to ambition beyond al measure, as being Praetor and Edile, he grewe in great hatte, to gette the good wil of the people, whiche is euer wont to embrace them that be liberall.

Pompey.

Praetor had the charge of the lawe. *Aediles* of houses and pestilence.

Caius Catelina was also notable, for his great fame and noble blonde, a very valeyant man, thinking it otte good to kill his owne sonne for the loue of *Aurelia Orestilla*, because she would not graunte vnto him, hauing a child alone. He was a fiend to his owne nation, and a very great follower of vnrighteousnes, through his ambition he was in ciuil warre, & by the emitting of some great seruice vnknowen, labored to be Consull, that by that meane, he might haue his hope to Monarchie, and being in good hope to haue the election, he was repulsed and Cicero chosen

Catelina.

Catelina killeth his sonne.

Cateline repulsed and *Cicero* chosen consull.

chosen, a man most eloquent and wrete in speach. *Cateline*, did chose him, and in despight of them that had chosen him, for the baseness of his kinne, called him a Newman, (for so doe they terme them, that grow noble of themselues, and not of their auncestours) and for that he was a Straunger in the Cittie, he named hym a Fermer, by the which worde they call them that dwell in other mens houses. And for this, he refused to deale in publique matter, wherein was plenty of strife and contention, and no great nor present furtherance to a Monarchie. Yet he gathered much money of many, wiues which hoped to be rid of their husbands by this hurley burley. He cõforted with some of the Senatours & them that he called Gentlemẽ, and some of the Commons, straungers and seruants he also allured. But his chiefe Counsellours were, *Cornelius, Lentulus*, & *Cethegus*, which were then officers in the cittie. He sent about *Italie* to the that had spent their gaines got by the violence of *Sylla*, and were desirous of the like enterprises again. To *Fesule* in *Tuscane*, he sent *Caius Manlius*, & other into *Apuleon* and *Appulia* the which presently did gather men for him. All these practises did *Fuluia*, a noble woman, bewray vnto *Cicero*, whose louer (*Quintus Curius*) a man for his lewde life remoued from the Senate, and admitted to *Catelines* conuentions, ambitions and very light, did boast with his woman, that shortly he should be made a great man. Rumors were now rysed of these doings in *Italie*, and *Cicero* set gardes in diuers places of the cittie, and sent some noble men to haue an eye to the suspected places. *Cateline*, although no man durst lay hands on him, yet, because the truth was not tried out, perceyuing the time to be suspitious, and putting al his hope in speding, sent his money afore to *Fesule*; and giuing order with his confederates to kill *Cicero*, and in one night to set the cittie a fire in sundrie places, he posted to *C. Manlius*, to make an other army of the souldiers, to inuade the cittie, after the burning. He caused the axes & rodes, to be borne before him like a Proconsull very finely, & went to *Manlius*, taking by souldiours by the way. Now was it thought good to *Lentulus* & his cõpanions, as soone as they heard *Cateline* to be at *Fesule*, that *Lentulus* himself & *Cethegus* should beset *Ciceros* house early in the morning wt weapons

Newman.

Wiues weary of their husbandes.

Senatours Gentlemen.

Fuluia vttereth the conspiracie. *Q. Curius.*

Manlius chiefe minister of *Catiline.*

The maner of the practise.

put him, & that they being let into the secrets of their vnlawfull attempt, should speake with him, & by talke draw him a good way off, and when they had him from other company, to kil him. Then should Lucius Sextius a Tribune, by ye by call an assemblie by the ordinarie officers, & accuse Cicero as a man very vnfortunate, troublesome, & a bill vnder ye of the citie, when there was no such cause: and ye night after this Oration of Sextius, to set ye citie a fire in other fiue places, to spoyle it, & kil the best men. This was ye opinion of Lentulus, Cethegus, Statilius, & Sextius, chiefe of ye conspiracie, & wayted for ye time.

Cicero to be killed, the citie to be burned.

There were embassadours of Samia to complain of their gouernours, which by Lentulus were admitted to ye conspiracie, ye they should stirre their countrie against the Romaines. Lentulus sent Vulturtius of Crotone with the to Catiline, carying letters without any name. The Embassadours being afraide, did communicate vñ Fabius Sanga, who was their patrone, as euery other citie had in Rome. Cicero vnderstãding this by Sanga, apprehended both them & Vulturtius as they were going away, & brought them to the Senate, to whom they confessed all they had learned of Lentulus, and with much ado he wrayed, that Cornelius Lentulus had all ye yeare, ye by destinie the Cornelian should be Monarches of Rome, wherof ye were paste, Cinna & Sylla. When these things were declared, the Senate put Lentulus out of his office. Cicero committed euery of the to the houses of the prætors, & thought returned & called ye Senate. There was much adoo about ye counsell house, for ye truth was not yet knowne, & the conspiratours were afraide of themselues. The seruants, & seruande mẽ of Lentulus & Cethegus, got many artificers with the, and went to the backe doors of the prætors houses to haue taken away the instruments, wherwithe, as Cicero heard, he ran out of the counsell house, & hasting [illegible] in a lucky place, came again, and hastned the [illegible] spake first, as he that was elected to be Consull next the 1. was the Romaines manner to haue him speake first, that should succeede in ye Consuls office, because (as I think) he should commonly execute the decrees, & therby consider the more ripely & warily of euery of them. Sylla was of opinion, ye the chiefe should haue extreme punishment: and many other consented to his iudgement, till Nero muste say his minde, who thought it good to keepe them

Cities had patrones in Rome. Lentulus.

Cornelius a great surname in Rome.

Priuileges of [illegible] Sylla.

Disagreement, touching the conspiracie.

Caſars ſentence vvith vvhom Cicero durſte not contende.

Cato.

Citizens put to death vvithout iudgement.

Cicero telleth the people that the conſpirators be deade.

Cateline ſlayne.

Cicero called father of the countrey.

it with a cry. This honorable name being giuē first to *Cicero*, is nowe attributed also to such Emperors as be worthy: For this title is not giue to euery king with the rest of his other stile, but in tyme with great ado is decreede vnto him, as a perfecte testimony of hys excellent vertue.

Cæsar was chosen Liuetenant for *Spaine*, and of hys creditors was staide in Rome: for so much did he owe more than hee was worth (as they report) he saide hee had nede of two thousande and fiue hundred millions, to haue nothing: yet agreeing with hys creditours as well as he could, he went into *Spaine*, where he did not deale with Citie matters, or by sessions take order for their causes, thinking that nothing serued hys purpose, but thered men, and in tyme subdued all the rest of *Spaine*, til hee had brought it subiect and tributarie to the *Romaines*. He sent muche money to the common treasure of *Rome*, wherefore the Senate graunted him a triumphe: he made preparation of a great shew in the suburbs of *Rome*. The tyme of election of newe Consulls was come, and he that rode for the office must be present, and if he were once entred, he could not returne againe to make triumphs. He being very desirous of the Consulship, and not yet ready for the triumph, sente to the Senate and desired he might aske the office by his friends in his absence, although it were against the Lawe: But *Cato* spake against it, so as the laste day of the election was spent in reasoning. Wherefore *Cæsar* set aside the triumph and came running to the election & desired the office.

Cæsar.

About two thousand fiue hundred millions.

Cæsars doings in Spayne.

A triumph graunted to *Cæsar.*

Election.

Cato against *Cæsars* requeste.

At this time *Pompey* was in great power and glory for his victory against *Mithridates*: he required that many things which he had graunted to Kings, Princes and other estates, might be confirmed by acte of Parliament. The which requeste many enuied, specially *Lucullus*, who made warre against *Mithridates* before, and brought him so weake, that it was an easie matter to ouercome him, so as indede the feate against *Mithridates* was properly hys, and *Crassus* toke parte with *Lucullus*. Wherevpon *Pompey* being grieued, he ioyned with *Cæsar* and promised by oth to make him Consull, and *Cæsar* reconciled *Crassus* to *Pompey*.

Pompey.

Lucullus against *Pompey.*

Crassus with *Lucullus.*

Pompey with *Cæsar.*

And these three hauing greatest power of all, did serue one an-

others turne, insomuche as one Varro a writer, in one of hys bookes, did cal this agreement, a triple falling headlong.

The Senate hauing them in suspition, did chuse *Lucius Bibulus* the other Consul, to withstande *Cæsar*, and they straighte fell to contention, and made priuate preparation of armour one against another.

Cæsar deceyueth his fellowe *Bibulus*.

Cæsar was a deepe dissembler, & in the Senate house vsed speaches of reconciliation wyth *Bibulus*, that by their dissention, the cõmon wealth might take no scathe. Hee giuing credite to this pretence, being vnaduised and vnprepared, and ignorant of *Cæsars* meaning, founde that hee hadde made greate prouision in secreate, and deuised lawes for the poore agaynste the Senate, diuidyng landes vnto them: the beste that was aboute *Capua*, he appointed as of the common treasure, to be bestowed vpon them that had bin fathers of three children, and by thys meane he wan the harts of the multitude. For twenty thousande were accompted only to take the benefite of three children.

Many of the Senate were againste this purpose. Wherfore *Cæsar* with a fained anger that they would not admitte so iuste a thing, ran oute, and would not call the Senate togither al the yeare after. But in the common place hee woulde speake to the people, and enquired of *Pompey* and *Crassus*, how they liked of the lawes, who giuing their consente, he willed the people to come to the approbation of them, with their weapons bid.

The Senate in *Bibulus* house.

The Senate (bycause it was not lawfull to assemble, vnlesse both Consuls were present) went to *Bibulus* house, bycause they had not foreseene to make resistãce to *Cæsar*, & exhorted *Bibulus* to withstande the lawes, that it might not seeme hee was ouer ruled by negligence, but of necessitie. *Bibulus* was persuaded, and wente into the Common place, whyles *Cæsar* was yet speaking to the people. Then was there much strife and disorder, and some hurte, for they wyth theyr weapons, brake the roddes and maces of *Bibulus*, and wounded the Tribunes that were about hym.

A tumulte by *Cæsar*.

Bibulus not abashed, offred his throat, and wyth a lowde voice, called *Cæsar* vnto ye deede, saying: If I cannot persuade *Cæ-*

sar

for to Iuſtice by my death, I throwe vppon hym all thys blame and miſchiefe. Notwythſtandyng, hys friendes, thoughe againſte hys will, conueyed hym into the nexte Temple of *Iupiter* poſſeſſione.

Cato was ſente for, and ſtyghe a young man, thruſte in among them, and begamne to ſpeake: but being ouerpreſſe with *Cæſars* men, he was putte out againe: yet priuily comming in another way, he ranne vppe to the place of ſpeache, and determining to ſpeake nothing elſe, he ſharpely cried out againſte *Cæſar*, till hee was pulled downe.

Then *Cæſar* pronounced the lawes, and cauſed the people to ſweare vnto them, as euer to continue in effect. He cõmaunded the Senat to ſweare alſo. Whereof many, and *Cato* not agreeing, *Cæſar* threatned death vnleſſe they ſwhare, and the people confirmed it, ſothat for feare they ſware, and to did the Tribunes alſo, bycauſe it auailed no more to reſiſt, the lawe being pronoũced by other. The lawe confirmed by an other.

Vetius, a manne of the common ſorte, came running among them with a naked ſworde, ſaying, he was ſent of *Bibulus*, *Cicero* & *Cato*, to kill *Cæſar* and *Pompey*, and that the ſworde was deliuered hym of *Poſthumius* one of *Bibulus* Sargeants. And although euerye man ſuſpected this deuiſe, yet *Cæſar* ſtirred the people, and appointed the nexte daye to examine *Vetius*. He was cõmitted to priſon, and was deade that nighte.

Thys chaunce alſo being diuerſly conſtrued, *Cæſar* diddo not omitte to worke it for hys purpoſe, affirmyng, that they that were afraide, had done it. Whereupon, the people did graunte reuenge to be had of his enimies. *Vetius* deade.

Then *Bibulus* lettyng all goe oute of hys handes, as a priuate manne, came not oute of his houſe all the reſte of the yeare of hys office. Nowe *Cæſar* made no more inquiſition of *Vetius*, but hauing all the power of the common wealth alone; made more lawes to allure the people, and to confyrme all that *Pompey* hadde done, accordyng to his promyſe. *Bibulus* gyueth ouer.

There

There were that had the name of Gentlemen in the citie, and were in the midde place betweene the Senate and the people. These men might do much, both for their own substance, & for ꝑ gathering of tributes & tolles, which the people did pay, wherof a number attended vppon them moste assuredly. They made suit to the Senate to be discharged of parte of the rent. The Senate mede some sticking at it, but *Cæsar* not regarding that, only bring the people, did remitte the thirde parte of the rent vnto them.

They hauing beyond their expectation obtayned suche benefite by hys gwdnesse, did extoll hym like a God, and so *Cæsar* by one deuise, had another companie stronger vnto hym than the people was. Then *Cæsar* made shewes and huntings vnto them, spending vpon euery thing more than he was able, proceding alwy had bin before tyme in sumptuous preparation, & bountifully towardes. Wherfore they made him ruler of *Fraunce*, both on this side and beyonde the Alpes for tyme yeares, and for his office he had foure legions appointed.

Cæsars shewes passing.

Made ruler of Fraunce.

He considering that his absence should be long, and that enuy would be greater than the greatest fauour, bestowed his daughter in mariage vpon *Pompey*, although *Scipio* were yet alyue, fearing that *Pompey* (though he were his friend) might enuy the greatnesse of his felicitie: he made the moste seditious men officers for the next yere, & *Aulus Gabinius* he declared Consull, who was his chiefe friend, and marryed *Calphurnia* daughter to *Decimachius*, that should be Consull with him.

Cæsar gyueth his daughter in marriage to *Pompey*.

Cæsar maketh allsure.

Cato crying oute, that rule was rated by making of fraudulent mariages: Tribunes he appointed *Vatinius* and *Clodius* called the Faire, who was falsly diffamed for a suspition with *Iulius Cæsars* wife, in the sacrifice that belonged onelye to women.

Clodius suspected with *Cæsars* wife.

For the whiche, although *Cæsar* dide putte awaye hys wife, yet he made nothing adoe with hym, because he was accepted in the people: yet other did accuse him for disparaging the holye sacrifice, and *Cicero* did speake against him. *Cæsar* was called to gyue witnesse, but he said nothing, and rather in the time of Tribune of the people to entrap *Cicero*, who spake against the vnlawfull alliance of the three men, as a thing tending to tyranny.

Cicero against *Clodie*.

Thus

Thus did griefe giue place to gaine, and one enmitie beneficed, that another might bee hindred: and it should seeme that *Clodius* had gratified *Cæsar* before in the getting of his office in Fraunce. The[illegible]inges diddo *Cæsar*, being Consull, and when hee hadde gyuen ouer one office, hee strayghte coueted another.

Clodius accused *Cicero*, that hee hadde contrarie to lawe putte to death *Lentulus* and *Cethegus* before the Senate had giuen sentence: *Cicero* that in that matter had vsed moste noble courage, nowe being called to answere, was verye sainte harted. Hee put on a mourning vesture, and ful of weeping and sorrowe, he humbled himselfe to all that he met in the streates, not beeing ashamed to trouble them, whom he neuer knew, so that his behauior was so vnsemely, y they which should haue pitied him, laughed him to scorne: so great fearfulnesse for one cause of his owne was he fallen, y all his life had done most gloriously for others, euen (as they say) *Demosthenes* of *Athes*, was not able to answere in his own cause, but before he was condemned, fled away. *Cladius*, with spite did mock his lowlinesse to me abroad, whereby being brought to desperatio, he also toke a voluntary banishmẽt, many of his friends going forth with him, and the Senate recommending him to Cities, Kings, & Princes. *Clodius* pulled downe hys houses both in the Citie and Country, & pleased himself so well with hys act, as he would néeds compare with *Pompey*, who had then the greatest auctoritie in the Citie. Wherfore he called *Milo* that was fellow to *Clodie*, and a bolder man than hee, putting him in hope of the Consulship, to be against his fellow, and to make a decrée for *Ciceros* returne, supposing that *Cicero* would nowe deale with matters and actions against *Clodie*, & no more busy himself in speaking against the présente auctoritie.

Cicero accused by *Clody*.

Demosthenes.

Clodius pulleth dovvne *Ciceroes* houses.

Thus *Cicero* that by *Pompey* was caste oute, by the same was called home the sixteenth moneth after his banishment, and hys house & kernes were builded of the common coste. He was receyued with great glory, euerye man wayting for him at the gate, spending one whole daye in embracements and welcoms, euen as happed to *Demosthenes* at his returne from exile.

Cicero restored.

In this meane tyme, *Cæsar* had done greate feates among the Frenchmen and Britains, as I haue shewed in my booke of the Frenche matters, and being full of riches, he came to that part of Fraunce that confineth with Italy at the [illegible] *Eridanus*, to recreate his army a while after their continuall warfare. From whence, he sent to diuerse men, greate summes of money. The yearely officers by turne came to visite hym, and so did the Presidents of Prouinces, the Generals of armies, and other noblemen, so as sometime there were a hundred and twenty Maces about hym, and more than two hundred Senatours, some, to thanke him for their offices, some, to sæke money, and some for one thing, and some for another. For nowe he toke vpon hym all thynges by the greatnesse of hys armye, the abundaunce of riches, and by friendeship that he had wonne of al sortes.

Cæsar commeth to *Lumbardy*.

Resorte to *Cæsar*.

Both *Pompey* and *Crassus*, fellowes of his power, came to him. They agræde that *Pompey* and *Crassus* should be Consulls againe, and that *Cæsar* shoulde haue the rule of the nations he had, for other fiue yeares, and so they departed.

Domitius Aenobarbus stode agaynste *Pompey* for the Consulship, and when the day was come, bothe came in the night into the fielde to the election. And such was the strife, as it came to stripes, till one with a woode stroke hym that bare *Aenobarbus* torch, and then euery man fled from hym. He had much adoe to be conueyed home in safety: *Pompeys* gowne was found bloudy, and borne home: So nigh perill were both parts. Thus *Pompeyus* and *Crassus* being chosen Consulles, they decrede to *Cæsar*, other fiue yeres, as they had determined, the Prouinces and armies they diuided betwen them. *Pompey* toke *Spaine* and *Barbarie*, to the which he sent his friends, and he remained in *Rome*. *Crassus* chose *Syria*, and the nations nert vnto it, for desire he had to make war vpon the *Parthians*, which he thoughte would be bothe easie and profitable, & to his renowme. But as before he wēt out of the citie, al tokens sæmed vnlucky, so the Tribunes did forbid hym to molest the Parthians, that had made no fault. And bycause he woulde not regarde, they made publique execration vpon hym, whiche he contemning, was in the same warre, with hys sonne of

Domitius Aenobarbus.

A fray at the Election.

Diuision of Prouinces

of that name destroyed, and scarcely.x. M. of an. C. M. did escape by flight into *Syria*. But this calamitie of *Crassus* is declared in the booke of the *Parthian* warres. The Romaines being molested with dearth, made *Pompey* General prouider of victuals and as they were wont in Pyrats war, ioyned.xx. Senators with hym as assistants vnto him. He sent them to euery country, and made suche speede, as *Rome* was by & by fulfilled with plentye of victuall, whereby he grew into greater glory and auctoritie, than he was before. At this time *Cæsars* daughter that was marryed to *Pompey*, dyed, wherfore euery man was afraide that this affinity being broken, they two would contende with greate force. The state of the citie was in trouble and disorder, for the rulers did all for gaine and ambition, & with force & weapons moued sedition. They were not ashamed of briberie nor corruption so they might be made rich. The people woulde not giue their voyces, vnlesse they were hyred. There was sene. viij. C. tallents putte in pawne for the nomination to an office. The yearely Consuls were reiect from armies and prouinces, being taken away by ỳ power of these three men. They that were of worst behauiour, sought their gaine by armies and publike matters of the Citie, & by the elections of their priuate successors, by reason wherof the honest sort did vtterly leaue to rule, insomuche as in this disorder, the Citie was. viij. moneths without a Magistrate. *Pompey* of purpose did winke at all this geare, that the necessitie of tyme might make hym a ruler alone: and now it was spoken in euery place, that the only remedy to these mischiefs, was the auctority of one, whom it behoued to chose, being mighty of power, and gentle of nature, signifying that *Pompey* had a sufficient army, & counted a louer of the people, & for his honor, did leade ỳ Senat, in lyfe sober and sincere, and in conuersation affable, either in deede, or apparaunce. He in worde semed to be angrye at this expectation, but in effect he wrought it secreatelye all that euer he coulde, and willingly loked awry at the disorder of the common wealth, and the lacke of officers in the same confusion. And whereas ỳ *Milo* did serue his tourne against *Clodie*, and was well beloued of the people, for the returne of *Cicero*, loked for the

The calamitie of *Crassus*.

The death of *Cæsars* daughter.

Rome disordered.

Fyrst three men.

Rome eight Moneths with out a Magistrate.

Dictator.

Milo deceyued by *Pompey*.

Consulshyp, at due time required for that office, he did keepe hym backe, by delaying the election. Wherefore *Milo* taking it vnkindly, that hee shoulde finde *Pompey* vnfaithfull, wente into the Countrey to *Lauinio*, which Citie they saye *Aeneas* commyng from *Troy*, did firste builde in *Italy*, being from *Rome* aboute eighteene myles. *Clodie* came ryding from hys house, and met hym at *Bouille*, and passed the one by the other, onely in countenance shewing their enmitie. A seruaunte of *Milos* came to *Clodie*, (whither beyng commaunded, or to dispatch his maysters enimye,) and stroke hym with his swoorde on the hinder part of the heade. *Clodie* beyng wounded and full of bloude, hys horsekeeper caried hym to the nexte Inne. *Milo* stayed with his seruants, and comming vnto hym betweene breathing and dying, dispatched hym, pretending that neyther he desired, nor deuised thys murder, but being sure he shoulde allwayes bee in dannger, hee purposed not to leaue the thing vnperfect.

The Authour nameth *Diomedes*.

Clodie killed.

The manner of *Milo* at the deathe of *Clodie*.

This chaunce being tolde at *Rome*, the people were displeased, and watched all night in the common place. Some broughte *Clodies* body the nexte day and laide it in the Palaice: the which certayne Tribunes, friendes to *Clodie*, accompanied wyth the multitude, toke away, and bare it to the Senate, eyther for honor, bycause hee was of that order, or for reproch to them for suffering such vnlawful facies.

Clodies bodye is brought to *Rome*.

The rather sort of this route brake down ỹ seates & chaires of the Senate house, and made a fire, with the whiche the Senate house and many other nighe, did burne at *Clodies* funerall. *Milo* was so lustie, that he was not so muche afraide for the feate done, as hee was angry that suche honor of buriall shoulde be shewed to *Clody*. He gathered a number of seruants & countrymen, he sent mony to the people, & corrupted *Marcus Cecilius*, one of the Tribunes, and with a bold courage came to *Rome*. *Cecilius* straight receiued him at his cõming, & brought him to the cõmon place among thẽ that had taken mony, as to an assembly. He pretended to be sory, that any delay should be had in iudgement, trusting that if he myght by these that were present, be acquitte, he should auoid the sharper sentence. He shewed he did not minde

Clodies funerall set the Senate house on fire.

Cecilius.

Milo purgeth himselfe

the

the matter, (for he would not haue brought his wife and family to such a feate) he spent the rest of the time against *Clodie*, as an impudent man, whose frendes as impudent as he, had burnt the Senate house for his sake. Whyles he was thus talking, ỳ other Tribunes and the multitude slenderly armed, rushed into the common place. *Cecilius* and *Milo*, in seruauntes clothing fled away: much murder was committed vpon the other, not asking who were *Milos* frendes, but without respect killed both Citizen and straunger, and chiefly them that differed from the rest, eyther in gay garments, or golde Rings: for in such a disordered state, tumulte growing by rage of this pretence, the moste parte beyng seruauntes and armed, against the other not armed, they fel to spoyle, they left nothing vndone, they entred houses, they ranne about to sée in déede what they might easily catch, and in word to séeke out *Milos* frendes: and *Milo* was their pretence many dayes, to doe all mischiefe with fire and force.

Mylo fleeth.

His friends killed.

Great hurt done in Rome.

The name of *Milo*, pretence of mischiefe.

The Senate for feare assembled, and were bent vpon *Pompei*, whom some would haue had Dictator by and by, bycause the present time apeared to haue néed of that remedy: but by *Catos* perswasion, they chose him Consull without a felowe, that he should haue the authoritye of Dictator by ruling alone, and yet be answerable bicause he was but Consul. He was ỳ first Consul that had two great prouinces with armye and money, and the Monarchie of the Citie, being Consull alone. *Cato* was appointed by decrée to go into *Ciprus*, that he shoulde not trouble *Pompey* at home, and to put *Ptolomie* out of his kingdome, by a former lawe made by *Clodie*: who being once taken with Pyrates, *Ptolomie* for nigardlie, sent him two talents for his ransome. *Ptolomie* when he heard of thys decrée, threw his money into the sea, and killed hymself. *Cato* set the Country in order.

By *Catos* perswasion, *Pompey* Consull alone.

Pompey did giue punishments for many offences, and specially for bribery & corruption: for he thought ỳ all common infection of the Citie rose of thys, and therefore had néede of present medicine. He also decréed, that any man that would, might cal men to account from his first Consulshyp to this time, and that was about twentie yeares, in the which *Cæsar* was Consul.

Pompeys lawes against briberie.

Cæsars

friendes suspecting this to be done in despite or calumniation of him that so long a time was comprehended, exhorted him to deale with present matters, rather than to looke backwarde and trouble men that were honorable. And among other naming *Cæsar*, he was offended, as one voide of all suspition, and so appointed the time from his seconde Consulship: he saide it was very necessarie so to begin, to make a perfite rehearsse of the common, almost walked with euill men: which when he had saide, he pronounced the lawe, whereof followed by and by a number of sundry actions: and that the iudges shoulde not be afrayde, he with an army ouerlawe their doynges. Firste, being absente, *Milo* was condemned for *Clodius* death, and *Gabinius*, of disobedience and mischiefe, for going into *Egipt* with an army without decree, the bookes of *Sybill* forbidding it. *Memmius*, *Hipseus*, *Sextius*, & many other were condēned, eyther of bribery or corrupting the people. *Scaurus* was called by *Pompey* to make answere, notwithstanding ỹ the people did intreate for him. And when the second time the people did resist his accusers, a violence was made by *Pompeis* louibourers, wherby the people ceassed, & *Scaurus* was also banished, & al their evles recorded, & *Gabinius* was confiscate after his banishment. The Senate giuing open prayse to *Pompey* appointed two legions more vnto him, & continuāce in his prouinces. *Memmius* being condemned of briberie, and *Pompeius* lawe giuing release to them that accused an other, he called *L. Scipio* father in lawe to *Pompey*, into the like iudgement of corruption. Wherefore *Pompey* putting on the garment of the condemned sort, many of the iudges did the like: but *Memmius* in contempt of the state, gaue ouer ỹ accusation. Then *Pompey*, hauing as it were, made that direction that belonged to his Monarchie, toke *Scipio* for his felowe the rest of the yeare: and after hym, though others were retained into office, neuertheles he ouerlooked & ruled all, and then was all in all in *Rome*. For the good will of the Senate was much enclined to him in despite of *Cæsar*, who in his Consulship seking his priuate pleasure, seemed to make none accompt of thē: and for that *Pompey* had quickly rec-

Lavv of accoũt

Condemnation of Milo, &c. Calidius, Memmius, Hipsæus, Sextius, condemned.

Scaurus banished.

Pompeys father in lavv accused.

Pompey putteth on mourning vveede.

Pompey taketh a felovve.

Senate esteemeth Pompey.

recouered the ſicke cõmon wealth, without moleſting or hin-
dring any man, further than his office. But the baniſhed men
ſtedde ſtill to *Ceſar*, and had him beware of *Pompey*, and that his
law of corruption, was moſt made againſt him. *Ceſar* did com-
forte them, and yet layde well of *Pompey*. He only laboured the
Tribunes to make a lawe, that it might be lawfull for *Ceſar*
to aſke the ſeconde Conſulſhip in hys abſence: the which, *Pom-*
pey beyng yet in office and not reſiſtyng, was graunted, yet
vnderſtandyng that the Senate did worke againſt him, & fea-
ryng that his enemies would make him a priuate man, he de-
uiſed to keepe his ſtrength ſtill, till he ſhoulo be declared Con-
ſul, and requeſted of the Senate a little longer tyme for hys
office in *Fraunce*, or at the leaſt for parte of it. But *Marcellus*
that was Conſull after *Pompey*, was againſt it, the whiche
when it was tolde *Ceſar*, he layde hys hande vpon the hilte of
his ſworde (as they ſay) and anſweared, *Then this ſhall gyue it*
me. He buylded newe *Como* nighe vnto the *Alpes*, with the
priuiledges of *Italie*, whiche is, that ſo many as be officers a
yeare, ſhall be Cittizens of *Rome*, whiche was a greate prero-
gatiue to *Italie*.

Banished men flye to *Ceſar*.

Marcellus.

Anſwere of *Ceſar*.

One of newe *Como*, that had thus borne office, and thereby
thought to be free at *Rome*, *Marcellus* in deſpight of *Ceſar* did
beate with roddes, whiche the *Romaines* doe not ſuffer for no
cauſe: and in rage he bewraying his harte, bad him take this
token of hoſpitalitie and goe ſhewe it to *Ceſar*. This ſpight
ded *Marcellus*, and perſwaded to ſende ſucceſſours to his pro-
uinces before the time expyred. But *Pompey* was againſt
that, vnder a ſhewe of conueniencie and benenolence: that it
was not meete that ſo noble a man, ſo many wayes profita-
ble to hys Countrey, ſhoulde be thus maligned for ſo ſhorte
a tyme, and decréed, that with the tyme, *Ceſar* ſhoulde gyue
ouer hys rule: After this, *Ceſars* chiefe enimies were cho-
ſen Conſuls *Aemilius Paulus* and *Calidius Marcellus* couſin
to the former *Marcellus*. *Curio* an other greate enimie of *Ce-*
ſar was elected Tribune, well beloued of the people & a great
ſpeaker.

Diſpight of *Marcellus*.

Marcellus.

Pompey pretendeth regarde to *Ceſar*.

Paulus and *Curio* vvonby money

Ceſar

Cæsar coulde not winne *Claudius* for no money, but *Paulus* he made hys friende with an hundered and fiftye talentes, that he shoulde neyther doe wyth hym nor against hym: it coste him more to win *Curio* bycause he was so muche in debt. With this money, *Paulus* builded a publique place, called *Paulus* Palaice, one of the fayre workes of Rome. *Curio*, that he shoulde not be discouered by change of the sodaine, required the office of making and pauing of many and long high wayes, and to be ouerseer of the same fiue yeares togither, knowing he should obtaine none of these, and trusting that *Pompeys* friends would speake against him, & so haue some pretence against *Pompey*, which things coming to passe indeed as he thought, he had an occasiõ of office. *Claudius* propounded to send successours to *Cæsars* prouinces, for the time was now at hand. *Paulus* said nothing, *Curio* seeming to dissēt frō both, praised *Claudius* opinion, & as agreeing to it, said it was méete that *Pompey* shoulde giue ouer both prouince and armye as well as *Cæsar*, for so should the state of the Citie bee cleare and out of feare on bothe sides. Many being against this, as not right, bicause *Pompeys* time was not yet expired, *Curio* the shewed himselfe plainely and sharply, that it was not reason to sende successours to *Cæsar*, vnlesse *Pompey* did giue ouer: for being suspitious the one of the other, the Citie shoulde neuer haue sure peace vnlesse all men were priuate. Thus he spake, bicause he knewe that *Pompey* would not leaue his power, and bycause he saw them offended with him for hys iudgementes of corruption.

Curio seketh a quarel.

Caldius Claudius. Question for *Cæsar* proposed

Thys opinion beyng honest, the people praysed *Curio*, as the only man that for the common weale, cared for neyther of their displeasure: and they brought him home, casting flowres, as vpon a champion of a great and difficult cause. For at that tyme nothyng seemed more daungerous, than to dissent from *Pompey*, who passing about *Italy* somewhat sickely, subtillye sente vnto the Senate, prayeng *Cæsars* actes, and rehearsing his owne frō the beginning, and that the thirde Consulshippe being giuen hym, and prouinces with an army accordingly, he did not lacke it, but was called to it, beyng thought méete for the redresse of the

The people prayseth *Curio*.

Pompey to the Senate.

stripes, till one with a woode stroke hym that bare *Acanharbus* torch, and then euery man fled from hym. He had much adoe to be conueyed home in safety: *Pompeys* gowne was found bloudy and borne home: So nigh perill were both parts. Thus *Pompeyus* and *Crassus* being chosen Consulles, they decreede to *Cæsar*, other fiue yeres, as they had determined, the Prouinces and armies they diuided betwen them. *Pompey* tooke *Spaine* and *Barbarie*, to the which he sent his friends, and he remained in *Rome*, *Crassus* chose *Syria*, and the nations next vnto it, for before he had to make warre vpon the *Parthians*, which he thoughte would be bothe easie and profitable, & to his renowme. But as before he wēt out of the citie, al tokens séemed vnlucky, so the Tribunes did forbid hym to moleste the Parthians, that had made no fault. And bycause he woulde not regarde, they made publique execration vpon hym, whiche he contemning, was in the same warre, with hys sonne

A fray at the Election.

Diuision of Prouinces

the common wealth, and that I (quath he) receiued it willingly, I doe willingly giue ouer to them that will haue it, before my time prefixed. The manner of this writing wrought a godly liking to *Pompey*, and a misliking to *Cæsar*, that woulde not giue ouer when his time was ended. When *Pompey* was come to the Citie, he spake as muche in effect, and then promised to giue it ouer, and as a friend and well willer to *Cæsar*, take in hand that hee also would leaue with glad mind. For now being in yeares, and hauing taken greate paines in the armies against most fierce nations, and wonne great honor to his Countrey, he would seeke rest, with the offices and sacrifices of the Citie. Thus he spake, that successours might be straight sent to *Cæsar*, and he standing vpon his promise only. But *Curio* correcting his subtelties, sayd, it was not ynough to promise, but to giue ouer in deede, nor that *Cæsar* shoulde be put from his armye, before he were in priuate state, neyther shoulde it be commodious for him to mainteyne priuate enmities, neyther for the *Romaines*, that suche a power shoulde be with one, rather than with the other, that if eyther of them woulde hurt the Citie, the other shoulde haue to resist: and nowe holding in no longer, he openly reproued *Pompey*, as a seeker of tyrannie, and if it were not nowe, that he gaue ouer his army for feare of *Cæsar*, he would not giue it ouer at all, therfore he thought good, that if they disobeyed, they should both be perlared enimies, and an army gathered against them: by thistalke he couered, that he was corrupted by *Cæsar*. *Pompey* being greeued, and threatning, went angerly away into the suburbes. The Senate now had them both suspected, but thought *Pompey* the more tractable. *Cæsar* they misliked, bycause of their suspition in his Consulship, and therefore did not thinke it safe to dissolue *Pompeys* power, vnlesse *Cæsar* did resigne, being abroade, and of a more aspiring mind: but *Curio* was against it, and that it was expedient, that after *Pompey*, *Cæsar* also should giue ouer all, which, when he could not obteyne, he brake vp the counsell, leauyng all thyngs vnperfite, for so might a Tribune do. Wherfore *Pompey* repented him that he had restored the Tribuneship to the auntient power, which *Sylla* had made very slender. Only this was decreed at their

Curio against *Pompey*.

Pompey departeth angry.

Senate better liketh of *Pompey*.

The authoritie of a Tribune.

honest sort did vtterly leaue to rule, insomuche as in this disorder, the Citie was .viij. moneths without a Magistrate. *Pompey* of purpose did winke at all this geare, that the necessitie of tyme might make hym a ruler alone: and now it was spoken in euery place, that the only remedy to these mischiefs, was the auctority of one, whom it behoued to chose, being mighty of power, and gentle of nature, signifying that *Pompey* had a sufficient army, & counted a louer of the people, & for his honor, did leade ỳ Senat, in ỳe lower and meaner, and in conuersation affable, either in deede, or apparaunce: ye in worde seemed to bee angrye at this expectation, but in effect he wrought it secretelye all that euer he coulde, and willingly looked awry at the disorder of the common wealth, and the lacke of officers in the same confusion. Nay whereas ỳ *Milo* did serue his course against *Clodie*, and was well beloued of the people, for the returne of *Cicero*, looked for the

Rome eight Moneths vvith out a Magistrate. Dictator.

Milo deceyued by Pompey.

Consulship, at due time required for that office, he did kepe hym backe, by delaying the election. Wherefore *Milo* taking it vnkindly, that hee shoulde finde *Pompey* vnfaithfull, wente into the Countrey to *Lauinio*, which Citie they saye *Aeneas* commyng from *Troy*, did firste builde in *Italy*, being from *Rome* aboute eighteene myles. *Clodie* came ryding from hys house, and met hym at *Bouille*, and passed the one by the other, onely in countenance shewing their enmitie. A seruaunte of *Milos* ranne to *Clodie*, (whither beyng commaunded, or to dispatch his maysters enimye,) and stroke hym with his swoorde on the hinder part of the heade. *Clodie* beyng wounded and full of bloude, hys horse keeper caried hym to the nexte Inne. *Milo* stayed with his seruants, and comming vnto hym betweene breathing and dying, dispatched hym, pretending that neyther he desired, nor deuised thys murder, but being sure he shoulde alwayes bee in daunger, hee purposed not to leaue the thing vnperfect.

The Authour nameth *Diomedes*.

Clodie killed.

The manner of *Milo* at the deathe of *Clodie*.

This chaunce being tolde at *Rome*, the people were displeased, and watched all night in the common place. Some broughte *Clodies* body the nexte day and laide it in the Palaice: the which certayne Tribunes, friendes to *Clodie*, accompanied wyth the multitude, toke away, and bare it to the Senate, eyther for honor, bycause hee was of that order, or for reproch to them for suffering such vnlawful facies.

Clodies bodye is brought to *Rome*.

Clodies funerall set the Senate house on fire.

The rather sort of this route brake down ỳ seates & chaires of the Senate house, and made a fire, with the whiche the Senate house and many other nighe, did burne at *Clodies* funerall. *Milo* was so lustie, that he was not so muche afraide for the feate done, as hee was angry that suche honor of burtall shoulde be shewed to *Clody*. He gathered a number of seruants & cuntrymen, he sent mony to the people, & corrupted *Marcus Cecilius*, one of the Tribunes, and with a bold courage came to *Rome*. *Cecilius* straight receiued him at his cõming, & brought him to the cõmon place among thẽ that had taken mony, as to an assembly. He pretended to be sorry, that any delay shoulde be had in iudgement, trusting that if he myght by these that were present, be acquitte, he shoulde auoid the sharper sentence. He shewed he did not minde

M. Cecilius.

Milo purgeth himselfe

the

the matter, (for he would not haue brought his wife and family to such a feate) he spent the rest of the time against *Clodie*, as an impudent man, whose friendes as impudent as he, had burnt the Senate house for his sake. Whyles he was thus talking, ỳ other Tribunes and the multitude slenderly armed, rushed into the common place. *Cecilius* and *Milo*, in seruauntes clothing fled away: much murder was committed vpon the other, not asking who were *Milos* friendes, but without respect killed both Citizen and straunger, and chiefly them that differed from the rest, syther in gay garments, or golde Rings: for in such a disordered state, tumulte growing by rage of this pretence, the moste parte beyng seruauntes and armed, against the other not armed, they fel to spoyle, they left nothing vndone, they entred houses, they ranne about to sée in déede what they might easily catch, and in word to séeke out *Milos* friendes: and *Milo* was their pretence many dayes, to doe all mischiefe with fire and force.

Mylo fleeth

His friends killed.

Great hurt done in Rome.

The name of *Milo*, pretence of mischiefe.

The Senate for feare assembled, and were bent vpon *Pompei*, whom some would haue had Dictator by and by, bycause the present time apeared to haue néed of that remedy: but by *Catos* perswasion, they chose him Consull without a felowe, that he should haue the authoritye of Dictator by ruling alone, and yet be answerable bicause he was but Consul. He was ỳ first Consul that had two great prouinces with armye and money, and the Monarchie of the Citie, being Consull alone. *Cato* was appointed by decrée to go into *Cyprus*, that he shoulde not trouble *Pompey* at home, and to put *Ptolomie* out of his kingdome, by a former lawe made by *Clodie*: who being once taken with Pyrates, *Ptolomie* for nigardlie, sent him two talents for his ransome. *Ptolomie* when he heard of thys decrée, threw his money into the sea, and kylled hymself. *Cato* set the Country in order.

By *Catos* perswasion, *Pompey* Cõsull alone.

Pompey did giue punishments for many offences, and specially for bribery & corruption: for he thought ỳ all common infection of the Citie rose of thys, and therefore had néde of present medicine. He also decréed, that any man that would, might cal men to account from his first Consullship to this time, and that was about twentie yeares, in the which *Cæsar* was Consul. *Cæsars*

Pompeys lawes against briberie.

friendes suspecting this to be done in despite or calumnia-
tion of him that so long a time was comprehended, erhorted
him to deale with present matters, rather than to loke back-
warde and trouble men that were honorable. And among o-
Lavv of accon ther naming *Cæsar*, he was offended, as one voide of all suspi-
tion, and so appointed the time from his seconde Consulship:
he saide it was very necessarie so to begin, to make a perfite
redresse of the common, almost walked with euill men: which
when he had saide, he pronounced the lawe, whereof followed
by and by a number of sundry actions: and that the iudges
shoulde not be afrayde, he with an army ouersawe their do-
Condemnation of *Milo*, &c. *Calidius*, *Memmius*, *Hipsæus*, *Sextius*, condemned. pings. First, being absente, *Milo* was condemned for *Clodius*
death, and *Gabinius*, of disobedience and mischiefe, for going
into *Egipt* with an army without decree, the bookes of *Sybill* for-
biddyng it. *Memmius*, *Hipsæus*, *Sextuis*, & many other were con-
demned, eyther of bribery or corrupting the people. *Scaurus* was
called by *Pompey* to make answere, notwithstanding y^e peo-
Scaurus banished. ple did intreate for him. And when the second time the people
did resist his accusers, a violence was made by *Pompeis* louli-
ours, wherby the people ceassed, & *Scaurus* was also banished, &
al their criles recorded, & *Gabinius* was confiscate after his ba-
nishment. The Senate giuing open praise to *Pompey* appoin-
ted two legions more vnto him, & continuace in his prouinces.
Pompeys father in lavv accused. *Memmius* being condemned of briberie, and *Pompeius* lawe gi-
uing release to them that accused an other, he called *L. Scipio* fa-
Pompey putteth on mourning vveede. ther in lawe to *Pompey*, into the like iudgement of corruption.
Wherefore *Pompey* putting on the garment of the condemned
sort, many of the iudges did the like: but *Memmius* in contempt
of the state, gaue ouer y^e accusation. Then *Pompey*, hauing as it
Pompey taketh a felovve. were, made that direction that belonged to his Monarchie,
toke *Scipio* for his felowe the rest of the yeare: and after him,
though others were receiued into office, neuertheleſſe he ouer-
Senate esteemeth *Pompey*. loked & ruled all, and then was all in all in *Rome*. For the good
will of the Senate was much enclined to him in despite of *Cæ-
sar*, who in his Consulship seking his priuate pleasure, seemed
to make none accompt of the: and for that *Pompey* had quickly

rece-

recouered the ſicke cõmon wealth, without moleſting or hin-
dring any man, further than his office. But the baniſhed men fledde ſtill to *Caſar*, and bad him beware of *Pompey*, and that his law of corruption, was moſt made againſt him. *Caſar* did com-
forte them, and yet layde well of *Pompey*. He only laboured the Tribunes to make a lawe, that it might be lawfull for *Caſar* to aſke the ſeconde Conſulſhip in hys abſence: the which, *Pom-
pey* beyng yet in office and not reſiſtyng, was graunted, yet vnderſtandyng that the Senate did worke againſt him, & fea-
ryng that his enemies would make him a pryuate man, he de-
uiſed to kéepe his ſtrength ſtill, till he ſhoulo be declared Con-
ſul, and requeſted of the Senate a little longer tyme for hys office in *Fraunce*, or at the leaſt for parte of it. But *Marcellus* that was Conſuls after *Pompey*, was agaynſt it, the whiche when it was tolde *Caſar*, he layde hys hande vpon the hilte of his ſworde (as they ſay) and anſweared, *Then thu ſhall gyue it me*. He deuided newe *Como* nighe vnto the *Alpes*, with the pryuiledges of *Italie*, whiche is, that ſo many as be officers a yéere, ſhall be Cittizens of *Rome*, whiche was a greate prero-
gatiue to *Italie*.

Baniſhed men flye to *Caſar*.

Marcellus.

Anſwere of *Caſar*.

One of newe *Como*, that had thus borne office, and thereby thought to be free at *Rome*, *Marcellus* in deſpight of *Caſar* did beate with roddes, whiche the *Romaines* doe not ſuffer for mo cauſe: and in rage he bewraying his harte, bad him take this token of hoſpitalitie and goe ſhewe it to *Caſar*. This ſpight bled *Marcellus*, and perſwaded to ſende ſucceſſours to his pro-
uinces before the time expyred. But *Pompey* was agaynſt that, vnder a ſhewe of conueniencie and benevolence: that it was not méete that ſo noble a man, ſo many wayes profita-
ble to hys Countrey, ſhoulde be thus maligned for ſo ſhorte a tyme, and decréed, that with the tyme, *Caſar* ſhoulde gyue ouer hys rule: After this, *Caſars* chiefe enimies were cho-
ſen Conſuls *Aemilius Paulus* and *Calidius Marcellus* couſin to the former *Marcellus*. *Curio* an other greate enimie of *Ca-
ſar* was elected Tribune, well beloued of the people & a great ſpeaker.

Diſpight of *Marcellus*.

Marcellus.

Pompey preten-
deth regarde to *Caſar*.

Paulus and *Curio* vvon by money

Caſar

Cæsar coulde not winne *Claudius* for no money, but *Paulus* he made hys friende with an hundered and fiftye talentes, that he shoulde neyther doe wyth hym nor against hym: it coste him more to win *Curio* bycause he was so muche in debt. With this money, *Paulus* builded a publique place, called *Paulus* Palaice, one of the fayre workes of Rome. *Curio*, that he shoulde not be discouered by change of the sodaine, required the office of making and pauing of many and long high wayes, and to be ouerseer of the same fiue yeares togither, knowing he should obtaine none of these, and trusting that *Pompeys* friends would speake against him, & so haue some pretence against *Pompey*, which things cõming to passe indeed as he thought, he had an occasiõ of offece. *Claudius* propounded to send successours to *Cæsars* prouinces, for the time was now at hand. *Paulus* said nothing. *Curio* seeming to differ frõ both, praised *Claudius* opinion, & as agreeing to it, said it was méete that *Pompey* shoulde giue ouer both prouince and armye as well as *Cæsar*, for so should the state of the Citie be cleare and out of feare on bothe sides. Many being against this, as not right, bicause *Pompeys* time was not yet expired, *Curio* the shewed himselfe plainely and sharply, that it was not reason to sende successours to *Cæsar*, vnlesse *Pompey* did giue ouer: for being sulpitious the one of the other, the Citie shoulde neuer haue sure peace vnlesse all men were priuate. Thus he spake, bicause he knewe that *Pompey* would not leaue his power, and bycause he saw them offended with him for hys iudgementes of corruption.

Curio feketh a quarel.

Calidius Claudius. Question for *Cæsar* propoũded

Thys opinion being honest, the people praysed *Curio*, as the only man that for the common weale, cared for neyther of their displeasure: and they brought him home, casting floures, as vpon a champion of a great and difficult cause. For at that tyme nothyng séemed more daungerous, than to dissent from *Pompey*, who passing about *Italy* somewhat sickely, subtillye sente vnto the Senate, prayeng *Cæsars* actes, and rehearsing his owne frõ the beginning, and that the thirde Consulshippe being giuen hym, and prouinces with an army accordingly, he did not seke it, but was called to it, beyng thought méete for the redresse of

The people prayseth *Curio*.

Pompey to the Senate.

the

the common wealth, and that I (quoth he) receiued (in) willingly, I doe willingly giue ouer to them that will haue it, before my time prefixed. The manner of this writing wrought a good lyking to *Pompey*, and a misliking to *Cæsar*, that woulde not giue ouer when his time was ended. When *Pompey* was come to the Citie, he spake as muche in effect, and then promised to giue it ouer, and as a friend and welwiller to *Cæsar*, take in hand that hee also would leaue with glad mind. For now being in yeares, and hauing taken greate paines in the armies against most fierce nations, and wonne great honor to his Countrey, he would seeke rest, with the offices and sacrifices of the Citie. Thus he spake, that successours might be straight sent to *Cæsar*, and he standing vpon his promise only. But *Curio* correcting his sutteltie, sayd, it was not ynough to promise, but to giue ouer in deede, nor that *Cæsar* shoulde be put from his armye, before he were in priuate state, neyther shoulde it be commodious for him to maintayne priuate enmities, neyther for the *Romaines*, that suche a power shoulde be with one, rather than with the other, that if eyther of them woulde hurt the Citie, the other shoulde haue to resist: and nowe holding in no longer, he openly reproued *Pompey*, as a seeker of tyrannie, and if it were not nowe, that he gaue ouer hys army for feare of *Cæsar*, he would not giue it ouer at all, therfore he thought good, that if they disobeyed, they should both be declared enimies, and an army gathered against them: e by this talke he couered, that he was corrupted by *Cæsar*. *Pompey* being greeued, and threatning, went angerly away into the suburbes. The Senate now had them both suspected, but thought *Pompey* the more tractable. *Cæsar* they misliked, because of their suspition in his Consulship, and therefore did not thinke it safe to dissolue *Pompeys* power, vnlesse *Cæsar* did resigne, being abroade, and of a more aspiring mind: but *Curio* was against it, and that it was expedient, that after *Pompey*, *Cæsar* also should giue ouer all, which, when he could not obteyne, he brake vp the counsell, leauyng all vnperfite, for so might a Tribune do. Wherfore *Pompey* repented him that he had restored the Tribuneship to the auntient power, which *Sylla* had made very feeble. Only this was decreed at their

Curio against *Pompey*.

Pompey departeth angry.

Senate better liketh of *Pompey*.

The authoritie of a Tribune.

departure, that *Cæsar* and *Pompey* shoulde be sente into *Siria* to kéepe the Countrey, bycause of *Crassus* misfortune. And *Pompey* vsing policie, required his legion againe, that he had lente *Cæsar*, after the losse of *Titurius* and *Cotta* hys Captaynes.

Cæsarrewar-deth Pompeys Legion. *Cotta* and *Titus rius* slayne in *France*.

Cæsar gaue euery man two hundred Drammes, and sent them to *Rome*, and with them sente another of hys owne, but keeping vnderstanded ỹ there was no danger in *Syria*, they went to winter at *Capua*. They that were sente of *Pompey* for them to *Cæsar*, solde many hard tales againste *Cæsar*, and made *Pompey* beléeue, that *Cæsars* army being wasted with wéerinesse, and long payne, was desirous to come home, and when they were come on thys syde the *Alpes*, they would reuolte to *Pompey*. Thus they talked eyther of ignorance, or being corrupted, but euery man was sure to *Cæsar* in promptnesse and painefulnesse, both for the continuance of seruice for the gaynes that grewe by victories in the warre, and for the greate liberalitie of *Cæsar* himselfe, for he gaue them freely to serue as he would haue them, which they all knowing, did likewise abide it.

A Dramme vvas a coyne, of the valevv of tvvo Grotes. Tales of *Cæsars* Army.

The Souldyers of *Cæsar* sure vnto him.

Pompey giuing credite to these tales, neyther gathered armye, nor prouided for so greate a businesse. The Senate did requyre euery mans opinion. *Claudius* craftely propounded, and dyd aske dissoyntly, whether they woulde sende successors to *Cæsar*, and whether they would *Pompeys* power shoulde be taken from him. To this many made denyall, but to *Cæsar* they decréed successors. *Curio* asking agayne if they would haue both leaue their powers, viij. denyed it, but CCCiiij. leauyng contention for commoditie, enclined to *Curios* sentence: then did *Claudius* dismisse the counsell, crying, *V Vinne you, that will haue Cæsar your Lord.*

Consultation for *Cæsar* and *Pompey*.

A rumor being rayled, that *Cæsar* suddaynely was past the *Alpes*, and comming to the Citie, there was greate feare and tumulte of all sydes. *Claudius* commaunded the armye at *Capua* to be sente againste *Cæsar*, as an enimy, and when as *Curio* reproued it as false, *Claudius* sayde, If I may not followe that is fytte by common decrée of my selfe as Consull, I will doe it. And when he had sayde thus, he came out of the Senate house into the suburbes with his fellow, and offered a sworde to *Pompey*.

Contention in the Senate.

Claudius giueth a sworde to *Pompey*.

Pompey

pey. Euen I (quoth he) and this man, commaunded thee to goe against *Cæsar* for thy Countrey, and we giue thee, eyther the armye that is nowe at *Capua*, or any other that is in *Italie*, and that thou mayest gather togither what thou wilte. He obeyed, as commaunded of the Consuls, onely adding, *vnlesse somewhat may be better*, dissembling, or euen then pretending a shewe of honestie. *Curio* now had no more authoritie ouer the Cittie, for it was not lawfull for the Tribunes to goe out of the walles, yet he complayned to the people of these doings, and required the Consuls to proclayme, that no man should obey *Pompey* in gathering of men: but not preuayling, and the time of his Tribunes byppe drawing to an ende, being afrayde of himselfe, and doubting to be no more able to help *Cæsar*, with diligence went into him, who had nowe sayled the Oceane Sea from Brittayne, and passed from the French, that bouereth the flood *Rhene*, to the Mountaines of the *Alpes*, with fiue thousande footemen, and three hundred horsemē. He came down to *Rauenna*, which was a fine to *Italy*, and the end of his prouince, receiuing *Curio* with great curtesie, and thanking him for his trauayles, he consulted with him of the present state. *Curio* thought good to sende for all his armye, and to march to *Rome*. *Cæsar* thought it better not to treate of reconciliation, and willed his friends to compound for him, that giuing ouer all other prouinces and armies, he might onely retayne two legions, and *Illyrie* with *Fraunce* bi the *Alpes*, till he were declared Consull. *Pompey* thought it sufficient, but bycause the Consuls did resist it, he wrote to the Senate, and *Curio* running in three dayes three thousande and three hundred furlongs, he gaue the letter to the newe Consuls, entryng the Senate house the fyrste daye of the newe yeare. It dyd conteyne a playne rehearsall of all *Cæsars* doyngs from the begynning, and a protestation to leaue hys armye, if *Pompey* dyd the lyke, and beyng yet in authoritie, if *Pompey* would not gyue ouer, no more would he, but forthwith come to reuenge hys Countrey, and with spéede to seeke for himselfe, at the whyche, euerye man cryed out, and that *Lucius Domitius* should bée hys successour, as in a warre proclaymed. *Domitius* went on with foure M.

Pompey receyueth the fyword vvith a condition.

Cæsar out of *Brittayne*.

Rhene deuided *France* and *Germany*.

The old diuision of *Italy* vvas at *Rauenna*, and the floude *Rubicon*, and thereabouts.

Request of *Cæsar*.

After this account, it should be three hundred myles.

Cæsars letters to the Senate.

L. Domitius.

Determination against *Cæsar*. *Antonius*, *Cassius*, Tribunes.

lately gathered. *Antonius* and *Cassius* being Tribunes after *Curio*, and liking well of his determination, the Senate the more earnestly did affirme the army of *Pompey* to be their safetie, and *Cæsars* their destruction. And *Marcellus* and *Lentulus* the Consuls, commaunded *Antony* and *Cassius*, to go from the assemblie, least by doing the office of Tribunes, they might happily haue some displeasure. Then *Antonie* cryed aloude, and ranne frō his seate in a rage, and lamented y they should deface the office sacred, and a Sanctuary, and reiect them with a despighte, that had gyuen theie counsell for the common weale, not hauing committed any offence or crime against any man. This being sayde, he left out as a man by inspiration, foretelling warres, murders, afflictures, banishments, spoyles, and all other mischiefe to come vpon them, protesting greate execrations to them that were the cause of it. *Curio* and *Cassius* went out with him, for now parte of *Pompeys* army was seene to come, and beleeue the Senate house. They by and by, secretely in y night, putting on seruants apparell, went to *Cæsar* in a hired wagon. *Cæsar* the wed them as some as they were come vnto the army, in that apparell, and to shew them the more, said, these men for doing well, are made enimies, and being persons of suche degree, speaking somewhat for them, were thus villanously banished. Now was the warre open on both sides, and proclaimed euidently. The Senate thinking that *Cæsar* would not suddainely come with his army fed the fielde, and that he would not enterprise so greate a feate with so feawe, appointed to *Pompey* to gather a great number of *Thessalians*, old practised Souldiers in the warre, and to take vp new, of the nigh nations that were fitte to serue. All the common treasure they decreed to him for this warre, offering also their priuate substance if nede were, to be ready for this seruice: and they sent to the Cities for moe, with great haste and vehemencie, leauing nothing vndone, that might be with speedy consideration. *Cæsar* sending for his owne army, putting more confidence in amazing his enimies with suddaine approche and terror of boldnesse, than in mighty preparation. With fiue thoulande began he this greate warre, which he sent to take the tributarious places of *Italy*. And

Antonie launcheth.

Antonie propheseieth.

Cæsar sheweth the Tribunes to his army.

Preparation for *Pompey* against *Cæsar*. *Thessalia* was a Countrey of *Grecia*.

Speedinesse of *Cæsar*.

Cæsars manner in warre.

certaine

certayne of his Captaynes, accompanyed with the boldest sorte, in peaceable manner, he willed to goe to *Arimene*, and of the suddaine, to surprise the Citie, whiche is the firste of *Italy* out of *France*. He in the euening, as though he had not bin well, wente from the Table, leauing his friendes sitting still, and takyng a Coach, he ranne to *Arimene*, his Horsemen following a certaine distãce off. And potting thus as farre as the flood *Rubicon*, which deuideth *Italie*, he staied his course, and beheld the Riuer. He deepely waying in his mind all the mischiefe that might followe, if he passed the water in armes, turned to his friends, and sayde, The refrayning from this passage, shall be the beginnyng of troubles to my selfe, but the going on with it, shall vexe all the world. When he had thus said, as a man rapte with a furie, he sprong ouer, speaking the common word, *The Die is cast*. When he hasted to *Arimene*, and toke it early in the morning, and so wet forward, leauing garrison in conuenient places, and the other by the way he wanne, eyther by violence, or by gentlenesse. There was fleeing and renning away from euery place with moche feare, and remouing without reason, and lamente, not yet knowing what the truth was, supposing that *Cæsar* was come to inuade with all his might and power. Which when the Consuls heard, not suffering *Pompey* to take the staied way of warre according to his skilfulnesse in the same, forced him to goe about *Italie*, and make men, as the Citie should by and by haue bin taken. The other Senatoures hearing of *Cæsars* suddaine approche beyonde all opinion, were afraide, bycause they were not yet prepared, and with griefe repented they had not accepted *Cæsars* offers, which then they thoughte reasonable. Many Monsters, and tokens from heauen did affray them. God sente downe rayne of blood, Images did sweate, lightnings fell vpon manye Temples, a Mule broughte forthe, many other fearefull tokens did foreshewe the ouerthrow and mutation of the common state. Supplications were commaunded, as in common calamities. The people remembring the times of *Sylla* and *Marius*, cryed out, that *Cæsar* and *Pompey* should giue ouer their powers, as the only way to deface warre. *Cicero* sent to *Cæsar* for reconciliation, but

Then *France* extended to *Arimino*, vvhich is nowe in that part of *Italy* that is called *Romagna*, one of the 18. Colonies, that ayded the *Romaines* against *Annibal*.

Rubicon deuideth *Italy*, ouer the vvhich he that passed in armes, vvas a Rebell.

Cæsar stayd at the Riuer of *Rubicon*.

The saying of *Cæsar*.

Cæsar entreth *Italy*.

Cæsar taketh *Arimene*.

Feare of *Cæsar*.

The Consuls suffer not *Pompey* to take the right course of vvarre.

Tokens.

Lentulus. the Consuls were againste euery thyng, and *Faunius* lefte at *Pompey* for a worde he once spake, that at his call he woulde strike the earthe with his foote, and fetche forthe an army. You shall haue it (quoth he) if you wyll followe me, and thinke it no griefe to leaue *Rome*, and after *Rome*, *Italie* to, if nede be: for plates and houses be not strength and libertie, but men (whereseuer they be) beare these with them, and when you haue reuenged youre selues, you shall haue houses ynough. This spake *Pompey*, as it were threatning them that would tarry and sticke to leaue their lands for the loue of their Countrey. And streyght hee wente out of the Senate house and Citie to, and toke hys iourney to *Capua* to the armye there, and the Consuls followed him. Other tarried wyth greate doubte, and kepte that nyghte togyther in the Senate house, but when daye was come, the most parte went out, and followed *Pompey*.

Pompey to the Senators.

Pompey forsaketh *Rome*.

Cæsar followed *Domitius* at *Corfinio*, who was sent to be his successoure, hauyng not aboue foure thousande, and besieged him. And they of the Citie, perceyuing that *Domitius* woulde flee away, kepte the gates, and toke hym, and brought him to *Cæsar*. He curteously receyued the army, yeldyng vnto hym, that other myghte bee encouraged to the same, and suffered *Domitius* vntouched, wyth all hys money and substance, to goe where he would, thynkyng for that gentlenesse he would haue tarryed wyth hym, and was not againste hym to goe to *Pompey*.

Corfinio is now *Pentinia*.

Cæsar taketh *Domitius*, and giueth him leaue to goe where he list.

These thyngs beeyng thus done of the suddayne, *Pompey* wente from *Capua* to *Brunduse*, to passe the *Ionian* Seas to *Epirus*, to make hys prouision for warre there: he wrote to all nations, Lieutenants, Princes, Kyngs, and Cities, euerye one wyth all the speede they coulde, to contribute to hys warre. These were dispatched with speede.

Now *Albania*.

Pompeys owne army was in *Spaine*, beeyng ready for the march when occasion shoulde call them.

Of the Legions that *Pompey* had himselfe, he deliuered to the Consuls, to leade from *Brunduse* to *Epirus*, and they streyght sayled safe to *Dirrachium*, whiche Towne some men, of this ignorance, thynketh to be *Epidamnus*. A Barbarian Kyng called *Epi-*

Durazzo described. This is not in the Italian.

damnus

damnus buylded a Citie at this Sea, and of himselfe called it *Epidamnus*: hys nephewe by hys daughter, supposed to be *Neptunes* sonne, buylded a porte to that Citie, and called it *Dirrachium*. The brethren of *Durrachos* made warre vpon him, and *Hercules* comming from the Ile *Erithea*, ioyned with him for parts of the lande, wherevppon the *Dirrachians*, as coparteners of theyr Countrey, accompte hym the founder of it, not denying *Durrachos*, but more desirous of *Hercules*, bycause he was a God. *Hercules. Erythea now Cales.*

They saye further, that in thys fyghte, *Ionius*, sonne to *Dirrachos*, was slayne of *Hercules* by chance, and that *Hercules* buryed hys body, and threwe it into the Sea, that it myghte beare the name of him. In processe of time, certaine *Phrigians* gote the Citie and Countrey, and after them, a people of *Illiria*, called *Taulantines*, after whome, another people of *Illiria*, called *Liburnians*, with their swift Shyppes, dyd spoyle theyr nexte neighboures, and of thys it is thought the *Romaines* did call theyr swift Ships *Liburnias*, wherewith they gyue their fyrste onset in fyghte by Sea. *Ionian Sea. Phrigij of Asia the lesse. Taulantines. Liburnians. Liburnica Naues.*

They that were driuen from *Dirrachio* by the *Liburnians*, gote helpe of the *Corcireanes*, valiante men by sea, and expulsed the *Liburnians*; and so the *Corcirianes* making a mixt inhabitance, it is taken to be a Greeke porte, and they changyng the name as vnlucky, called it *Epidamus*, by the name of the old Citie. *Thucidides* doth name it so, yet this name hath preuayled, and it is called *Dirrachium*. The Consuls and their company came to thys Citie. *Pompey* abode at *Brunduse*, and gathered togither the rest of the army. He tarried for the Shippes that carried the Consuls. He made the Towne strong, to keepe *Cæsar* from the walles, and in the euening tyde, sayled with hys company, leauyng the boldest Souldyers to defende the Towne, the whyche also in the nyghte sayled ouer with good winde. Thus *Pompey* with all his armye lefte *Italy*, and sayled into *Epiro*. *Cæsar* stode in doubt whyche way to turne him, where to begyn the warre, seeyng well that all the force on euery syde flowed to *Pompey*. He feared the army that *Pompey* had in *Spaine* very great and expert, least *Corcyrians* be of the Ile *Corfu*. *Thucidides.* Consuls arriued at *Durazzo*. *Pompey* leaueth *Italy*.

leaſt whiles he followed his fleeing enimie, they ſhould beſet him on the backe halfe, therefore he thoughte it beſt to trye the fielde firſt with theſe in *Iberia*. He deuided his power in fyue partes, ſome he lefte at *Brunduſe*, ſome at *Hidrunto*, and ſome at *Tarento*, as garriſons for *Italy*. Other he ſente with *Quintus Valerius* to get *Sardinia*, an Ile plentiful of Corne, and he gote it. *Afinius Pollio* he ſente into *Cicelie*, where *Cato* was Lieutenant, who aſked hym whether he had authoritie from the Senate, or the people, to enter violently into another mans prouince: he aunſwered, that he that was Lord of *Italy* had ſente him. *Cato* aunſwered againe, that bycauſe he would ſpare the inhabitance, he woulde deferre the reuenge till another time, and ſo ſayled into *Corcyra* to *Pompey*.

Brunduſe. *Hydrunto* nowe *Otranto*, *Tarentum*. *Sardinie*, *Afinius Pollio*. *Cato* giueth place to *Afinius Pollio*.

Caſar to *Rome*.

Caſar came to *Rome*, and comforted the people with hope and promiſes, being ſtricken with the feare and memorie of *Sylla* and *Marius* euill times. He ſaid further, that he woulde vſe curteſie to his enimies. As when he had taken *Lucius Domitius*, he let him go with all his money vnhurt. He brake the lockes of the common treaſure, and threatned death to *Metellus* the Tribune that would haue reſiſted him, and toke away the money that no man durſt touch, being layd vp there, againſt the inuaſions of *France*, with publike execratiō to them that did ſtirre or remoue it, vnleſſe for the warre of *Celtica*: *Caſar* ſayd, I haue ouercome thoſe Frenche *Celtes*, and haue delyuered the Citie of that execration. He made *Emilius Lepidus* Gouernoure of the Citie, and *Marcus Antonius*, the Tribune of *Italy*, and the confederate army in it. Abroade he ſent into *Sicilie*, *Curio* to ſucceede *Cato*, *Quintus* to *Sardinia*, & *Cneus Antonius* to *Illiria*, and to *France* within the *Alpes*, he appoynted *Licinius Craſſus*. He commaunded two legions of yong ſouldyers to be ready with ſpeede, and to lye at the coaſtes, both of the *Tuſcane*, and *Venetian* ſeas, to whome, for Captaines by the ſea, he ſent *Hortenſius*, and *Dolabella*.

Caſar taketh the treaſure.

M. Antonius.

Hortenſius. *Dolabella.*

Caſar hauing thus made *Italy* ſo ſtrong for *Pompey* to enter, he went into *Spayne*, and at his firſte encountring with *Afranius* and *Petreius*, Lieutenantes to *Pompey*, he ſeemed to weake. Then they ioyned togyther more at hande aboute the Citie *Ilerda*.

Caſar into *Spain.* *Afranius*, and *Petreius.* *Ilerda* a Citie in *Aragon*, at the ſtreight *Sycore*.

Caſar

Cæsar lay in barraine rockey places, and was fayne to fetch hys victuals by the passage of the riuer *Sypra*: a sodayne flood came and bare away the bridge, whereby a great number left in the straytes, were slayne of *Petreyus*, and *Cæsar* himselfe with hys other army, was much molested, with the harde place, with hunger, sharpe season, and with his enimies, so as he was little better than besieged there til the sommer came. *Afranius* & *Petreius* went into the furder parte of *Spaine* to gather another armye. *Cæsar* preuented them, stopping their passage, and compelled the to retyre from whence they came. In doing of thys, he compassed a parte of their army that came to take vp grounde for their campe. They helde their shieldes to their heades, which is a token of yelding. *Cæsar* neyther toke them, nor hurt them, but suffered them vntouched to goe to *Afranius*, and by such meane, he wanne his enimyes harts in all places.

Cæsar in distresse.

A token of yelding.

Cæsars gentlenesse.

Hereof was manye conuenticles among the souldiers, and talke of reconciliation by the whole multitude. Whereuppon it seemed good to *Afranius* and some other, to leaue *Spaine* to *Cæsar*, and to depart safe to *Pompey*: but *Petreius* was agaynste it, and ranne among the souldiours, and killed them that made those metings for *Cæsar*, and were come from him, and killed one of hys owne Captaines also that would haue stayed his furye. Wherfore they were the more in their mindes inclined to *Cæsar* so gentle, and offended with *Petreius* that was so passionate. After that *Cæsar* kept water from them: and *Petreius* being in necessitie, came with *Afranius* to a parle with *Cæsar*, both armies beholdyng them. They agréede to leaue *Spayne* to *Cæsar*, and that he shoulde conuey them safe to the flood *Varus*, and from thence to suffer them to goe to *Pompey*. When *Cæsar* was come to that floude, he called all the Romaine and Italian souldiours, & thus spake vnto them.

Petreius furious.

„ Enemyes (for thus that name to you, I shall the better de-
„ clare my minde) neyther dyd I dyspatche you, when you were
„ sente to gette ground for your Campe, and yelded your selues
„ to me, neyther dyd I hurt an other parte of your army, who
„ I helde from water, although *Petreius* did distroy myne, whom

" he toke at the flood *Sicorie*: If I haue any thankes of you for
" the same, shewe it then to al them, that serue in *Pompeys* campe.

Cæsar hath Spayne.

¶ When he had thus sayd, he sent them freely away, and appointed *Quintus Cassius* to the gouernement of *Iberia*. Thus *Cæsar* began.

Affius Varus. Iuba taketh *Pompeys* parte.

In *Lybia Affius Varus* was Lieuetenant for *Pompey*, and *Iuba* king of *Mauritania* did assist him. *Curio* sayled against them out of *Sicelie* with two whole Legions, twelue Galleyes, and many shippes of burden, landing at *Vtica*. He skyrmished wyth certayne *Numidian* horsemen, and put them to flight. He would needes be called generall Captaine, his army beyng yet but entring into armes. This honor is giuen to Captaines, and the name commeth from the Souldiours, as witnesses to them to be worthy to be such generals: and thys honour, the Captaines in olde tyme obtained after all and many great affayres. Now as I heare, the limitation to thys title, is to ouerthrowe tenne thousande men. Whiles *Curio* was comming by shippe from *Sicelie*, they that were in *Lybia*, thinking that he, for the glorye of the name, would encampe at a place called *Scipios* tentes, as one that had emulatiō of his renoune, they poysoned the water, and were not deceyued of their hope, for *Curio* lodged there, and by and by the army was sicke. They that dronk, had their sight dasseled as in a cloude, and heuynesse of sléepe in the head, many vomites of theyr meate, and a shrincking ouer all their body. Wherefore *Curio* remoued to *Vtica* it selfe, leading his army feeble for sickenesse by a great and strong marish grounde: but when they heard of *Cæsars* victory in *Spaine*, they toke courage agayne, and placed themselues nigh the sea in a steyght waye, they foughte fiercely there. *Curio* lesing but one man, and *Varo* fiue hundred, and many moe wounded, King *Iuba* coming forth, a false rumour was raysed, that at the flonde *Bagrada* not farre off, he returned backe bycause hys Kyngdome was inuaded of hys neyghbours, leauing hys Lieuetenaunt *Saburra* wyth a fewe at the flonde. *Curio* gyuing credite to thys tale in the feruente heate, at the thirde houre of the day, led the best

Imperator was the terme in Latine for such a generall.

Scipios tentes. Water poysoned.

Curios armie infected.

Iuba.

part

parte of his armye against *Saburras*, through sandy and deserte drye places. For if there were any winter broke, it was dryed vp by the heate of the sunne, and the cloud was kept of *Saburra*, and the king himselfe yet still present there. *Curio* ranne vp to the hill toppes, choked with thirst, & heate. When the enimies sawe him so euill beskadde, they passed the riuer boldely with a readinesse to fyght. *Curio*, very vnwisely and vnskilfully wyth his weake armye being compassed with the *Numidian* horsemē, came downe, and for a time gyuing place, brought his menne within a little compasse: but beyng ouercharged, hee fledde agayne to the hyll toppes. *Asinius Pollio* at the beginnyng of thys businesse, with a fewe, fledde to the campe at *Vtica*, least *Varrus* shoulde attempte any thyng by the noyse of this euill fortune. *Curio* made a desperate fighte, and was killed with all that were with him, so as there was not one left to goe to *Pollio* to *Vtica*. This was the ende of the fighte at the floudde *Bagrada*. *Curios* head was cutte off, and brought to *Iuba*. When this mischaunce was knowne to the army at *Vtica*, *Flamma* the Admirall fledde, with hys nauie, before hee receyued any man from the lande. *Asinius* toke a boate and wente to the Merchauntes that were at the porte, and prayed them to receyue hys armie, and conuey them away. Some of them in the nighte came forwarde for thys purpose, and the Souldiours wente on with suche number, as some botes were drowned, and they that were vppon the Sea and had money, the Merchauntes threwe them into the same for couetousnesse thereof. This was their happe vppon the Sea, whiche was littell better by lande to them that were lefte all that nyght, who in the morning yeelded to *Varo*. But *Iuba* came and sette them all at the wall, and shotte them to death, as the remnaunt of hys victorie, nothyng regarding though *Varo* prayde hym to the contrarie. Thus the *Romaines* losse two legions, that sayled with *Curio* into *Libia*, and all the horse, ministers, and venturers of the Campe. *Iuba* returned home, makyng boaste hee had done so greate a feate for hys friende *Pompey*.

The distresse of *Curio*.

Curio killed.

Flamma flieth.

Couetise of Merchants.

Romaine Souldiours shotte to death.

At thys tyme *Antonius* in *Illyria* was ouercome of *Octauius Dalabella Pompeyus* Lieuetenant: and an other armye of *Cæsars* at *Placentia*, did reuolte againste their Captaines, crying that they were holden in long warr, and not payed the fiue poundes which *Cæsar* promised them at *Brunduse*. *Cæsar* hearing of it, came poste from *Massilia*, and thus spake to the souldiours that yet were in a mutenie: What spæde I vse in euery thing, you can witnesse wyth me: this warre is holden long, not by vs, but by our enymies that slyeth vs: you that in Fraunce, by mine auctoritye haue gayned wel, and haue bounde your selues to me, for al this warre, not for a parte, nowe in the myddest of the matter, you forsake me, you doe doe disobey your Captaines, and goe about to commaunde them, of whome you ought to receyue commaundement: wherfore being a sufficiente witnesse to my selfe of my former affection vnto you, I will nowe vse *Petreius* Law, and of the nineth Legion, from whence tumulte chiefly arose, I wil put to death the tenth man.

Cæsar to the seditious Souldiours.

Greate lamentation was made throughout the whole Legion: wherefore these Captaines on their knees prayed hym of pardon. He hardly and at length graũted, and came to this only, that anye 120. that were moste busie, shoulde bee taken by lotte, and twelue of their Captaines of bandes, be put to death: for one of the twelue, whiche was not presente, nor a meoler in thys Mutenye, he caused hys accuser to suffer for hym.

After this sorte was the sedition at *Placentia* appeased. *Cæsar* went to *Rome*, and the people for feare chose hym Dictator, neyther the Senate allowing it, nor none officer pronoũcing it: but hee, refusing that dignitye, eyther as odious, or superfluous, ruling onely eleauen dayes (as some say) appointed Consuls for the reste of the tyme, hymselfe, and *Seruilius Isauricus*.

The presidents of prouinces eyther he appoynted or altered at hys pleasure. *Marcus Lepidus* into *Spayne*, *Aulus Albinus* into *Sicelie*, into *Sardania Sextus Peducem*, into nelye France *Decimus Brutus*, to the people oppress with famine, he gaue victualls, and at their requeste, pardoned al fugitiues, except *Milo*. The

people

people desiring also a cutting off of debte, bycause thynges bare no price, by reason of the wars and seditions he denyed it them, but he appointed Purueyors of victualls, whiche in stede of the debte, shoulde take order betwene the creditours and ỹ debtors. When he had done this, he sente all hys army to *Brundusi.* in the deade of the winter, and himselfe went forth in December, not tarying for the election of newe officers, tyll the newe yeare that was at hand. The people followed him, and prayed hym to be at one with *Pompey*, for now it was very euident, that he that ouercame woulde be a ruler alone, but he went on, and lefte nothing that was to be done with power and spede. *Caesar* kept vvinter vvarre.

Pompey al this tyme made shyps, and still gathered greater armies, and more money. He toke forth of *Caesars* shippes, in the *Ionian* sea, and wayted for his cõming. He exercised his people, ryding and running among them, and doing euery labor beyond his olde yeares, whereby he got much loue, and euery man came to see *Pompeys* exercises, as to a spectacle.

Caesar had tenne legions of fotemen, and ten thousand French horsemen. *Pompey* hadde fiue legions, with which hee sailed out of Italy, and as many horsemen, as with them were appointed: two out of *Parthia*, the remnant of them that serued with *Crassus*, & another part that with *Gabinius* inuaded Egipt. So had he of Italians in all eleuen legions and seauen thousande horsemen. His confederates were of *Ionia*, of *Macedonia*, of *Peloponeso*, and *Beotia*, wyth archers of *Creta*, slingers of *Thracia*, and all other that vse artillerie aboute *Pontus*. Some horsemen of the weaste French, some of the east, of the *Syrians* sent by *Antiochus*, *Cilicians* and *Capadocians*, and some of *Armenia* the lesse, *Pamphylia* and *Pisida*, not al for the fight, but for garrisons, munitions, and other seruices of ỹ *Italian* army. Thus he thoughte good to vse thẽ that none of the Italians shoulde be drawne from the daye of battell: This was his army by land. *Caesars* army. *Pompeys* army.

By Sea he hadde fyue hundred Gallies furnished at the ful, whereof one hundred were of Romaines conduct, whyche he appointed to leade the other, and many hulkes and other ships of burden, wyth diuers Admiralls, whereof *Marcus Bibulus*

was chiefe.

When al these thynges were prepared, he assembled as many Senatours and Romaine Gentlemen, as were present, and all the army, into a place where he might be harde, & thus said vnto them. The *Athenienses* also (O friends) dydde leaue their Citie to fighte for their libertye, agaynste them that spoyled it, they thinkyng, not houses, but men to be their Citie. In doyng of the whyche, they recouered it againe, and thortly made it more glorious. Our progenitors likewise, when the Frenche Celtes inuaded, forsoke the Cittie, which *Camillus* comming from *Ardea* did restore agayne. All wyse men thynke their Countrey to be, where their liberty is: whyche wee considerynge, haue sayled hither, not leauyng oure Countrey, but preparyng for it, and mnalye to defend it, againste him that doeth violentlye inuade it, and by corruption, and taketh Italy desolated, whom you haue declared an enimy, he now sends presidents into your Prouinces, appoynteth some Gouernors in the Cittie, and some in the Countrey. By thys insolencie he hathe taken from the people their authoritie, and if he doth this, being yet in contention, and with feare, and as one, that with Gods helpe, shal be punished for it, what crueltie and violence thinke ye, will he leaue vndone that thus vseth his country, if he get the victorye? Some there be that take his parte for mony, which he gathered in Fraunce that belongeth to you, who chose rather to be slaues to hym, than to liue free with vs. I do not refuse the fight with you and for you, but do offer my selfe a souldior or a Captaine, as you wyl vse me, & if I haue any experience in the warre, or any felicitie vnsported hitherto, I pray the Gods to graunte me al at this present, & to be such a defender vnto my country in danger, as I haue bin in aduancing the same. We ought to putte oure truste in God, and in our cause, which hath an honest & iust desire of warre for the common wealth of our Countrey, & in the abundance of our prouision, both by sea and land, which we al ready haue, & more, in that we shal haue when we take the thing in hand: For al the nations (as a man may say, from the Caspian to the Euxine sea) al the Grecias & Barbarians be with vs, al kinges be friendes

Pompeys Oratiõ.

The Athenienses lefte their Citie by the persuasiõ of Themistocles.

Ardea in Latio.

frends to ỳ Romains & to me, haue sente armies, weapons, vittails, & al other necessaries. Therfore go to it cheerefully, as to a thing worthy your countrey, your selues, & me, & being mindful of *Cæsars* dispitefulnesse, with spede fulfil that shal be appointed you. This be said. Al the army, and as many Senators & Gentlemen as were there, which was a greate and a goodly cõpany, with one voice did praise hym, & praied hym to leade them as he thought good. Then he set some ships to kepe the sea, and sente his army to winter at *Macedonia*, thinking *Cæsar* woulde defer sayling ouer till after winter, the tyme being harde, and the seas rough, and haue remayned at *Rome*, bycause he was Consull, and settle hys rule there: so far amisse did he coniecture of that that was to come. For *Cæsar*, as I sayd before, in the midst of winter did go to *Brundusc*, supposing he should most amaze his enimies, by commyng on the sodayn. Therfore neither hauing victuall, nor prouision, nor all his army there, be called thẽ that were present to an assembly, and thus said vnto them:

Pompey is deceiued in *Cæsars* doings.

Cæsar to hys souldiours.

Neither the hardenesse of the tyme, (O friends) that ioyne with mée in this moste noble enterprise, neyther the delay of others, nor the want of conuenient preparation, doe withdraw me from my purpose: for surely I thinke that expedition is the best way for me, and we that be strike here, to go first on with the matter. As for seruants, carriage and baggage, I thinke it beste to leaue behynde vs, that the shippes that bée nowe here, may receiue vs only as passengers, and we deceiue sure enimies, and sette good fortune againste euil tyme, bold courage, against our smal number, and our enimies plenty, against our penury, all the which shall be in ours power, if wée thinke nothing to be our own, but that we shall winne by force. Let vs go therfore againste their slaues, their prouision and victualles, whiles they be in houses for feare of winter weather. Lette vs goe whiles *Pompey* trusts that I spende the winter in shewes and sacrifices of a Consull. You knowe that I take the chiefeste point in warres, to be attempts of the sodayne. It is honourable to preuent the first opinion of thynges to come, and to forese sure receyt there, for thẽ ỳ folow vs next. I haue thoughte thys tyme

Expedition.

Attempts for dayne.

„time meeter to hast, than to stay: that *Pompey*, who thinks I am „yet at Rome, aboute my Consulship, may see me at hys campe, „and thoughe that I am wel assured of youre good willes, yet I „tarry for your answere.

All the army cryed with great vehemencie, that hee shoulde leade them forth. Then he came from hys seate, and had them to the sea, being fiue legions of footemen, and fiue hundred horsemen chosen, lying at anker, because of the roughe seas.

Cæsar is stayed by vveather.

The winter Sonne was at the lowest, and the winde kepte hym backe agaynste hys will and euill content, who tarryed at *Brunduse* till the first day of the newe yeare. Then came there to hym two legions more, whome he conueyed ouer that winter in hulkes, for he hadde but fewe Gallies, and they were lefte for the custody of *Sicelie* and *Sardinia*. He was by tempest driuen to ỹ mount *Ceraunio*, from whence he sent hys nauy backe to fetch the reste of hys army. He in the night went to the Citie of *Orice*, and for the hard, straighte, and rocky way, was compelled to deuide his army into many partes, as the sharpenesse of the countrey myghte serue, so as if hys comming had beene knowne, het might easily haue bin kept backe. Aboute the breake of the day, with muche ado, he gathered his army togither.

Orica.

Cæsar hath *Orice*, a Citie of *Epirus* in the marches of *Macedonia*.

The people of the Citie saide vnto the Gouernor, that it was not lawfull to keepe oute the Romaine Consull when he came, therfore the Gouernour delyuered the keyes to *Cæsar*, and continued wyth hym in place of honor.

Lucretius and *Minutius* on the other side of *Orice*, wyth eighteen Gallets to guarde the victuall that came by shippe to *Pompey*, drowned their ships, that *Cæsar* shoulde not take them, and fled to *Durazzo*. From *Orice* *Cæsar* went to *Appolonia*, where he was receyued of the Citizens, and *Stamerius* the Gouernour left the Citie.

Tyberius it is *Stamerius* in the Greeke.

There *Cæsar* calling hys souldiors togyther, putte them in remembraunce, what they had done by good fortune in the harde winter: they were Lords of the sea without shippes, they hadde woonne *Orica* and *Vralona*, without fight: they had gotten their ennies things, *Pompey* being yet ignorant. Nowe (sayeth he)

Durazzo hathe bin long in the Turkes handes, but lately it vvas gotten by the *Venetians*.

we

„ we can catch *Durazzo*, whiche is the Baron of *Pompeys* proui-
„ sion, all is in our handes, that they haue bin labouring for an
„ whole Sommer. When he had sayd thus, he leade them with
speede to *Durazzo* a long way, resting neyther day nor nyght.
Pompey hearyng this, came with great hast from *Macedonia*, cut- *Pompey* mi-keth hast to *Durazzo*.
ting downe the trees as he went, to stoppe the way to *Cæsar*. He
pulled downe bridges, and burnt all prouision by the way, thyn-
king it (as it was in deede) to be a good deuice, for to haue onely
that preparation that might serue himselfe. If any dust, fyre,
or smoke were seene to eyther of them a farre off, thinking it had
bin of the contrary part, they stroue who shoulde runne fastest,
sparing no time, neyther from meate nor sleepe. Hast there was Hast with confusion. *Pompeys* army.
and speede, with cryeng out vpon them that leade the with torche-
lightes, whereof grew disorder and feare, as the enimies had bin
at their heeles: some for wearinesse threw downe their burthens,
or withdrew themselues aside into some corners, thinking it
better to be lefte behinde with present rest, than to goe on to it,
without feare of the enimie. Both sides taking these paynes,
Pompey came firste to *Durazzo*, and encamped at the walles. By *Pompey* cōmeth to *Durazzo* before *Cæsar*, and getteth agayne *Orico*.
his hauie he gote *Orico* agayne, and gaue better guard for the
Sea. *Cæsar* lay ouer against *Pompey*, the flood *Alore* flowing be- *Alore* floude.
twéne them. There were diuers skirmishes by them that passed
the flood, but they neuer brought for their whole power, for
Pompey did trayne his yong Souldyers, and *Cæsar* looked for the
rest from *Brundusc*. He thought, that if they came for the in the
Spring in greate Shippes, they could not escape the Galleys of
Pompey, that scowred the Seas, and wayted for them: but if they
did come for the in Winter, when the enimie must many tymes
take the Ilands for their harborough, they might escape them,
or by the winde or their waighte, might passe through them,
wherevpon he sente for them with great hast, and because they
came not when he looked, he purposed himselfe to goe to them,
for that they would not so sone come with an other, and kepte
his determination secrete. He sente three of his seruants to the
flood, twelue furlongs off, to hire a swifte vessell of good prowe,
as for one that should be dispatched from *Cæsar*. He rose from the

table,

table, as not wel at ease, and bad his friends sitte still. He put on a priuate garmēt, & in a Coath came to the Ship, as he that was sent of *Cæsar*: in the rest he vseth his seruantes to call on, he being wrapt, and for the night, altogither vnknowen. The wind was very rough, the seruaunts erhorted the maister to make hast, ỹ they might escape their enimies which were at hand. The maister passed the floud very speedily, with the strength of oares, but whē he came to the mouth of ỹ floud, the wawes of ỹ sea beating against it with boisterous billowes, and he, as though the enimy had folowed, labouring to ỹ vttermost, & nothing preuailed, gaue it quite ouer. Thē *Cæsar* bewrayed himselfe, & said alowd, Be bold, stande against the storme, thou carriest *Cæsar*, and *Cæsars* fortune. The Marriners amazed at ỹ voyce, receiued courage againe, and by very force gote the Ship out of the floudes mouth, but by the rage of ỹ sea, and ỹ billowes ỹ were bigge, the Ship was driuen to ỹ shore: Day drawing nere, the marriners were afrayd to be spyed of the enimies: but *Cæsar* cursed his enuious fortune, & bade the shipmaister turne home againe, which was quickly done, the wind serueing through the floud. Some blamed *Cæsar* for his boldnesse, some accused him, as taking a thing in hād scarcely fitte for a souldiour, much lesse for a generall. Nowe he perceiuing he could be no more vnknowen, sent *Posthumius* to saile in his place, and bid *Gabinius* bring the army by Sea, and if they refused him, to come with *Antonie*, or with *Calens*, and if all these fayled, he had letters to the rest, that they should folow *Posthumius*, and take land where they could get it, and not care for the ships, for he had neede of men, & not of ships. Thus did *Cæsar* trust in fortune, contrary to reason. *Pompey* intending to take ỹ aduantage, brought forth his people to fight, and two of his souldiers passing ỹ floud where it was lowest, one of *Cæsars* came against them, & killed thē both, wherfore *Pompey* retired, not liking that lucke, seeming to al other to lose a very good opportunitie. *Posthumius* sayled safe to *Brundusie*, but *Gabinius*, not obeying ỹ cōmandement, would needes leade as many as followed him through *Slauonia*, without any rest, all the which were almost slayne by the *Illirians*, which *Cæsar* suffered, for the necessitie of time. *Antonius* by shippe brought the other

Cæsar goeth secretely from *Durazzo* towards *Brundusie*.

Cæsar bewrayeth himselfe.

Cæsar is blamed.

Cæsar sendeth for his men.

Antonius.

One of *Cæsars*, killeth two of *Pompeys*.

Pompey retireth.

Gabinius loseth men in *Slauonia*.

other toward *Ylona*, with good and ful winde, but about midday the winde waxing calme, twenty of *Pompeys* ships that scoured the seas espyed him, & came vpon them, who in that calme were in great feare, least the stemmes of the Gallyes should bore the or drowne them, and vsing the best way, made ready their darts & slings to keepe thē off, when suddainely, a greater wind than the first arose, whiche they take, and with their maine sayle passed through beyond their hope. The other being tossed with ỳ storme & the wind, making raging seas, were scattered and driuen to the rocky shores, only two of *Cæsars* were taken falling vpon ỳ flats. *Antony* brought ỳ rest to a place called *Nymphey*. Now had *Cæsar* al his army, and so had *Pompey*. They encamped the one against the other vpon hill toppes, making forts and mountes, about the which there was many assaults and skirmishes, the one seking to oppresse the other, and at one of these skirmishes, where *Cæsars* mē had ỳ worse. *Scæua* a * Captayne, very notable for his valiantnesse, was stricken in the eye with a dart, which done, he lept before the ranke, making token of silence, as though he would haue saide somewhat. Then he called to a Captaine of *Pompeys*, who was esteemed noble, and sayd vnto him, *saue one lyke thee, saue thy friende*, send some that may leade me away by hād, bycause I am hurt: two men came running to him as a fugitiue, of whome the one he killed right out, the other he cut off his shoulder. This he did, being in doubt both of himselfe, and of the fort. The other being ashamed of their faulte, came againe lustily, and recouered their fort. The great valiantnesse also of *Minutius* a trenchkeeper did help much, for in his Target they say was found CCC. darts, & he wounded in .v. places, besides the losse of one eye also, both the which, *Cæsar* did honor with great gifts, appertayning to souldiers. He thought to haue had *Durazzo* by treason, & came in the night to the gates with a fewe at the Temple of *Diana*. Thys Winter, *Pompeys* father in law did bring another army from *Syria*, with whome *Caius Calusius* did encounter, and was ouercome, losing a legion saue eight hundred. Now *Cæsar* had nothing by sea, all being kepte by *Pompeys* Nauie, wherefore hys armye was in great want, and eate breade made of grasse and weedes, whiche

Cæsars shippes escape *Pompeys* Gallyes.

Nymphey an Hauē.

Scæuas valiantnesse.

* This Souldier as *Cæsar* vvrighteth of him, receyued 120. Dartes on hys Shield, and 230. pricked, and 70 vvounds on his bodye at thys tyme, and of another in *Thrace*, vvhen his headpeece vvas broken, and he hurt in the face, and in the thigh, hys shielde stricken dovvne, hys svvord broken, he lept into the Sea, armed as he vvas, and came safe to *Cæsar*, crying *parce Imperator*, bycause it vvas a fault to bee vnarmed. *Plutarch* telleth of such another, vvhē *Cæsar* vvas in *Englande*, and hee nameth one *Icilius*, but nothing is sayde of *Minutius*. The Italian translatō addeth more, & othervvise than is in the Texte. *Minutius*, It should seeme that ore is take for another.

Cæsar loseth a legiō of *Calusius* in vvante.

Note. The vvreede that growveth of it selfe. He calleth it *Chara*.

Pompeys words for the vvant of Cæsars men.

certayne fugitiues shewed to *Pompey* as a good token, but he ioyed nothing at it, but sayde, *with what beastes doe we fight?* *Cæsar* being driuen by necessitie, brought forthe all his army, to force *Pompey* to fighte, but he, though many of his newe Castles, were thereby abandoned, yet would not stirre, wherewith *Cæsar* being marueilously greeued, toke in hand an enterprise, both difficult and strange, and that was, to enuiron *Pompeys* Camp from Sea to Sea, which as it was a great thing to do, so if it toke not place, yet should it carrie a fame of glory for the noble enterprise, for it was a thousande and two hundred furlongs, and yet he toke it in hand. *Pompey* made Contrewoorkes and walles. And thus both busied themselues to defeate the other, and at the last there was a great fight betweene them, in the which *Pompey* did very valiantly ouerthrow *Cæsars* Souldioures, and followed the fleeyng to their Campe. He toke many of their ensignes, and the Eagle, which is the chiefe Standerd to the *Romaines* with much ado was saued by the bearers regarde, and throwne into their Trench. This fleeyng being so notorious, *Cæsar* came on with another company, whiche was no lesse afrayde, for though *Pompey* were a good way off, yet could they not abide his sighte, nor stay, though they were hard at their Camp, neyther goe in order, nor obey *Cæsars* commaundements, but euery one fledde whether he would, neuer loking backe, without shame, without commaundemente, or reason. *Cæsar* ranne about, and with rebuke did shewe them, that *Pompey* was farre off, and beheld them how they threw downe their ensignes, and fledde. Some with muche adoe stode still as men amazed, loking on the ground for shame, such a confusion fell vpon them. There was one that turned his ensigne, and thrust the poynt againste the Generall, who was killed of *Cæsars* garde. They ỳ went into the Campe, did not returne to their places, but left all forsaken, and the Trenche vnkepte. It was then thoughte, if *Pompey* had come forth with his power, he had made an end of all the warre, with ỳ one feate: but *Lauinius* (God so working it) persuaded him rather to pursue them that fledde, and he somewhat slow of himselfe, or peraduenture distrustyng that some traynes hadde bin layde in the Campe for him, or be-

Cæsar repulsed.

Feare of Cæsars men.

Pompeys victory not followed.

Pompey refuseth the fight.

The enterprise of Cæsar.

Eight furlongs maketh a myle.

A fight.

cause

cause he contemned to do it, as though the warre were nowe ended. He set vpon them that were yet abroade, whereof he killed many, and that daye in two fightes he take eyght and twenty Banners, leauing the other occasion, that might haue made an ende of all, which *Cæsar* could not deuye, but that that day had ended the warre, if his enimies could haue vsed the victory.

Pompey toyfull of this victory, sente letters of it to Kings and Cities, and thought that *Cæsars* Souldiours would haue reuolted vnto him, oppressed with famine, and ouerthrowe in fight, and specially his Captaynes for feare of their offence, but they (God working repentance in them) lamented their faulte, and where *Cæsar* rebuked them gently, and gaue them pardon, they were the more angry with themselues, and with a mutation beyond reason, required him, after their Countrey manner, to take them out by lotte, and to kill euery tenth man. But when *Cæsar* would not graunt to that, they were the more grieued, and confessed he was vniuriously iniured by them, and cryed that the ensigne bearers might be punished, as though they shoulde not haue fledde, if the Standers had not turned. *Cæsar* would not grant to this neyther, but punished a fewe for a fashion, whereby so great a courage through this moderation entred into them, as they desired him he would forthwith set vpon his enimies, and very earnestly they erboted and encouraged him to it, promising to amend their fault with a notable victory, and they resorted together in heapes, and sware in *Cæsars* sight neuer to returne from the fielde, vnlesse they gotte the vyctorie. His friendes wished him to vse this repentance and promptnesse of the armye, but he sayde vnto the multitude, that he woulde at a better opportunitie leade them against their enimies, and hadde them then remember this forwardnesse. But to his friends he sayde, that before he dyd that, he must take out of their heartes the feare that was in them for the late losse, and to tarrie, tyll the fiercenesse of the enimie were abated: then did he confesse, that he had erred, in placing his Campe at *Dyrrachio*, where all *Pompeys* preparation was, and that it behoued him to seeke other places, and drawe *Pompey* where he might haue the lyke wante,

Repentance of *Cæsars* Souldyers.

Cæsars mildnesse in punishmente.

Cæsar returneth.

which when he had sayd, he wente straighte to *Kallona*, and from thence to *Thessaly* secretely by night. *Gomphie* a little Citie that woulde not receyue him, he toke in his rage, and gaue it to hys souldyers to spoyle. The Souldyers that had bin long pyned, filled themselues of all things excellyuely, and were dronke out of measure, especially the *Germanes* were iested at for their dronkennesse. And now agayne it was thought, that *Pompey* mighte haue come on, and done some notable feate, but he by negligence, vtterly omitted to stirre, till *Cæsar* had marched seauen dayes, and camped at *Pharsalia*. In *Gomphie* they say was séene a notable chance, dead bodyes of noble old men, did lie openly in a Phisitians shoppe, with cuppes in their handes, without woundes, to the number of twenty, as though they hadde bin inuited to a drynking, lying all vpon the ground, and one sitting in a chayre as a Phisition, that gaue them the potion of execration.

Gomphie giuen in spoyle, the firste City in *Thessaly*, going frō *Epiro*.

Germanes in *Cæsars* time, a drunkē people.

Cæsar encāpeth at *Pharsalia*, before *Pompey* ariueth from *Durazzo*.

The vvilling death of diuers at *Gomphie*.

Pompey made a counsell concerning *Cæsars* remouing. *Afranius* was in opinion, that the Nauy which was great, should be sent against *Cæsar*, they being Lords of the Sea, he mighte cut off things from hym, being in want, and in a wandring iourney, and that *Pompey* hymselfe should leade the army of the lande into *Italy*, whiche was yet enclyned vnto him, and voyde of enimyes, and so being Lorde of it, *France* and *Spaine*, he mighte deale with *Cæsar* at home from the principall parte. But he neglecting this that had bin best to haue bin done, followed them that said, that *Cæsars* army by and by would forsake him for famine, or not long lyke to hold out, for the victory wonne at *Durazzo*, wherras contrarywise, it should be a great shame to leaue *Cæsar* flieyng, and that he that had ouercome, should seme to flie, as though he were ouercome. He giuing place to these reasons, and for the regarde that he had of the nations of the East, that depended vpon hym, and fearing least *Lucius Scipio* should receyue any harme in *Macedonia*, and before all, hauing a mind to vse his army, that was so couragious to fight, he remoued, and set his Camp against *Cæsar* at *Pharsalo*, about foure miles asunder.

Afranius.

Diuersitie of opinion.

Both *Cæsar* and *Pompey* encamp at *Pharsalo*.

To *Pompey*, victual was brought frō euery place, for the wayes, the portes, and storehouses, were so open vnto him, that by lan-

he lacked nothyng, and by sea, whatsoeuer winde blewe, it serued his turne. Abundance with Pompey.

Cæsar hadde onely suche fewe as he coulde get by daylye forze, and yet none of his did forsake him, but by a diuine instinct, required they might gyue battell, thinking themselues to be farre better than the other yong Souldyoures, bycause they had serued in the warres tenne yeares together. But now to spende the tyme in makyng of mountes and trenches, and cariage of victuall, they were the weaker, bycause of theyr age, therefore it was better to trye all at once with labour, than by idlenesse to be punished to famine. When Pompey vnderstood this, he thought it daungerous to deale with suche experte men, that cared not for themselues, and to aduenture all at one worde against Cæsars noble fortune. He thought it surer, and lesse dangerous, to consume them with wante, hauyng no power to be relæued by land, nor no vse of the Sea, nor not a shyppe to conuey themselues away at a neede. Thus he determined by very good reason to delay the warre, and to driue them from famine to famine: but the greater number of Senatoures, and of them called Gentlemen that were most honored, the Kynges and Princes that were with him, some for lacke of experience, some for foolishe hardynesse for theyr victory at Durazzo, some, bycause they were greater in number, and some, bycause they woulde rather haue a short conclusion, than an honorable ende, and some, bycause they were weery of the warre, all enforced him to the fyghte, shewyng that Cæsar dyd alwayes prouoke hym, and inuite hym to it: but he dyd vse that reason against themselues, for to Cæsar it was necessary to do doe, but to them, delay was victorie, was muche better, for neede droue Cæsar to doe as he dyd. But beyng styll incensed by all the meanes, that were vsed prouoke for the victorye at Durazzo, and by the best sorte that obeyed ambition vnto hym, and therefore of purpose was so slowe, that he myghte beare rule ouer so many as dyd vs hymselfe, and thereupon called him Kyng, and Agamemnon, bycause he commaunded Kynges in the warre: he left his owne consideration, and gaue place to theires, VVant with Cæsar. Courage of Cæsars Souldiours. The request of Cæsars Souldioures. Pompeys consideration good, but not followed. Pompey called Agamemnon.

(God

Pompeys alteration.

(God striking him now) and all the reſt of that warre. He greatly ſickly and ſlowe, contrary to his nature in all things, vnwillingly he prepared for the fighte, to his owne deſtruction, and them that gaue hym counſell. *Cæſar* that nyghte, hadde ſente three legions to gette vytayles, thanking *Pompey* for his delay, and thynkyng he wonly nat haue changed hys minde. He had alſo ſente aboute for more ſouldyers, but when he heard that *Pompey* prepared for the battell, he knewe he dyd it of neceſſitie, and that he was driuen to it by force of his armye, he called hys armye forthwyth, and dyd prepare lykewyſe. He at midnight made Sacrifice to *Mars* and to *Venus* hys anceſtors, for from *Iulus*, *Aeneas* ſonne, it ſhoulde ſeeme by the name, that the houſe of *Iulius* came. He vowed to dedicate a Temple vnto hir in *Rome*, if ſhe fauoured hym, and broughte hym victorie.

Petigree of *Cæſar* from *Venus*.

A lightning.

A lightning came from Heauen, and wente from *Cæſars* Campe to *Pompeys*, and there was extinct. *Pompeys* ſyde thoughte ſome notable thynge ſhoulde come from their enimies to them, but *Cæſar* dyd expounde it, that he ſhoulde quenche *Pompeys* glorye.

Tokens.

That ſame nyghte when *Pompey* did Sacrifice, the beaſt fledde away, and coulde no more be found. And a ſwarme of Bees lighted vpon the Aulter, whyche is a little and a ſtinging flye. And before daye, there came a ſtraunge feare in the Campe, the whyche *Pompey* came to, ſearche, and after fell into a deepe ſleepe, and beeing awaked of his friendes, he tolde them he dreamed he had dedicate a Temple at *Rome* to *Venus* the Victorie, not knowyng that *Cæſar* hadde vowed the ſame.

Pompeys dreame

His ſouldyers and all the hoſt put truſt in theſe thinges, and were glad of them, and as they vſed all thinges with to much contempte and fiercenes, ſo wente they to thys battayle, as though all had bin theyr owne. Many dyd decke their Tentes with Bayes, as token of victorie, and their ſeruauntes prepared good cheere for them, and ſome dyd contende for *Cæſars* office of hygh Prieſt, all the which *Pompey*, as a man experte in warre, dyd miſlike, and though he were troubled, yet did he diſſemble it, and helde his peace with doubt and feare, as he that nowe dyd no more rule, but was commaunded of other, bycauſe of force,

The ſecuritie of *Pompeys* army.

and

and againſte hys wyll, he did all things. So great a diſcouragement to ſo noble a man, that til that day, had alwayes had proſperous hap, ſæmed on the ſodaine to fall vppon hym, eyther for that he was not followed when hee gaue good counſell, but was driuen to put the liues of ſo many in hazarde, and his owne glory, which he had kepte till that day vnſpotted, or for that he had ſome diuination of the euil, wyth feare that was at hande, that that day he ſhoulde fall from ſo great a Lordſhip, onelye to "hys friends thus he ſayde: That whoſoeuer had the victorye "that day, ſhoulde be cauſe of great calamitie to ỹ Romains for "euer. He ſet order for the battell, and by hys wordes that hee ſpake in that feare, many dyd gather that if he had wonne that day, he would not haue gyuen ouer the rule. Pompeys alteration.

Of the number that they had, whereof manye ſpeake vncertainely, I will followe the Romaine Authours that write moſt reaſonably of the Italians, in whome was the chiefe truſte, not regardyng or ſpeakyng much of the confederates, in whom they had little aſſiaunce. Cæſars number. Pompeys nũber.

Cæſar had two and twentye thouſande, and in them aboute a thouſand horſe. *Pompey* had double as many, and ſeauen thouſand horſe: ſo they that ſpeake likely, ſay there was at thys battel. lxx. M. Italians: they that write leſſe, threeſcore thouſand: they that make moſte, foure hundred thouſande, whereof ſome ſaye, that *Pompey* had three parts, and ſome, that of three parts he had two.

Thus doubtfully haue they left the matter: but how many ſoeuer they had, their chiefe truſt was in the Italians.

Of Straungers *Cæſar* had French horſemen and alſo French men beyond the Alpes, of Grecians, Dolopians, Acarnians, & Aetolians. Theſe helpes had *Cæſar*.

Pompey had all the nations of the Eaſte, in heaps both of horſe and footemen, of Grecians, he hadde the Lacedomonians diſtributed vnder their owne kyngs, the reſte were Peloponneſians, and with them the Boetians. The Athenienſes alſo came to thys warre, although both ſides proclaymed they ſhoulde not be hurte, as the ſacred men of the Iawe makers, drawn thither by the glory of this battayle, wherein they ſhould fyghte for the Confederates of Pompey. Pandalia. Morea.

Empire of the Romaines.

After the Græks, there were but fewe of all the sea towarde the East, but the inhabitours came to *Pompey*, Thracians, Hellespontians, Bithinians, Phrygians, Ionians, Lydians, Pamphilians, Pysidianes, Paphlagonians, Cilicians, Syrians, Pheniteans, and a nation of Hebrewes, Arabians also nigh vnto these, Cyprians, Rhodians, slingers of *Creta* and other Ilanders. Kyngs and Princes also came to ayde hym. *Deiotarus* the Tetrarche of the Easte Galatians, *Ariarathes* kyng of *Capadocia*, the Armenians wythin *Euphrates*, *Taxiles* did leade the Armenians beyonde *Euphrates*, *Magabates* lieutenaunte to *Artapa* the kyng. Other inferiour Lordes resorted to thys trauayle, besides thrée score shippes of Egipt, sente of the Princes of the same, *Cleopatra* and hir brother, being yet a childe. But these were not vsed in the warres, nor anye of the other shippes, but all layed ydely at *Corcyra*, wherein it séemeth that *Pompey* did euill, to neglect so great a nauy, wherewyth hée myghte haue defeated hys enimies of al thynges: but he trusted vpon hys armye by land, and woulde trye it wyth them that for theyr continuaunce wyth long experience were full of courage, and as sauage people grædy of the fight. But to beware of them, the mishap, by Gods worckyng, at *Durazzo* séemeth to bée the impediment, which to *Cæsar* was the fittéste opportunitie of all other. For by that *Pompeys* armye wared insolent, and made little accompte of their Capitayne, and toke in hande thys matter verye vnskilfully. But God hadde so appoynted it, that it shoulde come to suche a state, as it is nowe ouer all. Then eyther of them assemblyng theyr armyes, exhorted them, and firste *Pompey* said thus:

Pompeys Oratio.

„ You (my fellow Souldioures) do now commaunde as Cap-
„taynes, and not obey as Souldiours: For wheras I would
„haue consumed *Cæsar*, you wyl néedes call vpon the fyghte:
„therfore as appoynters of the battayle, vse it, as the more,
„may do the lesse, and as vanquishers contemne them that
„be vanquished, and as the yong despise the olde, and as the
„lusty may the fæble. You haue of youre syde power, prepara-

tion,

Deiotarus. *Ariarathes.* *Taxiles.* *Magabates.* *Cleopatra.* *Corcyra.*

tion, and conſcience of the cauſe, for you trauaile for libertye
& your country, with law and good opinion, with ſuch men as bée
Senatours and Gentlemen, againſte one man that woulde v-
ſurpe a gouernment. Go to therfore as becommeth, with good
hope, and haue in your ſight the fléeing away they made at *Du-*
razzo, and howe many of their enſignes we toke that day. This
ſaide *Pompey*, but *Cæſar* to hys men ſpake thus.

The hardeſt (my friends) we haue ouercome, for in ſteade of *Cæſars Oration.*
hunger and wante, we fight wyth men. This day determineth
all, remember your promiſe at *Durazzo*, and what you ſware one
to another in my preſence, that you woulde not returne, but vi-
ctors. Theſe be they (my Souldioures) whome wée haue fol-
lowed from the pillers of *Hercules*. Theſe bée they that fledde
from vs Italy. Theſe be they that after oure tenne yeares ſer-
uice, after ſo many enimies and victories as harde to bée tolde
wonne of vs, after Spayne, Fraunce, and Britaine, brought by
vs to oure Countrey, and well nighe fourtye Realmes, doth
oppreſſe vs without rewarde, triumphe, or recompence. Theſe
be they whome I coulde not perſwade, deſiring but ryghte, to be
wel thought of for my well doing. You knowe whome I deli-
uered vnhurte, hoping that we might haue had ſome iuſtice at
their handes. Of all theſe, be all you togither with me reuen-
gers thys day, euen as you knowe my carefulneſſe, my faithful-
neſſe, and my free liberalitie, it is no harde matter for yong ſoul-
diours vnexperte to be ouercome of them that paines haue paſt,
and well bin tried by proofe. See the youthfull contempte and
diſdayne of the armye againſte the Capitayne, ſo the di-
ſtruſte of himſelfe, whome I certainlye knowe to goe to thys
feate with vnwilling minde, and ful of feare, fallyng from hys
conditions, is giuen to eaſe and ſlouthfulneſſe, and nowe not a
ruler, but ouer-ruled of other. And thus much thinke, that I
haue ſpoken vnto you of his Italians, for as for his cõfederats,
care not for them, nor make any accompte of them, nor offer a-
nye earneſte fyghte to them that be ſlaues of *Syria*, *Phrygia*, and
Lydia, are euer ready to run away, and be kept vnder, whom I

» certayn ye knowe, and you shall euidently see, that *Pompey* wyll
» not vse in ordered place of battayle. Onlye haue eie of the Ita-
» lians, and if the confederates runne vppon you like rude dogges:
» downe with them, and spare the other as youre kinsmen, and
» vse your confederats, for to affray them. But before al things,
» remember I maye see you performe that you haue promi-
» sed, and that you maye chose eyther victorye or deathe, pull
» downe youre Campe, and all the trenches, that wee may haue
» nothing, vnlesse wee wynne it, lette oure enimies see that we be
» without Campe, and that of necessitie, wee muste encampe in
» theyrs.

When he had thus saide, hee sente oute two thousande verye olde Souldiors, that had the charge of the Campe, who wente forthe and digged downe the trenche wyth a deepe silence, and filled the ditches.

Pompey fighteth.

When *Pompey* sawe that, and some thoughte they made way to flee, he perceyued the bolde determination, and with a syghe sayde vnto hymselfe, that thys fyght should be with wild beasts oppressed with famin, a fit medicine for the. But now there was no more dallying, the thing being come to the swordes pointe, therefore he set aboute foure thousande to keepe the campe, and placed the reste betweene the towne of *Pharsalo* and the flonde *Enipeo*. *Cæsar* also arayd hymselfe ouer agaynste hym, eyther of them placed the Italians diuided into three partes, distaunt a little a sunder, they sette the horsemen on the sydes of them by portions, Archers and Slingers were intermedled with them all.

Pharsalo the towne where the battel was. *Enipeus* of *Thessaly* and of *Elide*. Italians the chiefe strength of both sides.

Thus were the Italians ordered, in whome eche of them had their chiefe confidence, as for their confederats, they vsed them rather for a shew.

Pompey had a greate number of dyuerse language: of them he placed the Macedonians, the Peloponesians, the Boetians, and the Athenienses, nexte the Italians battayle, bycause of theyr good order and silence.

Order of *Pompeys* armye.

The other, euen as *Cæsar* coniectured, he commaunded euery nation by it selfe, as warders out of the ray of battel, to compasse the

the enimie when the fight began, and to purſue them with as much hurte as they coulde, and to put *Cæſars* campe to ſpoyle whiche was voyde of defence. *Scipio Pompeis* father in lawe, did leade the maine bataple in the middeſt, *Domitius* the lefte wing, & *Lentulus* the right, *Aphranius* and *Pompey* kept the cãpe.

Scipio.
Domitius.
Lentulus.
Aphranius.
Pompey.

The leaders of *Cæſars* hoſte, were *Sylla*, *Antonius*, and *Decimus*. *Cæſar*, as he was wonte, leede the tenth legion, whiche the enimies ſeyng, brought againſt them the beſte horſemen, that beyng more in number, they ſhoulde, if they might, encompaſſe them. When *Cæſar* perceyued that, he layd three thouſand of the boldeſt footemen in abuſhment, whome he willed, that when they ſawe the enimie goyng aboute to encloſe, they ſhoulde leape forth, and with their pikes driue as harde as they could, at the faces of them, for he knew that they being yong and vnexpert, would not abyde the peril of the face. Thus did they deuiſe on bothe ſides, and went about in euery place, and when they had gyuen the order, and exhorted them to good hart, they gaue their wordes of knowledge.

Cæſars order.
Sylla.
Antonius.
Decimus.
Cæſar.

Cæſar. Venus the Conquereſſe.
Pompey. Hercules vnconquered.

When all was ready, they ſtode a good whyle in a great ſtiffe, ſtirred not, but loked one vpõ an other, as amazed men which ſhoulde beginne the fight. The multitude that hytherto had no compaſſion at all, now pitied that ſo greate an armie of *Italians* ſhould at once be hazarded, and that their vertue ſhoulde bee tried only vpon themſelues, and the chiefe hurte be of *Italians* againſt *Italians*, and now at the very pynche of the miſchiefe at hande, the deſire of glory that had incẽſed and blinded them, was quenched, and conuerted into feare: for when reaſon dyd throughly way the affection of fame, and meaſured alſo the daunger preſent, they ſawe the cauſe conſiſted in the contentiõ of two men, for whoſe ſuperiorities all their lines was ventured, ſo as whither were ouercome, coulde not be ſafe in the furdeſt place, nor a great multitude of noble men for theyr ſakes: they remembred their auncient friendſhip and affinitie, howe many things they had done to their owne honour and aduance-

The aſtoniſhment of bothe armies.

ment, which now did weare their weapõs against thẽselues, & brought all that did serue them, to the like mischiefe, being of one nation, Citizens, kinsemen and allies, yea and some brethren. For so it hapned in this warre, as among so many thousands as were togither of one nation, diuerse and straunge effectes must happe, whiche, eyther of them nowe considering, were striken presently with a great repentaunce, as though in that day, they should be eyther first or last vpon the earth, and were loth to beginne so doubtful a déede, and fell a weéping on both sides. Standing thus and beholding one another, the daye passed: the *Italians* standing in due order with silence continued: but *Pompey* perceyuing his straungers to be troubled with this stay, and doubting least confusion might follow therof, at the beginning, first gaue the token of battayle, and *Cæsar* did the like. Then the trumpets stroke the sounde of battayle as was required in such a number: beside, in sundry parts, the Heralds and the Captaines, were at hand to giue encouragement: they marched stately with astonishment and silence, as men that had ben in many like paſtimes. Being at hand, the first charge was giuen with Archers, and Artillery, and soden onsets of horsemen to enclose the fotemen. There was to and fro, til *Pompeys* horsemen hauing the better, did enuiron the tenth legion. Then *Cæsar*, giuing his token to them that lay in a wayte, they stepped forth against the horsemen, and with theyr pykes put vp, did lay them on the faces: they could not abyde that boldnesse, nor the blowes made at theyr mouthes and eyes, but confusedly fled away, & then did *Cæsars* horsemen enclose the other fotemen, being naked, whiche feared to haue bene enclosed themselues. Whẽ *Pompey* perceyued thys, he commaunded the fotemen not to moue or stirre from the battaile, nor to throw light weapons, but to stand distante in the forefront, and with their pykes at hande to resist the enemy comming on them. Some prayse this pollicie, as the best, against compassing: but *Cæsar* in his Epistles doth dispraise it, bycause the strokes that are giuen with a mouing vehemence, are mightier, and men by forcing forewarde, be the bolder, and they ỳ remayne stil, ware fearefull, and easie to be hitte, as standing markes that are shotte

The strange astonishment of both sides.

The vaſet giuen.

Policie of *Pompey* not allowed.

shotte at, as then it proued in déd. The tenth legion with him, fiercely following, did beat the bodies of *Pompeis* leaft battayle, voyde of horsemen, and standing still till they put them out of order, and by very force made them to turne, which was the beginning of ỹ victorie in the other multitude. Although there was diuerse and sundrye wayes of slaughter and hurting, yet was there not a voyce hearde in suche a maine battayle, but sighes only and grones of them that fell valiauntlye in theyr places appointed. The confederates, as though they had come to sée them fight a pryse, did maruel at their goodly order, but had no harte (for wondering at them) neyther to enter *Cæsars* campe which was kept of a fewe, and they very olde men, nor to do any other thing, but stande and gaze. But when the lefte wing of *Pompeis* host did retire by little & little, yet fighting still, the confederates foully fled away, and cryed, we be ouercome. They ranne vpon their owne tentes and campes, as thoughe they had bene the others, whiche when they had spoyled, they went their ways as fast as they could. The other *Italian* army perceyuing they had the worse, gaue backe first in order, defending themselues as they might, but the enemye still comming vpon them, as now hauing the victorie, they also turned & fled. *Cæsar* then vsed great policie, ỹ they should not gather togither again, that this labor might not only make an end of one fight, but of al the war. He sent trũpets about ỹ battels, cõmaunding thẽ to refrayn frõ killing of their countreymen, and continue only agaynst the strangers, & that they should go among thẽ ỹ wer ouercome, & byd thẽ stay vvout feare. This declaratiõ of ỹ crier was lerned frõ one mã to another, & was a warning word for *Põpeis* host to stay vvout fear: so passing by ỹ other as *Italiãs* of one lãguage & order, they beat down the strangers not able to resist, & ther was gret slaughter made. After *Põpey* saw this alteratiõ, he was astonyed & went softly into his cãpe, & being come to his tent, he sat down speechlesse, as they say *Aiax Telamonius* did for ỹ griefe he suffered in ỹ losse amõg his enimies at ỹ battayle of *Troy*: of the other, very few came into ỹ cãpe, for *Cæsars* Heralds had made thẽ stay vvout feare, & being ouerpassed of their enemies, they might disperse thẽselues here & there.

Pompeys confederates flée.

Cæsars policie.

A vvorde to stay. Stay vvithout feare.

Pompey amased and speachlesse. *Aiax Telamonius* fell into astonishment for the iudgement giuẽ against him.

The

Cæsar exhorting his souldiours to make an end.

The day was almost at an ende, and *Cæsar* roade aboute with maruelous payne, prayeng them that they woulde take yet a little more labour, til they had gotten *Pompeis* campe, shewyng them that if the enmies returned, they should be winners but of one day, but if they got his campe too, the warre shoulde be ended for euer. He held vp his handes to them, and was the first that ranne towarde it. This did stirre the mindes of them that had weary bodies to see their generall go before them: the victorie of things past, and the hope to gette the campe, with al that was in it, did stir, to that againe, and when men be in hope and felicitie, they feele the lesse of labour and extremitie. They went on with great courage, and beate away the warders of the same, whiche when *Pompey* sawe, he onely brake into this speache after his long silence, *what, oures tentes too*, when he had thus spoken, he chaunged his garment, and leapt on horse with foure frendes, and neuer lefte runnyng till by breake of day he came to *Larissa*. *Cæsar* (as he threatened) at the giuing of the onset, did lodge in *Pompeis* pauilion, and supped with his prouision, and the rest of his army did the lyke.

Pompey fleeth.

Larissa in *Thessalie*, and in other places.

There were slayne in this battell of bothe partes of *Italians* (for the strangers bicause of their multitude and contempt be not numbred) of *Cæsars* armye thirtie captaynes of bandes, & CC. souldiours, or as some say, two thousand and .v. hundred.

The losse of *Cæsars*.

Of *Pompeis* tenne Senatours, of the whiche was *Lucius Domitius* once appointed *Cæsars* successour in *Fraunce*, and of them that be called Gentlemen, about fourtie of the beste: of the rest of the army, they that make moste, say .xvb. M. But *Asinius Pollio* that was at that fight with *Cæsar*, writeth that onely fre thousande of *Pompeys* was slayne at that battayle. This was the ende of that great fight at *Pharsallo*.

Pompeys losse. *L. Domitius.* *Cæsar* sayth *Pompey* loste .xv. M. by death, and xxv. M. by taking, the reste fledde. *Asinius Pollio.*

Euery man confessed that *Cæsar* had deserued the fifte and seconde honours, and with him the tenth Legion. *Crastinius* a leader of a bande, was thought worthy the thirde, who goyng to ȳ fight, being asked of *Cæsar* what he thought, answered courragiously, we shall winne (O *Cæsar*), and thou shalte finde me here eyther aliue or dead. The army did witnesse, that he going

Honours of victorie.

Valiantnesse of *Crastinus*.

from

from hand to hande like a man in a furie, did as much as a mã might do. When he was sought for, and found among the dead, *Cæsar* did bury him with the ornaments que vnto him; & erected him a Tumbe nygh ỳ cõmon Sepulchre. *Pompey* frõ *Larissa* wyth lyke spæde went to the sea side, where he toke a little boate, & by chaunce met a shippe a floate, and sayled to *Mitilena*, where he receyued his wife *Cornelia*, and passed with foure Galleys, which the *Rodians* and *Tirians* had brought to him. He refused to sayle to *Corcyra* and *Libya*, where he had an other great army, & a mighty nauy by sea. He made his course to *Parthia*, thinking to recouer al againe, keping his purpose close frõ his frends, tyll he came with much ado to *Cilicia*. There they prayed him to beware of the *Parthians*, whiche had lately ouercome *Crassus*; whereby they were the more insolent; and that it was not fit to bring *Cornelia*, so fayre a woman, among so vntemperate people, especially being *Crassus* daughter. Thẽ he deuised whither he should go, into *Egipt*, or to *Iuba* king of *Barbarie*. They thought no good to be had with *Iuba*, therfore they counselled him to go to *Egipt*, a nation nygh of great dominion, fertyl and abounsant of grayne, money, and nauye, whose kings though they were children, yet friends to him for his fathers sake: and so for this cause he sayled into *Egipt*.

Pompey taketh the sea. *Mitilena*, in *Lesbo* now *Metelin*.

Pompeys determination of recouery.

Cornelia *Pompeis* wyfe *Crassus* daughter

At this time *Cleopatra* being ryected out of the kingdome by hir brother, wt whom she should ioyntly haue raigned, prepared an army in *Syria* againste him. *Ptolomeus Cleopatras* brother was at a place in *Egipt* called *Casium*, and did lye in campe to resist his sisters forces, and as fortune would, *Pompey* was driue thither. When he perceiued an army aland, he frayed his ship, and thought, (as it was in dede) that the king was there: he sent vnto him, to shewe of the amity betweene hys father and him. The king was thirteene yeare olde: one *Achillas* did gouerne his army, and *Photinus* and Enuch was his Treasurer. They beganne to consulte what was beste to be done wyth *Pompey*: There was also *Theodotus* of *Samis*, an Orator and Scholemaister to the king, who dyd perswade the wicked acte to deceyue and kyl *Pompey*, to gratifye *Cæsar*. This counsel pre-

Crassus an hil at the end of *Nilus*.

Ptolomeus against *Cleopatra*.

Achillas. *Photinus*. *Theodotus*.

naples, they sent a simple boate as though the roughnesse of ỹ Sea would not suffer a greater. Some of the kings seruauntes
Sempronius. wente into the boate, and with them *Sempronius* a Romayne, who had serued vnder *Pompey*, and was nowe with the kyng. He offered his hande in the kings name to *Pompey*, and willed hym to come as to his son and friende. As this was done, the army was set in order, and drewe neare the sea as to honoure *Pompey*, and the king was set in the midst in a purple vesture to be seene of all.

Pompey suspected all, both the ordering of the army, and the meanes of the vessel: chiefly bycause the king came not toward him, nor sent any of his noble men, he spake a verse of *Sophocles*:

A verse of Sophocles.

VVho to a Tiranne goes,
His slaue he is, though free he rose.

And then he entred ỹ boate. Euery man being silent in ỹ passage, he rather suspected, and chiefly *Sempronius*, eyther bycause he knewe him to be a *Romaine*, and hauing serued vnder hym, or bycause he did coniecture it, seeing him only stading, according to souldiours discipline, who doe not set, when the chiefe is by. Then he turned to him and sayd, surely I should know thée, O Souldier. He nodded at hym agayn, and as he turned, was the first that stroke him, then the other. His wife and friends seeing this a farre off, cried, and held vp their handes to the gods reuengers of friendshippe broken, and sayled away streyght as from enimies lande. They that were about *Photino* cut of *Pompeis* heade, and kept it for *Cæsar* as a great gratification: but he worthily reuenged this wicked déed vpon them. The rest of his body was buryed at the sea bancke, and a silly Sepulchre was made, to the which one wrote this Epitaph:

Sempronius a Romaine first stryketh Pompey

Pompey cruelly ỹ killed.

Epitaph of Pópey

Lo here he lyeth in simple graue,
A Temple that deserude to haue.

In processe of tyme the graue was couered with sand: and certayne

certaine Images of Bealle which the inhabitants did afterwarde set vp to *Pompey*, vnder the which, were taken away and layde vppe in a secrete place of a Temple. In this time *Adrianus* the Romaine Emperour in his iourney that way, did cause it to be sought and found out, and made the graue to be amended, so as euery man might see it, and erected the Images that were dedicated to *Pompey*.

Adrianus the Emperour restoreth the graue of *Pompey*.

This was the end of *Pompey*, by whom so many great battayles had bene fought, and the Romaine Empire so increased, as he had the surname of Great, neuer being ouercome before, but from his youth still inuincible and happy: and frō three and twenty to eight and fiftie yeares, he ruled like a king, but in opinion supposed to gouerne like a populare man, for the emulation of *Cæsar*.

Pompey the great.

Lucius Scipio, *Pompeis* father in Lawe, and all the other noble men that did escape the battayle, fledde to *Cato* to *Corcyra*, who was generall of another army, and three hundred Gallies, being left there as a prudent Counsellour. The nobles of *Pompeis* friendes deuided the Nauye. *Cassius* sayled to *Pontus* to *Pharnaces*, to stirre him against *Cæsar*. *Scipio* and *Cato* wente into *Libya* trusting vppon *Varus* and his army, and *Juba* king of *Numidia* his confederate. *Pompey*, *Pompeis* eldest sonne, and *Labienus* with him and *Scapula*, hauing a part, wente into *Spaine* to make it against *Cæsar*, and they got him another army of *Iberians* and *Celtiberians* and slaues to haue the preparation greater: so mighty a power of *Pompeis* army was yet left, which he, by his infelicitie did abandon when he fled away. They that were in *Lybia* did chose *Cato* for the generall Captaine, who for y presence of suche men as had bene Consuls, and others that had bene Lieuetenaunts, and he only a Pretor in *Rome*, refused the same, so *Scipio* was made generall and a great army was gathered and trayned, and these were the chiefest preparations in *Libya* and *Iberia* gathered against *Cæsar*.

Corcyra an Iland in the *Ionian* sea.

The care of *Pompeys* friends.

Pompeys sonne *Labienus* *Scapula*.

Cato chosen generall in *Lybia* refuseth.

After the victorie, *Cæsar* abode two dayes in *Pharsalo*, sacrificing and recreating his weary armye, and there made the *Thessalians* free that had serued him, and pardoned the

Thessalians made free of *Cæsar* who had serued him.

Athenians at their sute, vsing these wordes: Howe often hath the glorie of your auncestours saued you, whē you haue deserued destruction?

The third day he remoued towarde the East, following the fame of *Pompeis* flighte, and for wante of Gallies sayled ouer *Hellespont* in little boates.

Hellespont nowe the streyght of Gallipolie. The sea betwene *Europe* and *Asia*. *Cassius* a coward.

Cassius with his number of Gallies met him as he was going to *Pharnaces*, and although he might with his Gallies haue had the aduantage of those little boates, yet for feare of *Cæsars* felicitie and valiantnesse, he was amazed, and suspecting that *Cæsar* had come of purpose to finde him, he held vp his handes and came from his Gallies into the boates to aske hym pardō, and deliuer him all his Gallies. So much force had the glorye of *Cæsars* felicitie, for I see none other reason, nor can indge any other meane in so great difficultie of time, to haue such fortune that he should so afray *Cassius* a valiaunt man, comming vpon him with seauentie Gallies vtterly vnprouided, that he durste not medle with him. For as cowardly as he did now yeld vnto him vpō the Sea, so after did he as cruelly kyl him whē he was Lord of all at *Rome*. Wherefore it is euident that he was then ouerborne with the feare of his felicitie. *Cæsar* thus being saued against all hope, and past *Hellespont*, he pardoned the *Ionians*, *Aetolians*, and other nations that inhabite greate *Cherronese*, which by one name is called *Asia* ỹ lower. He forgaue them that sent embassadours to craue it. Vnderstanding that *Pompey* was gone to *Egipt* he went to the Rhodes, where he would not tarry for the reste of his armye that was comming to him by parts, but with the Gallies of *Cassius* and the Rhodes, and such men as he presently hadde, he toke shippe at night, and sayled forth, not shewing whether, only commaunding the captaines in the night to follow the light of his shippe, and in the day, the flag of the same: to the maister whereof he commaunded, after he had sayled a good way, to set his course toward *Alexandria*: and so being three dayes vpon the sea, he came thither. In this place he was wel receiued of the kings officers, the king being yet at mount *Casius*.

Cassius.

Morea.

Cæsar sayleth into *Egipt*.

Cæsar

Cæsar at his comming pretended to haue nothing ado, bycause of his fewe men, but went about the Citie, to beholde the beautie therof, & stod and heard the Philosophers disputations, wherby he wanne muche loue and good fauour of the Alexandrians, being among them as one hauing nothing to do. But when his army was come, hee layde handes vppon *Photinus* and *Achilles*, and put them to death, for the wickednesse done to *Pompey*. *Theodotus* fled into *Asia*, whome *Cassius* founde there, and caused to be hanged.

Cæsar heareth disputations at *Alexandria*.
Photinus and *Achillas* kylled.
Theodotus hanged.

The Alexandrians were offended herewith, and sette vppon him with the kings army that was there, and made many fightes with hym about the kings Palaice, and at the sea banke, where *Cæsar* was driuen to take the sea, and to swimme a good way.

Cæsar fayed by swimming.

The Alexandrians toke hys cloake and bare it vp as a token of victory. His last battell was wyth the kyng hymselfe at the floude *Nilus*, where he ouercame him, and restored the kingdome to *Cleopatra*, after he had bin nine moneths there. Then he sayled vppon *Nilus* with foure hundred shippes, in company of *Cleopatra*, for whose pleasure he did many things, all the whiche be particularly tolde in my booke of Egiptian matters.

Cæsar ouercometh the Kyng of *Aegipt*.
Cleopatra restored.
This booke is not extant.

He could not abide to behold *Pompeys* heade that was brought vnto him, but commanded it to be buryed: he also builded a little Temple before the Citie, which was called the Temple of Reuengement, the which in my tyme when *Traiane* the Emperoure did make warre against the Iewes, was pulled downe of them, to serue some turne in the warre.

Cæsar wept vvhen he did see *Pompeys* heade.
Temple of Reuengement.
Trasane.

When *Cæsar* had done these things in *Alexandria*, he went wyth hys army thorough *Syria* against *Pharnace*, who had bin very busy and taken diuerse of the Romaine Prouinces, and gotten one victory of *Domitius* lieutenante to *Cæsar*, by the which growing stoute he toke *Amyso* a Citie of *Pontus* allied to the Romaines, all the people whereof he solde as slaues and made their children Enuchs, but when *Cæsar* came, he fled as farre as he coulde, and sent to *Cæsar* for peace by hys Ambassadors, who brought him a crowne of golde, and offered solemnlye the kyngs daughter in marryage to hym.

Cæsar against *Pharnace*.
Domitius ouerthrovvne in *Syria*.
Amysso a Citie in the confines of *Paphlagonia* & *Capadocia*.

He perceyuing their presentes and messages, wente on wyth his army, entertayning the Kings Ambassadors with ordinary talke, till they came nighe where he was encamped, and then he said: shall not this murtherer of his father bee yet killed? & then he leaped on horse. And at the first charge *Pharnace* fled awaye, and *Cæsar* ouerthrewe the moste parte, with a thousand horsemen that with the first, did keepe in chase with hym. At this *Cæsar* saide with a loude voice. O happy *Pompey*, that hadest to do with such mē of war as *Mithridates*, & this mans father was, therby both to be thought and called Great. Of this fight he sent thus to *Rome*, *I came, I sawe, I conquered*. *Pharnace* was content to go to the kingdome of *Bosphorus*, which *Cæsar* appoynted him.

Veni, vidi, vici.

Bosphorus part of the kingdome of *Pontus*.

Cæsar spent no time in trifles, so many battels yet remaynyng behinde, he went into *Asia*, and by the waye gathered money of the Cities that were troubled wyth them that toke paymentes of the Tributes, as we haue shewed in our booke of *Asia*. Now word was brought hym that there was sedition rayſed in *Rome*, and that *Antony* his lieutenāt did keep the common place wyth an army. Therefore setting all thinges aside, hee made haste to *Rome*. Whither, when he was come, all ciuill discorde ceassed, but another began among his souldiours, bycause they had not yet, neyther receiued the promise made for theyr seruice at *Pharsalo* nor that it was reasō that they shoulde be still kept in warre, therfore they cried euery man to go home. He had promised the rewards at *Pharsalo*, and other rewardes when the warre of *Libya* should be ended. Therfore he sent them a thousand drammes apeece, with a promise of more. They bad him promise no more, but pay al out of hand. And it lacked but little that they had not killed *Crispus Salustius*, had he not shifted away.

Sedition in *Rome*.

Sedition in *Cæsars* army.

Drachma is a peece of coyne, vvaying as muche as a sterling graat, after eight groates to an ounce.

Salustius in danger.

When *Cæsar* heard this, he commanded the legion that *Antony* had for the guarde of the Citie, to keepe about his house, & the entry of the Citie, fearing spoile, and hee, verye boldly (all men fearing and diswading him from the rage of the souldiours) went among them as they were in mutinie in the field of *Mars*, and not being perceyued, was set in the high seate. They confusedly, and with tumulte came running vnarmed, as the maner

Cæsar among his seditious souldioures.

is

is to salute the Generall when he commeth firste among them, he commaunded thē, that if they had any thing to say there, touching the gifts, they shoulde speake it before his face, whiles hee was present: they durste not speake a word for feare, but taking a meane way, cryed to be released of the warre, hoping because he had nēde of men to finish the rest of his wars, he would haue laide somewhat of the giftes. But he contrarie to all opinion, without any stay answered: *I discharge you*. They being astonied hereat, and standing in a great silence, he saide againe: *And I will giue you all that I haue promised you, when I shall triumphe of the rest*. This word vnlooked for, & appearing so curteous, did strike in them suche a consideratiō with an emulation, that they thoughte it a shame to forsake their Capitaine in the middes of his enimies, and that others shoulde triumph in their places. They remembred what losse they should haue by leauing the warre in *Libya*, and be thought enimies aswell to *Cæsar* as to hys aduersaries: for this doubt they remained silent in feare, hoping yet that *Cæsar* woulde haue giuen them rewarde, and forgyuen them the faulte for hys present nēde, but he sate as silent as they. Therefore hys friends wished him to say somwhat vnto them, & not to leaue them, that so oft had serued hym, with so shorte & seuere a speech. He began to speake & call thē Citizens in stead of souldiors, which was a token they were discharged of ẏ warre, & become in their former priuate case. This they could not suffer, but cryed that they did repent, and prayed they might be taken to the warre, *Cæsar* refused it, and came from the seate. Then they made greater instaunce, beseeching hym that if they hadde done amisse to punishe them: he stayed a while, neither going forward nor backewarde, seeming to doubt what to do, yet hee returned and sayde hee woulde punishe none of them, but that it grieued him that the tenth legion, whiche he had alwaies loued and honored, shoulde giue cause of suche tumulte, and onely thys saide.

Cæsars wisedom among his reuolting Souldiors.

Souldiours repent them.

I do release them of their seruice, and yet wyll gyue them all I haue promised them, when I come from *Libya*, and I will giue lande to all, when the warres shall be ended, not as *Sylla* dydde, spoyling it from other that hadde it, and causing both the taker and the loser, to liue togither, to maintayne,

"tayne perpetuall enmitye, but I wyll diuide bothe the com-
"mon and mine owne, and the lacke I wyl buy with my money.

Showte and reioyce was made of all, sauing of the tenth legion, against the whiche *Cæsar* semed to be inexorable. Therfore they desired hym they might bee punished by death, as the lotte shoulde fall out. But he hauing no neede of further reuye of them, and perceyuing they were throughlye penitent, forgaue them all, and streyght went to the war in *Barbarie*, passing from the narrowe Sea at *Reggio*, hee wente to *Messina* and to *Lilybee*, where he vnderstoode that *Cato* kept part of the army bothe by sea and lande at *Vtica*, wyth three hundred whiche lyke chiefe counsellers were greatest doers of the war, and called the Senate, and that the Generall *Lucius Scipio*, and the best laye in *Adrumeto*, therfore he sayled against *Scipio* who was gone to *Iuba*, & gaue order for the fight with his campe, taking the opportunity against the hys enimyes that were without the Generall. *Labienus* and *Petreius* chiefe vnder *Scipio*, did not refuse the fyght, & had far the better of *Cæsar*, putting him to flight, & fiercely with contynt followyng hym, til *Labienus* horse was thruste throughe the belly and killed, and he saued by the guarde of hys person. *Petreius*, as he that had taken sufficient triall of his army, & might winne when he woulde, lefte the thing vnfinished, saying to them that were by him: *Least we should take the victory from Scipio our Generall.* This was also another token of *Cæsars* fortune, that his enimies in apparaunce hauing the victory, woulde so sodainly breake the fight, when they had the day. They say that *Cæsar* at this fight, was fayne to stande against his men, and to take the Egle frō him that bare it, being the chiefe standerd, and to goe to the formost to stay thē frō flying, till *Petreius* retired, and *Cæsar* had time to depart with leysure. This end had the first fight ỹ he made in *Barbarie*. Not long after, *Scipio* came forth with .8. legions, rr. M. horsmē wherof the most part were *Affricanes*, many target mē, & rrr. Elephants, which *Iuba* the kyng, who had other fortemen, about rrr. M. and innumerable horsmē almost rr. M. many darters, and three score other Elephants.

Reggio is the furthest towne in Italy towardes Lilibeo a foreIande of Sicely.
Cæsar sayleth into Barbarie.
Vtica a Cittye in Affrica, thirtie myles from Carthage.
A Senate in Lybia of three hundred Romaines.
Adrumeto a City in Affrica, farre from Carthage.
Labienus.
Petreius putteth Cæsar backe.
Petreius folowyeth not the victorye.

The tenth legiō desireth to bee punished.

Cæsars fortune.

The daunger of Cæsar.

Scipios armye.

Cæsars army was dismayed, and troubled among themselues

as well for their former losse, as for the fame of their aduersaries, both in number and vertue, specially the *Numidian* horsemen, besides the terror that they had to make a straunge fighte with the Elephantes. But *Bocchus*, another king of the *Moores*, hauing take *Cirta*, the chiefe Citie of *Iuba*, be vpon the newes of his owne losse, returned home with his armye, leauing onely thirty Elephants with *Scipio*. *Cæsars* army by this tooke forth courage, as the fifth Legion desired the fight against the Elephates, of whome, hauing a noble victory, they geue an Elephante in their ensigne at this day. The battell being long and difficulte on euery side, and full of uncertaintie, about the euening *Cæsar* hardly gate the victory, and ouerthrew *Scipio*. Cato, not leauing the victory in the night, till all was brought to passe, the enimies by smal parts as they could, fled: and *Scipio* with *Afranio*, leauing all, fledde to the Sea with twelue Ships vnarmed. Thus an armye of fourescore thousande Souldyers, well trayned in the warre, and encamped by the former victory, was in this seconde fight vtterly vanquished. *Cæsars* glory, through his felicitie, was coupled of all men vnconquerable, and they that were ouercome, woulde attribute nothing to his manhode, but excuse all theyr faultes by his felicitie. It seemeth that this warre had this vnfortunate end, by the vnskilfulnesse of the Captaynes, that they did not endure, till *Cæsar* might haue bin put to his shiftes, nor tyring the first victory to perfection, but woulde needes leaue it, when they were in the middest of it. This being told at *Vtica* the thyrde day, and *Cæsar* comming forward, euery man beganne to flée, of whome *Cato* stayed none, but gaue Shippes to the noble men that desired them, yet himselfe tarryed like a constant man, and where they of *Vtica* promised, that they woulde make intercession to *Cæsar* for him, before themselues, *Cato* smiled and answered, there needed no reconciliation betweene *Cæsar* and him, and that *Cæsar* knew well ynough. Then he sealed vp al the treasure, and the assurances and writings of euery man, and deliuered them to the Magistrates of *Vtica*, and in the euening vsing his bath and his supper, sitting at his meate as he was wonte to do, since the death of *Pompey*, nothing changing from his wonted

Bocchus King of the *Moores*, that delinered *Iugurth* to *Sylla*.

Cirtha a Citie of *Numidia*, nowe *Constans*, where *Iugurth* kylled *Adherbal*.

The fifth Legion giueth the Elephant in an ensigne.

Cæsars victory.

Cæsars felicitie.

Vnskilfulnesse.

The noblemen of *Rome* flee.

Cato to the *Vticenses*.

manner, neyther taking more nor lesse. He talked familiarly with them that were present, of them that were sayled, and if the wind were good for them, and how farre they might passe before the morning that *Cæsar* came. And when he went to bedde, he changed nothing of his vsage, but only embraced his sonne more straightly than he was wont: but because he found not his sword in the place at his bed where it was wont to stande, he cryed, he was betrayed to his enimies of his owne folke. What should I dye (quoth he) if they set vpon me in the night? They desired him he would be content, and to worke nothing against himselfe, but to rest without his sworde. Might I not (quoth he) if I would, choke my selfe with my cloke, or crush my head against the wal, or fall & breake my necke, or stoppe my breath and kill my selfe? When they heard him speake after this sort, they brought him his sword. Then he called for *Plato* booke of the Immortalitie of the Soule, which wise he had redde, and thinking them that kept the doores to be at rest, he stroke himselfe with the sworde vnder the brest, whereat his bowels fell out, at the which hoyse, they without came in, & the Physitions put in his bowels againe & perished. When he came againe to himselfe, he was sory he had giuē no deeper wound, thāking them that they had saued his life, & made thē beleeue he would rest: then they toke away ỹ sworde, and shut ỹ doze, that he might sleepe: he seeming to be asleepe, tare asunder with his hands (like a wilde beast) the sowing vp of hys wound, rente his belly asunder, and slong the entrayles into the floze, and so dyed at fiftie yeares of his age. By doing this, he confirmed the opinion that he held of all men, most singulare by nature, iudging vertue, honestie, & godnesse, not by mens maners, but by high cogitations of the minde. *Martia Philips* daughter he married a mayde, and loued hir full deerely, and after he had children by hir, he gaue hir to his friend *Hortensio*, that was desirous of children, and could not get a frutefull wife, and when she was with child by him, he receyued hir home again, as with interest. This was *Catos* behauiour. The *Vticenses* buryed him verye honorably. *Cæsar* sayde, that *Cato* enuyed his glorious procedings. *Cicero* made a booke in the praise of him, and called it *Cato*. *Cæsar* made

Cato angry that his sword is taken away.

Cato readeth *Plato* of the Immortalitie of the Soule.

Cato striketh himselfe.

The death of *Cato*.

The singularitie of *Cato*.

Martia is giuen to *Hortensius*.

made another in the disprayse of him, and called it *Anticato*. *Iuba* and *Petreius* hearing what was done, and thinking no safetie nor escape to be left for them, with their swordes killed one another in their house. *Cæsar* made *Iubas* Kingdome tributarie to *Rome*, and appointed *Crispus Salustius* to be Lieutenant of it. He pardoned the *Vticenses*: and *Catos* sonne, and a daughter of *Pompey*, with two little children whome he toke at *Vtica*, he sent safe to *Pompey*. Of the three hundred, as many as he found he put to death. *Lucius Scipio* the Generall, keeping the seas all Winter, till he fell among the enimies, behaued himselfe very valiantly, till he was ouercome, and then stroke himselfe, and lept into the Sea. This was the end of *Cæsars* warre in *Libya*. Then he went to *Rome*, and made foure triumphes of the *Frech*, of the which he had ouerthrowne many and greate nations, and the other reuolting, he brought to order, of *Pharnace* at *Pontus*, of *Libya*, and the confederates of *Scipio*, where *Iuba*, the sonne of *Iuba*, the wrighter of Histories, beeing yet an infant, was brought. He shewed also a certaine triumph of *Aegipt*, with a fighte by water at *Nilus*, which he was done betweene the *French*, and the *Pharnacian* triumph. but he restrayned from triumphing of the *Romaines*, as ciuill warre not fit for him, & lothsome and vnlucky to y *Romaines*, to be shewed in triumph: yet all the chances, and y men in pictures, & diuers images, (*Pompey* except) he brought in: him only he forbad to be shewed, because he was so wel beloued of all sorts. The people (though they were afrayd) lighed at this sighte, especially when they saw *Lucius Scipio* the generall strike himselfe to the heart, & fall into the Sea, & *Petreius* in his tent to kill himselfe, and *Cato* tearing his bowels like a brute beast, but at the death of *Achillas* and *Photinus*, they reioyced, and at the sight of *Pharnaces* they laughed. The money that was brought in the triumphes, is said to be 60. Talents and an halfe, and two thousande, eight hundred two and twenty Crownes of gold, the waight whereof did arise to twenty thousand foure hundred fourteene pound waight, by the which after y triumphes were ended, he performed al that he had promised to his army, & more to. For euery souldier he gaue fiue hundred drammes of *Athens*, to a leader of a band twice so much, to a Captayne of a

Amicato.

Iuba and *Petreius* killed themselues one another.

Crispus Salustius Lieutenant.

Yong *Pompey*.

Cæsar putteth to death.

Scipio drowned

Triumph of *Cæsar*.

Iuba.

Lamentable shewes.

Affections of the people.

A talent of the least value, vvas one hundred poundes, vvhich is called the lesse talēt of *Athens*.

The greater talent of *Athens*, vvas aboute 133. poundes.

There vvere other talentes, vvhereof some vvere 400. pound.

A dramme of *Athens* conteyned sixe *Oboli*, vvhiche vvas much like oure halfepeny, and one hundred drammes made an *Athēs* pound.

of a thousande, and a Lieutenante of horsemen twice so muche more, and to euery one of the people, one pounde of *Athens*. He exhibited manye shewes of horse and musicke, and fighting on foote, one thousand against an other, and of horsemen two thousand against so many, and other of footemen and horsemen mingled togither, and of Elephantes, twentye against twentye, and a fight by Sea of foure hundred Galleys, and a thousande of eyther side. He erected a Temple to *Venus* hys auncestor, as he vowed at *Pharsalo*, and about the temple a goodly court, which he would should be called the *Romaines* court, not for byng and selling, but for conference, as among the *Persians*, there is for them that will haue any doubt discussed touching iustice. The Image of *Cleopatra* was set vp by the Goddesse very faire, whiche is yet seene there. A view of the people was made, and they found scarcely halfe so many men aliue, as were before the beginning of the warre, so much had contention wasted the Citie.

Shewes by *Cæsar*.

Venus Temple:

The *Romaines* Court like to our Exchange. Place of conference.

Image of *Cleopatra*.

Decay of people.

Now was he made Consull the fourth time, and went into *Iberia* against yong *Pompey*, as to the leauings of the ciuill warre, not to be neglected, for all the best men that fledde out of *Libya* resorted to him, and all the remnant of the armies at *Pharsalo*, and other places, repaired thither. Of the *Iberianes* and *Celtiberianes*, very valiant nations, vsed to the warres, and of slaues a multitude, had serue *Pompey*, and hauing him exercised foure yeares, were ready to fight with desperate minde. *Pompey* putting great trust in this, refused not to fighte, but would needes trye it out with *Cæsar* as soone as he came. But the auncient and wise men in experience that were come from *Pharsalo* and *Libya*, did rather aduise him to consume *Cæsar* in time, and to distresse him with want, as in those strange places he might. *Cæsar* came from *Rome* in seauen and twenty dayes, passing a long way with a greate army, and suche a feare fell among them that he brought, as neuer did before, because of the multitude, experience, and desperation of the enemies: wherefore *Cæsar* came the slowlyer forth, and because he vsed some forefight, *Pompey* came lustily vpon him, and vpbrayded him of fearefulnes, which rebuke *Cæsar* could not suffer, but made order for the battell at *Corduba*: his worde was,

Consull.

Power in *Spayne*.

Yong *Pompey* refuseth auncient counsell.

Cæsar into *Spayn*. Feare of his Souldyoures. Rashnesse of yong *Pompey*. *Corduba*, a Citie in *Spayne*, the countrey of both *Seneca* and *Lucane* the Poet, nowe *Cordoua*.

Venus

Venus and *Pompeys* Pietie. When they shoulde goe to it, a feare and dreadfull slouthfulnesse toke *Cæsars* army, wherefore he besought all the Goddes, and held vp his hands to Heauen, that he might not lose all his noble actes by this one Battell, and therefore went about the army, and exhorted them to be bold. He pulled his headpéce from his head, that they might sée his face, and so receyue good heart: but they for all that could not put awaye their feare, till *Cæsar* toke a Target from one of them, and to the Captaynes about him thus sayde: Shall this be the ende to mée of life, and to you of seruice? and ranne from the army so farre, as he was but tenne foote from his enimies, who threwe two hundred dartes at him, of the which he shunned part, and part he receyued on the Target. Then his Captaynes ranne aboute him, euery man, and the whole army set forward with great violéce, and foughte all daye, sometime with aduantage, and sometyme with disaduantage, sometime winning, and sometime losing, tyll at night he gote the victory with muche adoe, so as he sayde, at other times, he had fought for victory, but now, he fought for life. There was great slaughter of *Pompeys* part, which fledde to *Corduba*. And *Cæsar*, that they shoulde not gather agayne to a newe fight, commaunded his army to compasse the Citie. They being weary of the former payne, toke the bodyes, and the armure of them that were slayne, and bare them betwéene them, and making them fall to the earth with their speares, vsed them for a Trench. The next morning the Citie was taken of *Pompeys* captaynes. *Scapula* made a fire, and threwe himselfe into the flame. The heads of *Varus*, *Labienus*, and other noble men, were brought to *Cæsar*. *Pompey* at the beginning of the losse, fledde with a hundred and fiftie horse into the *Carteia*, where he hadde a nauie of shippes, he came secretely to the Shippes carried in a litter, and when he perceyued them there to be in feare of themselues, he was in dread to be betrayed, & therfore toke a boate agayne, and by the way, his foote hong in one of the ropes, whiche one minding to cut, missed the rope, and hurte him in the foote, but hée went on to the next village, and was cured, where being sought for, he fledde among the bushes and desert pathes, in the whyche

Feare in *Cæsars* army.

Some writers, that this fight was giuen at *Monda*, which is now *Mundecas*: the places not being farre asunder, some name the one, and some the other.

Danger of *Cæsar*.

Cæsars saying of this fight.

A trenche made of dead bodyes

Corduba taken.

Scapula.

Varus, and *Labienus*, killed.

Pompey fleeth.

Carteia is a Citie in Granado, now *Tarifa*.

Pompey hurt.

the thornes did pricke his wounde so, as for very wearinesse he sate him downe vnder a tree, whether the searchers pursued him, and he valiantly defending himselfe was slayne, his head being carried to *Cæsar*, and by his commaundemente buryed: so thys warre at one bruntе, contrary to all opinion, was ended. A yonger brother of this *Pompey*, called *Sextus*, did gather the remnant of the leauings of this warre, and in close maner conueyed himselfe hither and thither, robbing for their liuing. Nowe *Cæsar* hauing finished all ciuill dissention, wente to *Rome*, with suche feare and opinion, as neuer man before. All honors that aboue mans reach could be deuised, were done vnto him: Sacrifices, Playes, and giftes, as well in Temples and publike places by the companies of the Citie, as by all nations and Kings confederate to the people of *Rome*. Many diuers formes were set vpon his images, of the which some had crownes of oke, as to the sauioure of the countrey, with the which in olde time they were honored that saued their Countrey. He was named father of the Countrey, and chosen Dictator perpetuall, and Consull for tenne yeares, and touching his bodye, accompted sacred and inuiolable. He gaue audience in a chaire of golde and yuorie, and continually made Sacrifices, clad with triumphant garments. They ordered the Citie to be holy thole dayes that he wan anye victories. They appoynted Sacrifices and Priestes for fyue yeares, and publike vowes for his preseruation, and orders were made, by the which all his actes were confirmed by oth. And in the honor of his house, the Moneth *Quintilis*, was called *Iulius*. Many Temples were dedicated to him alone, as to a God, and one ioyntly to him and *Clemencie* holding hande in hande. Thus do they feare hym as a Lorde, and honor him as a mercifull Winner. There were that laboured to haue called him King, till he heard of it, and forbad it with threats that no man thoulde once name it, as detestable, and vnlawfull from his auncetters. He discharged the bands of his garde, by whome he had bin defended from his enimies, and wente abroade with the officers of the Citie onely. He beyng in the common place, and giuing audience, the Senate with the Consuls beyng before in ready order,

Pompey the elder slayne, slayne.

Pompey the yonger brother.

Cæsar honored of all.

The great honoures of the auntient Romaines vvas to giue Crovvnes or garlandes to them that had done vvorthy feruice: Father of the Countrey. Dictator perpetuall. Honoures giuen to Cæsar. Holy dayes.

Quintus Iulius, Temples dedicated to *Cæsar*.

Cæsar refuseth the name of Kyng.

brought

brought him a decree of all these honors, whiche he receyued gently, not rising to them, neyther comming nor going: whyche gaue occasion of matter to them that meant to accuse him of aspiring to a Kingdome. He accepted all the dignities, sauing the Consulship for tenne yeares, therefore willed himselfe to be declared Consull, and *Antonius* with him, that was Captayne of his Horsemen, whiche office he appoynted to *Lepidus*, to exercise the rule of Horsemen by deputies, bycause he was Gouernour in *Iberia*. He reuoked all banishments, except such as were fledde for wicked offences. He pardoned his enimies, and to suche as had foughte against him, he gaue yearely offices, and sente them to charges of prouinces and armies, whiche made the people to thinke, that he woulde haue lefte them in a common wealthe, as *Sylla* did when he had the like authoritie: but they were deceiued. One of them that would haue had the name of a King sette forwarde, did put vppon his image a Crowne of Laurell, wyth a wreath of a white ribande. *Marullus* and *Sirius* being Tribunes, apprehended him, and threwe him in prison, thinking so to haue pleased *Cæsar*, as one that abhorred the name of King. This he suffered patiently, and where others called him King as he went out at the gates, and the people sighed at it, he answered couertly, I am not King, but *Cæsar*, as though they had bin deceyued in the name. *Marullus* caused him to be apprehended, that fyrste of them beganne this matter, and willed hym to be brought to answere in hys Courte. Then *Cæsar* coulde no longer suffer, but accused *Marullus* and hys fellowes before the Senate, as one that craftily wrought agaynste hym by a calumniation of Tyrannie, and whereas they deserued deathe, yet he thoughte it sufficiente for them to lose theyr office, and be putte out of the Senate. Thys dyd moste of all confirme, that he coueted thys title, and that he bente all his practise to that ende, and was vtterly become a Tyrante, for as there was good authoritie to punish them that named any man king, so was the Tribunes office holy, inuiolate by lawe, and auntient oth, and it made the anger the sharper, that he woulde not tarrie the time of his office, whiche when he vnderstoode, he

Cæsars flatellines.

Occasion of hate.

Cæsar and *Antonius* Consuls.

The clemencie of *Cæsar*.

Cæsar deceyueth the peoples opinion.

A Crovvne vpō *Cæsars* Image, by one that vvas apprehended of the Tribunes *Marullus*, and *Sirius*.

Cæsar accepteth not the name of a King.

Cæsar angrye vvith the Tribunes, causeth suspition of Kingdome.

did

did repent him, and first perceyued, that it was an harde thing to deale rigorously in peace, without authoritie of warre. Hys friends gaue him counsel to beware, and that he had giuen great occasion to his aduersaries to get matter against him: therefore when they moued him ỹ he would be content to haue a garde of Spanish bandes, he sayd, there was nothing more vnhappy, thã a continual gard, for it is of one that is euer afrayd. Yet the practises to be a king, ceassed not, for sitting one day in the commõ place in a chayre of golde to sée the playes of *Panne*, *Antony* his fellowe in office, naked and annoynted, as the manner was for the Ministers of that solemnitie, ranne vp to *Cæsars* seate, and set a crowne on his head, at the which sight few reioyced, and more lamenting, *Cæsar* threw it off. *Antony* set it on againe, but *Cæsar* reiected it. The people stode silent, loking what end this woulde haue, and when they saw *Cæsar* vtterly refuse it, they reioyced, and highly commended him therefore. Now eyther bycause he despayred, or in vayne attempted, or woulde auoyde the practise of so odious a thing, or for that he woulde leaue the Citie bycause of some enimies, or that he had regard to his health, being troubled with a falling sickneſſe, which in reſt many times came vpon him, he determined a greate voyage against the *Getes* and *Parthianes*: against the *Getes*, bycause they were insolente people, and quarrelling, euer troubling the *Romaine* state. Against the *Parthianes*, bycause he would reuenge *Crassus* deathe whome they had slayne, contrary to oth and promise, and so hauing an armye of sixteene Legions, and tenne thousand Horse, he sent them afore to passe the *Ionian* Sea. There was out of *Sybils* bookes an olde saying, that the *Parthians* shoulde not be ouercome, till a king went against them: wherefore some there were so bold to saye, that as it was expedient for the *Romaines* to call him *Dictator*, or *Imperator*, or anye other name in stead of a king, so that all nations subiect to the *Romaine* Empire, should call hym king. He refused this also, and made hast to his iourney, bycause he sawe he was enuyed in the Citie: but whereas he tarried till the appoynted time, his enimies killed him foure dayes before in the Senate house, eyther for enuie, which commonly accompanyeth such

Cæsar vvarred.

Answvere of *Cæsar* touching a gard of his person.

Lupercalia vvere shewes of naked Priestes in the honoure of *Panne*.

Antony setteth a Crovvne on *Cæsars* head.

Cæsar hath the falling sickneſſe.

Getæ, *Scithians* in *Europa*.

Voyage into *Parthie*.

Prophecie.

Enuie.

such felicitie & auctoritie, or as they said, for the loue of their coũtreys libertie. For now they knew well that thoughe hee did not ouercome those nations, without doubte he woulde be a King. And for this cause (I thinke) they toke the enterprise agaynste him, vnder the pretence of that name: for thoughe hée was but *Dictator* in degrée, it was as much as a kyng in déede: There were two chiefe in that conspiracy, *Marius Brutus Cepio*, sonne to *Brutus* that was killed of *Sylla*, whiche fled to *Cæsar* after the calamitie of *Pharsalo* field, and *Caius Cassius* that delyuered hys galeis into *Cæsars* hand at *Hellespont*. These two were afore of *Pompeys* part, and now much honoured of *Cæsar*. *Decimus, Brutus, Albinus*, alwayes thoughte worthy of *Cæsar* to be vsed in honor and credite, and had great affaires committed to them, and in the wars in *Lybia*, trusted them wyth armies, and made them Gouernours of Prouinces. *Decimus* of France beyond the Alpes, & *Brutus* of the same, on thys side the Alpes. Conspiratours. M. Brutus. Ca. Cassius. D. Brutus.

Brutus and *Cassius* béeyng Prætors, contended for the superiorite of the place, eyther indéede who shoulde be higher, or else for a pretence, that they shoulde séeme to be no friendes. *Cæsar* setting order betwixte them, said to hys friendes: *Cassius* desireth right, but *Brutus* muste be pleased. With so great loue and honour did *Cæsar* vse hym, that of some he was compted hys son, bicause he loued very wel *Seruilia, Catos* sister, and *Brutus* mother. Cloaked contention.

Wherfore when he got the victory at *Pharsalo*, hée gaue greate charge to hys Captayns, that in any wise they should saue *Brutus*. But *Brutus* either as an ingrate man, or ignorant of his mothers faulte, or distrustfull, or ashamed, or very desirous of his coũtrys libertie, preferring it before all other things, or that he was descended of the auntient *Brutus*, that droue out the Kings: or that he was incensed and rebuked of the people, for manye things were written vppon the Images of olde *Brutus*, and in the Courte hall of this *Brutus* secretly set vp: *Brutus* thou takest rewardes, *Brutus* thou arte dead, O *Brutus* I woulde thou were aliue nowe, *Brutus*, what vnworthy posterity hast thou: *Brutus* thou arte not come of hym. Cæsars care of Brutus. Brutus.

These and many other lyke, did inflame the yong mans mind

to take the worke in hande as from his progenitor: The fame of making hym king did still encrease, and that there shoulde be a Counsell for it, a little before the which, *Cassius* toke *Brutus* by the hand and sayd:

Cassius. „ *Brutus* what shall we do in that counsell? shall we, as *Cæsars*
„ flatterers agrée to make hym kyng? *Brutus* answered, I would
Brutus. „ not be at that Counsell. *Cassius* being cheared with these wordes,
„ said: what if they call vs as Officers, what shall we do (good *Bru-*
„ *tus*?) I wyll (quoth he) defend my Countrey euen to the death.
„ Then *Cassius* embraced hym, saying: Whom wilte thou take of
„ the best being of this opinion: doest thou thinke that artificers
„ and light people do set these writings vpon thy Judgemēt place,
„ rather thā the best Citizens of *Rome*, which of other Prætors do
„ loke for shews, and pastimes of horse and wilde beasts, but of
„ thē they require liberty, as a worke worthy thine auncestors.

After they had thus firste opened what they had long kept in their minds before, they then dealte plainely, and eche of them proued his own friends, and some of *Cæsars*, whome they knewe to be méete for a bolde enterprise, and they got of their frendes two brethren, *Cecilius* and *Bucolianus*, thē *Rubrius Riga*, *Q. Liguarius*, *Marcus Spurius*, *Seruilius Galba*, *Sextius Naso*, and *Pontius Aquila*, all these of their truste friends, and of *Cæsars* familiars. *Decimus*, of whome we spake, *Caius Casca*; *Trebonius Tullius Cymbrus*, *Minutius*, and *Basillus*. These béeyng thoughte sufficient, and not iudging it fit to haue anye moe, they agréed togyther, wythout othe or sacrifice, and yet was there not one that changed or disclosed, but only fought tyme and place.

More Cōspiratours.

The tyme was shorte, bycause *Cæsar* muste goe awaye the fourth daye to hys armyes, and then shoulde straighte haue a guarde of Souldioures aboute hym: The place, they appointed the Senate house: thinking though the Senatoures were not priuie, yet when they sawe the déede, they woulde helpe to it, as they saye happened to *Romulus*, who of a kyng became a Tyrante.

Romulus was thought to be borne a peece of the Senate.

And that thys acte euen as that, béeyng done in the place of Counsel, shoulde not be thoughte a treason, but a déede of the Cittie,

Citie, voyde of dreade of *Cæsars* armye, bycause it was a common consent, and that honour shoulde remaine to them also, as not ignorant of the whole entent. Concluding vppon this, they thought the Senate house the fittest place. Of the maner, they differed: some thought good to kill *Antonie* also, being Consull with *Cæsar*, and his greatest friend, and most accepted to the armye. But *Brutus* sayde, if we dispatche *Cæsar* alone, wee shall be named killers of a Tyranne, bycause we deliuer vs of a king, and thereof muste haue oure prayse: but if we kill anye of hys friendes, we shall be thoughte seditious against *Pompeys* enimies. Being all persuaded by this, they lohed for the next meeting of the Senate. Consultation of *Cæsars* death.

The daye before that *Cæsar* shoulde goe to the Senate, he had bin at a banquet with *Lepidus* Capitayne of the horsemen, whither he carryed *Decimus Brutus Albinus*, and talkyng merilye what death was beste for a man, some saying one, and some an other, be of all, praised the sodaine death. *Cæsar* at a banquet. Sodayne death beste.

Thus he prophecied of hymselfe, and spake in feste of that whiche shoulde come to passe in earnest the next day. After the banquet, in the night, his body was sickely, and hys wife *Calphurnia* dreamed she sawe hym all to be goared with blonde, and therefore stopped hys going forth. In making sacrifices, manye fearefull tokens appeared, wherfore he determined to haue sent *Antony*, to dissolue the Senate. *Cæsars* wyfe a fearefull dream. Sacrifices vnprosperous.

Decimus being present, perswaded him not to take that calumniation of the suspition, but himselfe to goe and dissolue it, and so he was carryed thither in a Litter. Impediments to the conspiracie.

That daye certaine playes were exhibited in *Pompeys* Theatre, therefore the Senate shoulde be kept in the place nexte to it: vsing also to see the sights. Theatre of Pompey.

Brutus and *Cassius* early in the morning, did sit as Pretors, giuing audience to suitors very quietly in a courte nighe the theatre of *Pompey*, and hearing of *Cæsars* sacrifices, and the differing of the Senate, were in greate doubte: and one that was there, toke *Casca* by the hande, and sayde vnto hym: wouldst you keepe it from me that am your friende? *Brutus* tolde me *Casca* Dissembling.

was in a sodayne passion, that he knewe it: then he saide more to hym smilyng, where wolt you haue money for your office of Edilis and Cassa tolde him. Brutus and Cassius beyng together, and in talke, one of the Senators Publius Lenas sayde, hee wished well to that they had in their mindes, and erhorted them to dispatch it. They being much amazed, holde their peace for anguishe.

Edilis had the ouersight of houses, temples, and preparation of Playes.

As Cæsar came forth, one of hys familiars vnderstanding of the conspiracie, and dyng to tel what hee hearde, wente to Calphurnia, and saide vnelye thys, bycause the matter touched Cæsar much, he would tarry til he came from the Senate, for he knew not al that was wrought against him.

Suspition of disclosing.

And one Artemidorus that was his hoste in Guide, ranne vnto the Counsell house and found hym neare slaine. Of another a booke of the Conspiracie was deliuered, as he made haste into the Senate, whiche was founde againe in hys hande when hee was dead. And came out of his Litter Lenas, that had wished wel before to Cæsar, came vnto hym, and talked verye earnestlye with him, the sight whereof did trouble the, and the length of the talke made them winke one at another, to dispatche themselues, before they should be taken.

A booke of the Conspiracie.

Feare to the Conspiratoures.

But perceyuing by the manner, that Lena was liker to speake for himselfe and make supplication, than to bewray them, they stayed, and in the ende, when they saw hym giue humble thankes, they were encouraged againe.

It was the custome that Rulers of the Citie shoulde sacrifice, when they went to the Senate: And agayne in Cæsars firste sacrifice, there was no harte, or as some say, no heade of the entrailes, and whe the Diuino saide it was a signe of death, hee smiled and sayde, so it was in Spaine, when I ouerthrewe Pompey: and the Diuino answering that then he was in perill indeede, and nowe the token was more manifest: Cæsar bad hym sacrifice againe, & nothing appearing better than it was, & being ashamed ỹ he made ỹ Senate tarry for hym, & being hastned of his enimies, as though they had bin frends, in dispight of his enimies, he went in, *For it must needes come that was determined.*

Sacrifices.

Cæsar contemneth the sacrifices of euil luck.

They

They left *Trebonius* to entertaine *Antony* without the dores, and when *Cæsar* was set in hys seate, they stode aboute him as hys friends, with weapons hid, and first *Attilius Cymber* stod before him, & made sute for hys brothers returne that was banished: *Cæsar* being against it, & vtterly denying it, hée toke hym by the purple robe, as he would haue made more sute, he ruffled the garment, and pulled it ouer his necke, crying: Why staye you (O frends?) *Casca* came ouer his head, & first thrust his dagger at his throat, which missing, hit him on ỹ breast. *Cæsar* twitching his gown frō *Cimbro*, & catching *Casca* by ỹ hand, flung frō his seate, & with great violēce layd hold vpon *Casca*. Whiles he was doing this, wrestling with him, another stroke him on the side that laye open, and *Cassius* hurte him in the face, and *Brutus* on the thyghe, and *Bucolianus* betweene the shoulders: yet *Cæsar* with rage and roare like a wilde beaste, stepped to euery of thē: but after *Brutus* had hurt him, as thoughe then hée had dispaired, he wrapte himself in his gowne, and fell comely before the picture of *Pompey*: and they, (when he was downe) vsed such despite, as they gaue him three and twentie wounds, and many were so hastie, that they hurte one another.

Tullius.

The maner of *Cæsars* death.

Cæsar gineth ouer when *Brutus* had stroken him, and some write that he sayd, what thou also sonne.

When this act was done by these murderers in a sacred place, vpon a sacred and inuiolate man, by and by there was fleeing from the Senate house, and about all the Citie: and in the tumulte, some Senatours were hurt, and other men were killed: and there was muche slaughter done both of Citizens and straungers, not of purpose, but as happeneth in such a ciuill stir, when one commeth vpō another ignorauntly. The sworde players that had bene in armour from the morning, for the shewe of certaine playes, ranne from the game place, to the barres of the Senate house: the people that came to the playes driuen into a feare, fledde away: shoppes were spoyled: al dores were shutte, and preparation made for defence from the house toppes. *Antony* went to his owne house, entending to take aduice for this case of *Cæsars*.

Confusion.

Antony.

Lepidus the Captaine of horsemen, being in the cōmon place and hearing what was done, ranne to the Ile within the Ty-

Lepidus.

tie, where he had a legion, and brought them abroade to be ready at *Antonies* commaundement. For he did cleaue to *Antony* as *Cæsars* friende, and chiefly as Consull. Being mette together, they had greate desire to reuenge *Cæsars* death that thus was handled. They feared the Senate woulde take the killers parte, therfore they would stay to consider of it. There were no souldiours about *Cæsar*, for he delighted not in a garde, but only vsed the Sergeants of his authoritye, and when he wente from his house to the Senate, he was wayted on with manye of the magistrates, and great number of people, as wel Citizens as straungers, and of seruauntes and free men in great multitude: all the which seeing away by heapes, only three seruauntes taried, which layd his body in the litter. Thus three men not suteable, did carie him home, that a little before was Lorde of sea and lande. The murderers woulde haue sayde somewhat in ỹ Senate house, but no mã wold tarry to heare. They wrapt their gowns about their left armes as Targets, and hauyng their daggers bloudy, cryed they had killed a king and a Tyranne, and one bare an hatte vpon a speare, in token of Libertie. Then they exhorted them to the common wealth of their countrey: and remembred, olde *Brutus* and the oth made againste the old Kings. Some went among them, shewing their daggers, who though they were not at the fact, yet woulde they haue parte of the prayse, as *Lentulus, Spinther, Fauorinus, Aquinus, Dolabella, Murcus*, and *Petitus*, who were not then partakers of the glorie, but afterwarde tasted of the punishment with the offenders.

Conference of *Lepidus* and *Antony*.

Cæsar vsed no souldiours in the Citie.

Three men only tarie vvith *Cæsar*.

Liberty.

They that sought prayse found payne.

The common people came not to them, which made them the more doubtful and in feare. As for the Senate, although for ignorance and tumult, they were fled, yet they had good truste in thẽ, as in their kinsefolkes and friends, and such as could as euil beare Tirannie as they: but the people they suspected, and as many as had serued *Cæsar* in warre, whereof there were not a fewe then present in the Citie, some discharged of the warfare were appointed to habitations, and some that had bin at their dwelling places, were now come again to go the iourney

The feare of the conspirators

wyth

wyth *Cæsar*. They were afrayde also of *Lepidus* and his army in the Citie, and of *Antony* the Consull, leaste he would vse the people only, leauing the Senate, and worke them some displeasure, being thus bestad, they wente to the Capitoll with the woordeplayers, where consulting what was best to be done, it seemed good to giue a largesse to the people, hoping that if some beganne to prayse their act, the other wold folow, for loue of liberty, and the desire of common wealth: for they thoughte ẏ people of *Rome* to be as sincere now, as they had heard it was when olde *Brutus* expelled the Kings, not vnderstanding that they loked for two things contrarye in themselues, that they that loue libertie and would be corrupted, should be profitable to them at this present, wherof ẏ one was more easie to be had, as in a state for ẏ most part corrupted: for now the people was mixt with strangers, & a libertyne was equal with a Citizen, & the fashion of a seruant, like to the maisters: for ẏ Senate except, the rest was indifferẽt to the seruantes. Further, ẏ distribution of corne, which was vsed only in *Rome* to be giuen to ẏ poore, had brought ẏ idle & needie vacabonds of *Italy* to *Rome*. Again, a nũber of olde worne souldiers out of wages, were not deuided into their coũtries as they wer wont seuerally, bicause some had serued in vniuſt wars, but would go into cõmon habitations, & take other mens land & houses, remayning togither in tẽples & cõmon places, vnder one bãner, & one chiefe, ẏ might apoint thẽ a prouince, & selling away their own, to be the more redy to go, they were sone bought for reward. Therfore it was not hard for *Cassius* to gather a nũber of such men, & bring them into ẏ cõmon place: & albeit they were hired, yet durſt they not prayse ẏ was done, for feare of *Cæsars* glory & others deuotion, but for ẏ cõmon welth sake, they cried for peace, & earnestly exhorted the rulers vnto it, for thys was the deuise of the kyllers, to worke their owne safetye. And there coulde bee no peace vnleſſe there were a forgetting, standyng in these termes.

Difference of tyme.

Cause of corruption at *Rome*.

Distribution of Corne.

Maisterleſſe men.

Cynna a Prætor and a kinsemanne by mariage to *Cæsar*, beyonde all opinion, came among them, hauing on hys vesture

Cinna accuseth *Cæsar*.

vesture of office, which he threw of, as giuen him of a Tiran, and called *Cæsar* the Tiranne, and them that kylled hym, killers of a Tiranne, and prayſed the facte, as moſte like to their progenitours, and that thoſe men were to be called from the Capitoll, and to be honoured with dew rewardes. This *Cinna* sayde: but they, ſeeing the vncorrupted people was not myxte wyth them, did not call them from the Capitol, nor did anye thing elſe, but onely exhorted to peace. Then *Dolabella* a yong man and a noble, appointed to be Conſull, after *Cæſar* had ben gone, for the reſte of the yeare, hauing on the garment of a Conſul, and the Maces of his office, was the ſecond that ſpake euill, and pretended he was priuie to the deuiſe, and only ſorie that his hand was not at the doing of it: and as ſome ſaye, hee decréd that that daye ſhoulde be honoured as the byrth day of the Citie. Then the byred men toke harte, when they ſaw both a Prætor and a Conſul to forgiue them, & they called *Caſſius* and the reſt out of the Temple, who were glad of *Dolabella* a yong noble man & a Conſul being moſt méete to match with *Antony*: only there came downe *Caſſius* and *Marcus Brutus* with his bloudy hand, for they had ſtriué who ſhould giue *Cæſar* moſte woundes, and when they were amiddeſt the people, they ſpake nothing humbly, but as in noble and euident things one prayſed another, calling the Citie now bleſſed, attributing muche to *Decimus*, that in ſo fitte a time had ſerued them with ſworoplayers. Then they ſtirred the people, that they woulde do things worthy their auncéſtours, whiche had expelled kings, not reigning by violence as *Cæſar* did, but being choſen lawfully: they alſo prouóded that *Sextus Pompey*, ſonne to *Pompey* the greate, that hadde made warre againſte *Cæſar* for the common wealth, myght be called home, beyng yet in armes in *Spayne* againſte *Cæſars* Captaines, and lykewyſe *Ceſetius* and *Marullus* that were depriued and baniſhed by *Cæſar*, being Tribunes of the people. When they hadde thus ſayde, they wente vppe againe to the Capitoll, for they dyd not truſte verye muche in that multitude. Then their friendes and kinſfolke might repaire vnto them into the Temple, of whom, they

Dolabella.

Brutus and *Caſſius* to the people.

choſe

chose the most auntient to send to *Lepidus* and *Antony* for reconciliation, and regarde of libertie, and to saue the Countrey from the euils that might growe, vnlesse they be foreséene. This much did the messengers require, not praysing ỹ thing that was done, (for they durst not to *Cæsars* friends) but desired to haue it borne with, for the worthynesse of the doers, not for hate to him, but for the loue of their countrey, and pitie of the Citie, nowe consumed with continuall sedition, of whiche one more would vtterly destroy all good men of the same, and that it was not right that for any hate amongst a few, they shoulde worke the publike destruction, but rather that for publike commodities, priuate enmities might be wiped away. *Antonius* and *Lepidus* (as I sayde) minded to reuenge *Cæsars* deathe, eyther for friendships sake, or for a practise betwéene them, or for desire of rule, and thynkyng all things would be the easier to them, if such notable men might be ridde out of the way, yet they feared their friendes and they? kinsfolkes, and the Senate that enclined to them, and most of all *Decimus*, whome *Cæsar* hadde appoynted to gouerne *France* they? neyghboure, whereby he hadde a mighty armye. Then fore they thought it best to tarry for a better occasion, and deuise to gette *Decimus* army that was so valiant and expert, with labours neuer left. Hauing this fetch, *Antony* thus answered the messengers. For priuate displeasure we will worke nothing, but for offence and matter, wherein we are all sworne to *Cæsar* to bée keepers of his body, and defend it against violence, it is requisite, by our oth to follow the fact that is done, and the rather to lyue, with a few pure, than all to be in daunger of those execrations, yet for their honor that be of that opinion, we will debate with you in the Senate house, and take the way for the Citie, that, by common consent shall séeme good. Thus *Antony* answered, saiyng. They gaue thankes and departed with sure hope that al should haue gone well, and that the Senate would haue fauoured their cause throughly. *Antony* in the meane time caused the officers to make watche for the Citie all nighte, and by turne to kéepe their seates as was wonte in the daye, and to haue fires ouer all the Citie, by meane whereof, the friends of ỹ offendoures

Messengers to *Antony* and *Lepidus*.

The deuise of *Antony* and *Lepidus*.

Antonyes answere.

went to euery Senatoures house, and requested them for themselues, and for the Countreys common wealth. There ranne abroade also the Captaynes of suche as should haue habitations, threatning mischiefe, vnlesse some did performe the lads & places that was giuen and promised. The sincere sort of the Citie tooke good hearte, perceiuing the smal number of these doers. They entertayned to the memorie of *Cæsar*, and were of diuers opinions. *Cæsars* money, and the bookes of his doings, were carryed to *Antonie*, eyther bycause *Calphurnie* for the danger of hir house did send them to *Antony*, as more surer, or that *Antony* did so commaund it. This done, a decree was made by *Antony* that nighte, to call the Senate before daye at the Temple of the Goddesse of the earth, not farre from his owne house, for neyther durst he goe to the Senate house in the Capitoll, bycause of the swoorde players gathered there, nor bring the armye into the Towne for troubling of it: notwithstanding *Lepidus* brought them in. Day drawing nigh, other Senatoures came to ỳ Temple of ỳ Goddesse of the earth, and *Cinna* the Prætor hauing on agayne his garmẽt, which the day before he had throwen off, as giuen him of a Tyrant, made hast thither, whome, when parte of the vncorrupted people, and parte of *Cæsars* Souldioures sawe, bẽyng in a rage, bycause the daye before, he was the firste that openly spake euill of *Cæsar*, bẽyng hys kinsman, they threwe stones at hym, and droue hym into an house, and gote woodde to haue burned it, had not *Lepidus* come with the armye and forbydden them. This was the firste token whereby *Cæsars* frendes hadde confidence, that the conspiratoures and the hyred fellowes were afrayde.

Cæsars money and writings sent to *Antony*.

The Senate in the Temple of the Gods of the earth.

Assault against *Cinna*.

In the Senate house there were fewe that were pure from violence and contention. The most parte with diuers deuice fauoured the manquellers, and thoughte them most worthye of truste to be there for common consultation, and of offenders to make them Iudges, the whiche *Antony* dyd not lette, bycause he knewe they woulde not come, as they dyd not indeede. Then in tryall of the Senate, some very earnestly and playnely prayse the facte, namyng them Tyrant-killers, and willed they shoulde be rewarded. Other denyed the reward, themselues not

Varietie of opinion touching the Senate.

desiring

desiring it, nor hauyng done it for that intente, but thoughte it iust they should only be commended as well doers. Some would not allow that commendation, but onely thoughte it ynough if they were forgyuen. Thus did they deuise and forecast at the firste, to what the Senate woulde encline, that after by little and little, they myghte the easier obteyne the rest. The vnto rrupted company did abhorre the acte as wicked, yet for the reuerence of their great houses, were not againste, but that they shoulde be saued: yet that they should be honored as well doers, they coulde not abide. Other spake againste this, that it was not conuenient so to haue them, as the rest, that belonged to their safety, should bee enuyed. And when one sayde, that theyr honour shoulde bee *Cæsars* dishonoure, they answered, that it was not fytte a dead man shoulde bee preferred to the quicke. Another behemently saying, that of two things one must be chosen, eyther to declare *Cæsar* a Tyrante, or to forgiue these by mercy, they toke hold of this only, and required that voyces might be tryed of *Cæsar* by oth, and that the decrees made of necessitie, shoulde not preiudice them, for whyles he ruled, they dyd nothyng freely, but all forfeare of themselues *Pompey* beyng slayne, and wyth hym manye a thousande more. *Antony* marking all thyngs deceptefully, perceyuing that ample and euidente matter of speeches was offered, determined to turne theyr cogitation wyth a priuate care and feare of themselues, and vnderstandyng that a greate parte of these Senatours, were appointed to offices and Priesthodes in the Citie, and to gouernements of armyes and prouinces by *Cæsar*, for the tyme to come, (for hee shoulde bee long forthe wyth hys armye, the space of fyue yeares) commaundyng silence as Consull, thus sayde. *Antonyes sutteltie.*

They that woulde haue voyces tryed vpon *Cæsar*, must know afore, that if he ruled as an officer lawfully chosen, then all hys actes and decrees must stande in force, but if by violence I wée thinke he playd the Tyrant, then must his body be cast out of ỹ Citie vnburyed, and all his actes be reuoked: wherfore (as I see) we must medle w̃ all ỹ world both by sea & land, & many be such, *Antonyes Oration.*

‹ as though we would, will not obey vs, as I shall declare here-
‹ after. Now what appertayneth to vs alone (for this matter, tou-
‹ cheth only vs) I will put all things before you, that as in an ea-
‹ sye platte you may see a shewe of harder things. All we in man-
‹ ner haue borne office vnder *Cæsar*, and yet doe beare, chosen, and
‹ made by him, and some are, to haue offices in time to come, as
‹ the lotte fals out, for you know he appointed for fiue yeares the
‹ yearely offices of the Citie to you, and the regimentes of Coun-
‹ treys and armies. If you will willingly forgoe them (for that is
‹ in your power to do) this would I haue you first determine, and
‹ then proceede to other. Thus *Antony* did kindle a fire, not for
Cæsar, but for themselues, and helde his peace. Then they by and
by in throngs with shoutes, starte vp, and deuyed that any other
triall shoulde be made by the voyces of the people, but that the
things appointed, should be assuredly holden. There were some
vnder age, and other that might finde resistance in election,
whome he chiefly stirred, of whome *Dolabella* the Consull was
one, to whome it was not lawfull to be consul by election, bycause
he was not fiue and twenty yeares of age, wherefore he shewed
Dolabella changed. a suddayne mutation of that he pretended the daye before, reb-
king as many of them, as thought the conspiratours worthy of
honor, that they that were in office, should be dishonored, by ma-
king their securitie to haue the better shew. Other put *Dolabella*
and the rest in hope, that they shoulde receyue thankes of the
people, and straight resume their dignities, without any alter-
ation of the officers, but to shewe a lawfuller way by common e-
lection, and that it shoulde be an ornament to them to be aduan-
ced, as well by the authoritie of the people, as by the appoynt-
mente of one ruler: and this was no sooner spoken, but some of
the officers, to deceyue the other, put off their robes, as to re-
ceyue the same againe more lawfully. Some perceyued the
craft, and did not thinke to get by election, that they already had.
The matter standing thus, *Antony* and *Lepidus* wente out of the
Senate house, for certaine that came running from the multi-
tude, did call them, and as they were seene from aboue, and stere
hardly put to them that made much noyse, one cryed vnto them,

whether

whether of his owne minde, or that he was suborned, and bade them take héed, least they suffered the like. Then *Antony* losing his gowne, shewed his ruret, incensing the lokers on, as though now no man coulde be safe, vnlesse he ware armoure, no not the Consull. There was some cryed that the fact might be punished, and more made request for peace, to whom he thus sayd: Of that, we will consider, as shall be fitte to be, and what it is, that it may auayle, but the suretie of it is hard to be found, since neyther oth nor execration could profit *Cæsar*, and to them that called for reuenge, he turned and commended them, as more carefull of their othes and honestie. I would be (quoth he) youre Captayne, and crye as you do, but that I am a Consul, to whome belongeth rather to speake for profite, than for iustice, for so doe they within persuade vs, and so *Cæsar* himselfe, for the profite of the Citie, sparing them that he hadde taken in warre, was of the same destroyed. Thus wrought *Antony* artificially, & they that thoughte the fact to be punished, required *Lepidus* that he would punishe it. *Lepidus* intending to speake, they that stode farre off, prayed hym to goe into the common place, that all might heare him indifferently. He wente straight forth, with opinion that the peoples minds were new turned, and when he was come to the place of spéech, he lamented wéping, and thus sayd. Héere I was yesterday with *Cæsar*, and now am I héere to enquire of *Cæsars* deathe, what will you haue done? many cryed that they should reuenge *Cæsar*. The hyred men cryed for peace in the Citie, to whome hée sayd, we will so, but what peace speake you of? with what othes can it be sure? for all our Countrey othes we haue sworne to *Cæsar*, and we that are compted the least of them that did sweare, haue troden all vnder the foote. Then he turned to them that cryed for reuenge. *Cæsar* sayd he, is gone from vs, an holy and honored man in déede, and we be afrayd to hurte the Citie, and them that be left. This do the Senate treate of, and many thinkes it good: then they cryed, that he alone should take it in hand. I wyll (sayd he) for it is a iust oth to me alone, but it is not ynough that I and you alone doe will it, or that we alone can fulfill it. Handling the matter thus craftily, the hyred men, knowing that he

A newe stirre by *Antony*.

Lepidus to the people.

was ambitious, prayed him, and exhorted him to take the office of *Cæsars* Priesthode, of the which he being very glad, sayde: You shall remember me of this hereafter, if I shall be worthy of it. They that were hired, were the more instant for peace, because of the liberall speech of the Priesthode. Then sayde he, although it be vniust and wicked, yet will I doe it, because you will me. This said, he returned into the Senate house, where *Dolabella* all that time had bin importune for the continuance of his office. *Antony* gathering the peoples humor, loked ouer hym wyth a smiling countenance, and finding them to dissent among themselues, and the people to doe nothing earnestly, hauing beholden all sufficiently, he determined to saue the mē, biding one necessitie with another, that both they should be saued by especial grace, and that *Cæsars* actes should be cōfirmed by decrée, & the Senates orders take effect: therfore silence being cōmanded, he sayd thus.

Cæsars Priesthode offered to *Lepidus*.

Antony to the Senate.

Of the Citizens offendoures (you men of equall honor) in this your consultation, I haue sayd nothing, but to them that contrarywise desired a tryall of *Cæsar*, I put for the onely one of his decrées, which hath not without cause kept you in contention tyll this time: for if we doe refuse those offices, we shall confesse so many worthy men, vnworthily to haue receyued them. Then consider that is not easie to be hard, and number in your mindes the Cities, the nations, the kingdomes, the regions, and (as I maye say) all things frō the East to the Weast, ỹ *Cæsar* had by his vertue vanquished for vs, and all that by his power subdued, the same by law, clemencie, and curtesie he made assured vnto hym. Which of these do you thinke wil beare to be depriued ỹ things they haue enioyed, vnlesse you wil fyll all with warres, that are desirous to heale youre countrey that is nowe most feble wyth disease. Those that be farre off, and kepte downe with feare and fight, I wil omitte to touch: but those that be not at hād only, and as I may say, euen at home throughout all *Italy*, some haue receyued rewards of victory, and by multitudes, with the armies, wherewith they serued, be of *Cæsar* appoynted habitations by the same institution, whereof many a thousand be within this citie: what do you thinke they wil do, if you take from them that they

had,

had, or that they loked to haue of Cities and Countreys? Thys
last night did shew vs an Image of this matter, for whē you did
intreate for the offendoures, they on the contrary ranne aboute
with threatnings. Do you thinke they can abide to sée *Cæsars* bo-
dy violated, torne & vnburyed (for these things by law are wonte
to be done againste Tyrants) whiche haue serued in the warres
with him, and to haue the gayne gotten by the victories of *France*
and *England* confirmed vnto them, when he that was the gyuer
of them, is so despightfully handled? what thinke you the people
of *Rome* will do? what thinke you the *Italians*? what hate shal you
haue both of God and man, if you do so defile your empire, enlar-
ged from the Oceane sea, to the people vnknowen: for you shall
not lacke reproufe and blame for this youre inconstancie, more
than they that thinke you worthy honor, that killed a Consull in
the Counsell house, an holye man in an holy place, Senatoures
being the doers in the sighte of the Gods, and dishonor him, that
of his enimies is most honored: from these things as vnlawfull
and not in your power, I do warne you to refrayne. Then thys
sentence I giue, that *Cæsars* actes and decrées doe remayne firme
and stable, that the offenders be praysed in no wise, for it is not
godly, iust, not consonant, *Cæsars* actes being ratified, that of mer-
cye onely you will pardon them for their friends and kinsfolkes
sake, so as they do so accept it, and will of thē confesse it in thāke-
ful part. When *Antony* had said this, with great contention and
behemency the decrée was made, all other being silent and con-
tent: That there should be no action for *Cæsars* death: That all his
actes and decrées should be confirmed, so as they were commodi-
ous for the citie. And this, with much adoe, did the friends of the
offendoures cause to be added for their safetie, that they were not
more kepte for iustice sake, than for profite. *Antony* gaue place
vnto it. These being decréed, they that were heads of men to be
set in habitations, desired a priuate decrée by common authori-
tie, that their places of inhabitance myghte bée made sure vn-
to them, and *Antony* was not agaynste it, shewing some feare
with the Senate. This decrée was made, and another like for
them that went to their inhabitations.

Decrees.

A decree for habitations.

The

L. Piso.

The Counsell being thus broken vp, there were some that perswaded *Lucius Piso*, to whome *Cæsar* had left his Testamente, that it should neyther be brought forthe, nor his body buryed openly, least it might brede some newe tumult in the Citie. He being otherwise minded, was threatned to be called to aunswer, for that he defrauded the people of such substance due to the common treasure, once agayne making signification of Tyrannie. Then *Piso* cryed as lowde as he could, prayying the Consuls that were yet present, to goe to counsell againe, and sayde. They that

Consultation touching *Cæsars* Testament.

Piso to the people.

« haue affirmed that one Tyrant is taken away, they in stede of
« that one, be all Tyrants vnto vs, forbidding me to bury an holy
« Priest, & threaten me, if I bring forth his last will. They make
« confiscation of his goodes, as of a Tirant. His actes that maketh
« for them they ratifie, but those that he hath left for himselfe they
« reuoke, not *Brutus* and *Cassius*, but they that did incense them to
« this mischiefe. Of his Sepulture be you Lordes, of his Testa-
« ment, I will be, and shall not suffer him to be decepued in my
« trust of faith, before some man taketh away my breath.

Much stirre and businesse did rise of this among them all, and specially by them that supposed to get somewhat by his Testament: therefore it was thought conuenient that his Testament should be brought abroade, and that his body shoulde be buryed openly, and so the Counsell rose. *Brutus* and *Cassius* vnderstanding of this, did send to the multitude to call them to the Capitoll, and when many came running thither with greate hast, *Brutus*

Cæsars Testament.

Brutus to the people.

« sayd thus. Nowe O Citizens, we be here with you, that yester-
« day were in the common court, not as mē flēying to the Temple
« that haue done amisse, nor as to a fort, hauing committed all we
« haue to you, but the sharpe & strāge mishap of *Cinna*, haue cōpel-
« led vs thus to do. We haue herd what hath bin obiected against
« vs of oure enimies, touching the oth, and touching cause of
« doubt, ỹ in peace can be no suretie. What we haue to say herein
« with you O Citizens, we will conferre, with whome we haue
« to do concerning other common matters. When *Caius Cæsar* frō
France inuaded his Countrey with enimies armes, and *Pompey*, a singulare fauourer of the people, had suffered, as euery man knowes:

knoweth: after hym a nũber of good Citizens wente into *Iberia*, & *Libya*, & were destroyed. We at his desire gaue him security, and as it should seeme, afrayde of himselfe, seking to make his Tyrãny sure, we sware vnto it. If he had required vs to swere not only to confirme the things past, but also to haue bene hys slaues in time to come, what woulde they then haue done that nowe lie in wayte for our liues? I suppose verye *Romaines* indeede, wyll rather chose certaine death, as they haue oft done, than by an othe to abyde willing seruitude. If *Cæsar* hitherto haue gone aboute nothing to make vs seruile, we confesse we haue broken our othe; but if neyther offices in the Citie, nor prouinces in ỹ country, nor armies, nor dignities of the church, nor assigning of inhabitance, nor other honours be left to vs, or had the cõsent of the Senate, or the allowance of the people, but did all by his owne commaundement: if his ambition was neuer satiate, as *Sylla* was, who, when he had ouerthrowen his enemies, restored to vs the common wealth: if he making another armye for a long time, take awaye our election for fiue yeares, what libertie was this, when no hope coulde appeare? what should we say of the peoples chiefe officers, *Sestius* and *Marullus*, were they not with contumely thrust frõ the sacred & inuiolate offices? and where the lawe and othe of our auncestours do not suffer any actiõ to be made against ỹ Tribunes, yet *Cæsar* banished them and shewed no cause: whither thẽ haue offẽded against the holy Tribunes, we, or *Cæsar*? being a sacred and inuiolate man, to whom, not willingly, but of necessitie, we graunted these things, nor before he came agaynst his country in armour, and had killed so many noble Citizens. The office of the Tribunes can not be holy nor inuiolated, to the whiche our fathers in time of common welth dyd sweare without cõpulsion, with intent to haue it euerlasting. The reuenewe and accompt of the Empire, where became it? who brake open the Treasure house against our wills? who caught the money vntouched and vnremouable? who thretned death to the Tribune that resisted him? but what othe (saye they) shall be sufficient to preserue peace? if there be no Tyranne, there needes no othe: our

forefathers neuer had nede of anye. But if any other wil aspire to tyrannie, there is no fayth, no not with an othe, betwæn the Romaines and a Tiranne. Thus we speake now in perill, and will euer speake it for our country. For being in honoure and safety with *Cæsar*, we preferred the honour of our countrey before our owne: wel they vse calumniation againste vs and sturre you for the habitations. If here be any present, eyther y hath, or shalbe appointed to those inhabitance, I pray you do so much at my requeste as giue a token of your selues. Many ayde forthen sayde he: Oh well done (good men) that you be come to do as other do, and it is conuenient that you which indifferently doe trauayle and labour for youre countrey, shoulde receyue equal reward of the same. The people of *Rome* did appoint you to *Cæsar* againste the English and French men: it is therefore reason, that hauing done good seruice, you receyue as good rewards. But he bound you with oths and vnwillingly led you against the Citie: he led you likewise against the beste Citizens in *Libya*: likewise against your wiues. If your trauayle had ben only in this, paraduenture you would haue bin ashamed to aske recompence: but the seruice that you did in France and England, no cruite, no time, no oblitiuen of man, can put out of memorie: and for these, the beste recompence which the people was wont to giue to the old souldiers, not taking away mens landes or houses that had not offended, nor giuing to one that was an others, nor thinking they ought to recompence with iniustice, nor when they had conquered their enimies, to take away all their land, but made a partition, and appointed some of their souldiers to dwel there, as a garrison for the conquered places, and many times when the Land that was won would not suffise, they eyther diuided of the common, or bought more of newe: So did the people place you, without any others displeasure. But *Sylla* and *Cæsar* who inuaded their countrey as enimyes, hauing nede of garde & garrison vpon theyr countrey, dyd neyther send you to liue in any of your owne countryes, nor bought any lande for you, nor bestowed that vpon you that they had got from other, nor vpon composition restored the honours

hours on them, from whome they were taken, although they had the treasure and conquered lande, but take from *Italy* that had not offended, nor done any thing amisse, by lawe of warre, or rather of robbery, lands, houses, Sepulchres and Temples, which we would not take from our greatest straunge enimyes, only setting a tare of the tenth part vpon them: but they haue made diuision to you of that which was your owne countreymens, and them that sente you to serue *Cæsar* in the Frenche warres, and made many vowes for your victories, and appointed you by companies to conuenient dwelling places, with ensignes and discipline of Souldiours: So as you can neyther enioye peace, nor be sure of them that be thrust out, for who so euer is put out and spoyled of hys owne, he will remaine to spie a time for to be euen with you. This was the cause why the Tirannes would not let you haue any land, which might haue bene giuen you by other meanes, that hauing euer enimies that laye in wayte, you shoulde be sure kepers of their power, whiche by iniustice did continewe yours. For, the god will that Tirans haue of their garde, is that they be as far in doing wrong, and feare, as themselues. And this they (O God) do cal a cohabitation, wherby lament of countreymen might be made, and insurrection, of them that haue done no wrong, & they for this purpose haue made vs enimies to our own countreyfolke, for their singular profit: & we, whō now ẏ chiefe officers of ẏ countrey, do say they saue vs for mercies sake, do confirme presētly, & hereafter wil confirme, ẏ same very bond to you for euer, of the which we take god to witnesse, that ye haue & shal haue al you haue had, & that none shall take it frō you: not *Brutus*, not *Cassius*, not they ẏ for your liberties haue put al their selues in peril, & we ẏ be only accused in this matter, will saue our selues, & be to you & to your allied frends, a special cōfort, & ẏ that is most pleasant to you to heare. At the first occasiō that shal be offered, we wil giue you the price for the land ẏ is takē frō other, of the cōmon reuenew, that you shall not onely haue your setting setled, but also voyde of al encombraunce.

Whiles *Brutus* thus spake, al the hearers cōsidering with thē selues that he spake nothing but right, did like them wel, & as

men of courage and louers of the people, had them in great admiration, and were turned into their fauour, and determined to doe them good the next day: whiche being come, the Consuls called the people to an assembly, and repeated the opinions.

Cicero. Then *Cicero* did speake very much in the prayse of forgetting of iniuries, of the which they reioiced, and called *Brutus* and *Cassius* from the Temple. They desired pledges, to whom *Lepidus* & *Antonies* sonnes were sente. When *Brutus* & *Cassius* were scene, there was such a noyse, as the Consuls that would haue sayde som what, could not be suffered, but wer first required to shake hands and be at one, which they dyd. And the Consuls mindes were troubled with feare or enuye, that these men and their frends should preuayle in that common cause. Then was *Cesars* testament with the writings for the dispositiō of his goods, brought forth, which the people commaunded to be red. There was *Octauius* his nephew by his sisters daughter, foūd to be his sonne by adoption. His gardings were giuen the people for solace, and to euerye Citizen of *Rome* that was present, seauentie fiue drāmes of *Athens*. Now was the people streyght turned to anger, being abused by the name of a Tyranne, that in hys testament had shewed most loue to his country. And one thing seemed most to be pitied, that *Decimus Brutus*, one of the killers was made his sonne among his second heyres: for the *Romaines* maner was, to their first heyres to adde the second, ỹ if the first take not, the secōd may. With this they were much troubled, thinking it a wicked and abhominable act, that *Decimus* should conspire againste *Cesar*, whome hée had made one of his children.

This forgetfulnesse vvas called *Amnestia* after the maner of the *Grecians*.

Brutus and *Cassius* reconfiled vvith the Consulles.

Cesars testamēt.

Octauius.

This dramme vvas the value of a grote.

Decimus Brutus heyre to *Cesar* in remaynder.

The people turned.

Piso brought forth *Cesars* body, to the which, infinit numbers in armes ran, to kepe it, & with much noyse & pōpe, brought it to the place of spéech. There was much lamētation & wéeping, ther was rushing of harneste togither, with repentaunce of the forgetting of reuēgeance. *Antony* marking how they were affected, did not let it slippe, but toke vpon him to make *Cesars* funeral sermon, as Consul, of a Consul, friend, of a friend, & kinsman, of a kinsman (for *Antony* was partly his kinsman) and to

vse

vse craft againe. And thus he said:

I do not thinke it méete (O Citizens) that the buriall praise of suche a man, should rather be done by me, than by the whole country. For what you haue altogither for the loue of hys vertue giuen him by decrée, aswell the Senate as the people, I thinke your voice, and not *Antonies*, ought to expresse it. *Antony of Cæsar*

This he vttered with sad and heauy cheare, and wyth a framed voice, declared euery thing, chiefly vpon the decrée, whereby he was made a God, holy & inuiolate, father of the country, benefactor and gouernor, and suche a one, as neuer in al things they entituled other man to ỹ like. At euery of these words *Antonie* directed his countenance & hands to *Cæsars* body, and with vehemencie of words opened the fact. At euery title he gaue an addition, with brieke speach, mixte with pitie and indignation. And when the decrée named him father of the Country, then he saide: *This is the testimony of our duety.*

And at these wordes, *holy, inuiolate* and *vntouched*, and *the refuge of all other*, he said: None other made refuge of hym. But, he, *this holy and vntouched*, is kylled, not takyng honoure by violences whiche he neuer desired, and then he we berye thrall that bestowe them on the vnworthy, neuer suing for them. But you doe purge your selues (O Citizens) of this vnkindnesse, in ỹ you nowe do vse suche honoure towarde hym being dead.

Then rehearsing the othe, that all shoulde kéepe *Cæsar* and *Cæsars* body, and if any one wente about to betraye hym, that they were accursed that would not defende him: at this he extolled hys voice, and helde vp his handes to the Capitoll, saying:

O *Iupiter* Countries defendour, and you other Gods, I am ready to reuenge, as I sware and made execration, and when it séemes good to my companions to allowe the decrées, I desire them to aide me. At these plaine spéeches spoken agaynst the Senate, an vproare being made, *Antony* waxed colde, and recanted hys wordes. It séemeth (O Citizens) (saide hée) that the things done haue not bin the worke of men, but of Gods, and that we ought to haue more consideration of the present, than of the past, because the thyngs to come, maye bring vs to greater

, danger, than these we haue, if we shall returne to oure olde, and
, waste the reste of the noble men that be in the Cittie. Therfore
, let vs send thys holy one to the number of the blessed, and sing to
, him his due hymne and mourning verse.

Antonies gesture in the time of the funerall of *Cæsar.*

When he had saide thus, he pulled vp his gowne lyke a man beside hymselfe, and gyrded it, that he might the better stirre his handes: he stode ouer the Litter, as from a Tabernacle, loking into it, and opening it, and firste sang his Hymne, as to a God in heauen. And to confirme he was a God, he held vp his hands, and with a swift voice, he rehearsed the warres, the fights, the victories, the nations that he had subdued to his Countrey, and the great bootes that he had sent, making euery one to be a marueil Then with a continuall crie,

This is the only vnconquered of all that euer came to hands with hym. Thou (quoth he) alone diddest reuenge thy countrey being iniured. 300. years, & those fierce nations that onely inuaded *Rome*, & only burned it, thou broughtest them on their knées.

And when he had made these and many other inuocations, he tourned hys voice from triumphe to mourning matter, and began to lament and mone him as a friend that had bin vntruely vsed, & did desire that he might giue hys soule for *Cæsars*. Then falling into moste vehement affections, vncouered *Cæsars* body, holding vp his vesture with a speare, cut with the woundes, and redde with the bloude of the chiefe Ruler, by the which the people lyke a Quire, did sing lamētation vnto him, and by this passion were againe repleate with ire. And after these speeches, other lamentations wyth voice after the Country custome, were sung of the Quires, and they rehearsed again his acts & his hap.

Then made he *Cæsar* hymselfe to speake as it were in a lamētable sort, to howe many of his enimies he hadde done good by name, & of the killers themselues to say as in an admiratiō. *Did I saue them that haue killed me?* This the people could not abide, calling to remembraunce, that all the kyllers (only *Decimus* except) were of *Pompeys* faction, and subdued by hym, to whom, in stead of punishment, he had giuen promotion of offices, gouernments of prouinces & armies, & thought *Decimus* worthy to be made his

heyre

heyre & son by adoption, and yet cõspired hys death. While the matter was thus handled, and like to haue come to a fray, one shewed out of the Litter the Image of *Cæsar*, made of ware, for hys body it selfe lying flat in the Litter, could not be seene. Hys picture was by a deuise turned about, & rriy. woũds wer shewed ouer al his body, & his face horrible to behold. The people seeing this pittifull picture, could beare the dolour no longer, but thronged togyther, and beset the Senate house, wherein *Cæsar* was kylled, and set it a fyre, and the kyllers that fledde for their liues, they ranne and sought in euery place, and that so outragiously both in anger and dolour, as they kylled *Cynna* the Tribune being in name lyke to *Cynna* the Pretor that spake euill of *Cæsar*, and would not tarry to heare the declaration of his name, but cruelly tore him a peces, and lefte not one parte to be put in graue. They caried fire against other mens houses, who manlye defending themselues, and the neighbours entreating them, they refrayned from fyre, but threatned to be in armes the next day. Wherefore the strikers hid themselues, and fled out of the Citie. The people returned to the Litter, & caried it as an holye thing, to be buried in an holy place among the Gods, but because the Priests did deny it, they brought hym againe into the common place, where the Pallaice of the old Kings were, and there, with al the bourds & tymber, which they could find in the place, which was muche, beside that euery man brought of himselfe, with garlandes and other gifts of priuate persons, making a solemne shew, they burned the body, and abode al night about the fyre. In the whiche place, at the first was made an Altare, but nowe there is a temple of *Cæsar*, where he is thought worthy diuine honors. For his son by electiõ, *Octauius*, taking the name of *Cæsar*, & disposing the state after his example, which then taking the beginning, & heereadingly aduancing to the degree it is now, did thinke his father to deserue honors equall with the Gods, the which at this time hauing their originall, & Romaines now vse to giue the same to hym that ruleth the estate, vnlesse he be a Tyranne, or diffamed at his death, that in olde tyme could not suffer the name of a King liue.

Cæsars shape shewed in wvaxe.

Change of peoples mindes.

The Senate house set a fire vvherein *Cæsar* vvas killed.

One *Cynna* killed an other.

Tumulte and rage of people.

Cæsars funerall.

A Temple to *Cæsar*.

The *Romaines* vsed to giue diuine honours to their princes.

Thus

Idus in Marche the.8. dayes following the first 7. daies.

Thus *Cæsar* was killed, on the day which they cal the Ides of Marche, whiche daye of the Moneth, the Southsayer sayde hée shoulde not passe, at the whiche, he, in the morning mocked him, saying, the Ides be come: to whome he aunswered boldlye againe, but they be not yet gone.

Cæsar scorneth the Soothsaiers.

Thus hée despising as well the foresayings of this constãt Southsayer, as all other tokens spoken of before, went abroad, & was killed ỳ. lvj. yere of his age. A man most happy & fortunate in al his noble actions, and most like vnto *Alexander* the great, for they both were very ambitious, and valiant and swifte to execute their enterpryses, in perils moste bolde, of their bodies most careless, and did not more trust in Soldiours seruice, than in courage and fortune, of the which the one, in the heate of sommer through places voide of water, went to *Ammon*, and ranne ouer the gulfe of *Pamphilia*, of the crosse surgyng Sea, fortune staying the ragyng waues whiles he passed, and sendyng hym rayne when he wente by lande, he assayde the *Indian* Sea that was not Nauigable. He was the firste that scaled a towne, and alone mounted the enimies wall, & alone receyued. xiij. woũdes on his body, euer inuincible, and alwayes getting victory at the first or the second Battayle. He subdued manye barbarous nations in *Europe*, and ouercame the *Grecians*, a valiant people, and louing libertie, and before him, obeying none, but *Philip*, & that a litle whyle, for an honour to appeare in his feates of warre. *Asia*, (as a man may say) he ranged all ouer, and briefely for to tell his fortune and Empire, as much land as he saw, he gotte. And conceyuing and determining a Conquest of the rest in his mind, he was destroyed.

A comparison betwyxt *Alexander* and *Cæsar*.

Ammon in the deserts of *Aegipt*, where *Iupiter* gaue oracles.

In *India* at the place called *Mauri*.

Pamphilia in *Asia* the lesse.

Alexanders acts.

To *Cæsar* the *Ionian* sea gaue place in the middest of winter, and shewed it selfe caulme to his nauigation. He also sayled the Byttaine Ocean, not attempted before, and sailyng vpon the rockes of Englande, he bad the shipmaister runne a shore and slitte their shippes. In an other sea, striuing with the streame alone in the night in a little boate, he badde the Maister let the sayles go to the winde, and trust more in *Cæsars* fortune, than in the Sea. Against his enimies alone he hath lepte many tymes,

Cæsars actes.

and

and all the reste haue bin afraide. He alone did fighte with the Frenche thirtie times, til he had subdued fourtie nations of thē, whiche were so terrible to the Romaines, as olde and holy men, by lawe were priuiledged from warre, except when the French enimie came, for then both horse and olde men muste go forth. At *Alexandria*, being left alone to fight on the bridge, and beset on euery side, he threwe off his purple, and leapte into the sea, and being sought of hys ennimies, he diued in the bottome a greate while, and only sometime rose to take breath, til a friendly shippe came nighe hym, to whome he helde vp his hands, shewed himselfe, and was saued.

All ages and degrees muste strine againstthe frēch.

Falling into the ciuill wars, eyther for feare, (as he did say) or for desire of rule, hée didde matche wyth the valiauntest Captaines in his tyme, in many and great battailes, not *Barbarians* onelye, but also *Romaines*, whiche in manhode and fortune dyde excel, and ouercame them all, eyther at the firste or at the seconde battaile. Hys armye not being inuincible, as *Alexanders*, for in *France*, *Cotta* and *Titurius* hys lieutenants were euidently ouercome with a greate losse, and in *Spaine*, *Petreius* and *Affranius* helde hym besieged. In *Dyrrachio* and *Libya*, they fled fowly awaye, and in *Spaine* they were afraide of young *Pompey*. But *Cæsar* himselfe was euer voide of feare, and in the ende of euerye warre, had the victorie.

Cæsar had losse sometymes.

The Romaine Empire from the weaste to the floude *Euphrates*, by force, or by fayre meanes he obtayned, muche surer and stronger than *Sylla*.

Euphrates a flood of *Macedonia*, running into the redde Sea by *Babylon*.

He shewed hymselfe to be a King in spight of them al, though he woulde not receiue the name. And he also hauing made determination of other warre, was taken away. Beside forth, their armies were alike: prompte to them bothe with a beneuolente minde: and in fighte, of lyke fiercenesse: disobedient many times to them both, and ful of sedition for their long labours. Neuertheleſſe, when they were deade, bothe after one sorte did lament and mone, and thought them wor thy diuine honors. They were both in body of good complexion and fayre: bothe of them hadde

Cæſar and Alexander lyke.

their petigree from *Iupiter*, *Alexander* from *Aeacide* and *Hercules*, and *Cæſar* from *Anchiſes* and *Venus*. As both were deſirous to conquere with whome they contended, ſo eaſy to be entreated and to forgiue them whom they had ſubdued, and beſide forgiuenelle, woulde do them good alſo, ſeeking nothing elſe but victory.

Alexander and Cæſar vnlyke.

Thus farre they were alyke, but in riſing to their rule, they were not of lyke power: for the one roſe from a Kingdome encreaſed by hys father *Phillip*, the other from a priuate eſtate, yet noble and renoumed, and very needy of mony. Of tokens, whiche to them both were great, they were alyke contemners, yet neyther of them angrye with the Diuiners, that diode foreſhewe their death. The tokens were like many times to them both, & to like effect. Twice to them bothe were vnluckye ſignes, in the whiche the firſt ſhewed to them both doubtfull danger. *Alexander* among the *Oxidianes*, ſcaling the wall before the *Macedonians*, being vtterly deſtitute by breaking of the ladders, leapte boldly among hys enimies within, where he was ſore hurt in ỹ breaſt, & in the necke, & beaten down with a mighty mace, ſo as he was hardely ſaued by the *Macedonians*, that for very ſhame burſte open the gates. *Cæſar* in *Spaine*, when his army was very feareful of *Pompey* the young, and refuſed to go to the fight, ran betweene them both, & receyued. iij. C. dartes vpon his Target, his armye ran in for feare and ſhame, and ſaued hym. So the firſte vnlucky ſacrifices diode ſignifie perill of death to them both, and the ſeconde, death it ſelfe indeede.

These people be of *India* and called *Malli* of *Plutarch*.

Perill of *Alexander*.

Peril of *Cæſar*.

Pythagoras a Soothſayer, tolde *Apollodorus* that was afraide of *Alexander* and *Epheſtion*, that he ſhoulde not neede to feare, for by the ſacrifice, he founde that both of them ſhoulde ſhortely be dead. And comming to paſſe, that *Epheſtion* died by and by after, *Apollodorus* was afraide that ſome treaſon had bin wrought againſte the King, and tolde hym what the Soothſaier had ſayde: he ſmiled, and aſked of *Pythagoras* what the token did pretende, he anſwered *the laſte day*, whereat he ſmyled againe, and thanked *Apollodorus* of hys faithfulneſſe, and the Soothſayer of his confidence. To *Cæſar* (as we haue ſayde) the laſte tyme that he went

wente into the Senate, the same tokens happened. Whereat he laughed, and saide: The like was seene in *Spaine*, and when the Diuinour aunswered, that then he was in daunger, but nowe the token signifieth more certaine death, then relenting somewhat to this free speeche, he sacrificed againe, till he tarryed so long aboute the sacrifices, that he was angry, and went in and was kylled.

The like happened to *Alexander* when he came from *India* to *Babylon* with his army, where being nigh, the *Chaldeans* exhorted hym to refraine at this presente, to whome hee rehearsed a verse.

The best Prophet is he, that coniectureth honestly.

Then the *Chaldeans* warned hym the second tyme, not to go with his army on ỹ weast side, but to compasse & take the City on the Easte, and stay there: with that (they say) he was content, and beganne to go about, but being angry at the mory and fenny way, he contemned the seconde warning, and went in at the Weaste. Then he sayled vpon *Euphrates* to the floud *Pallacotta*, that receyueth *Euphrates*, and runneth into the Fennes, whereby *Assyria* is kept from ouer-flowing. He minded to haue defended thys floud with a wall, and whiles he was sayling vpon it, they say he scorned the *Chaldeans*, bycause he safely had entred *Babylon*, and was come forth againe to saile, but it was but deferred till he came againe, for then he dyed out of hande. *Alexander* contemneth tokens. *Euphrates & Pallacotta*, floudes.

The lyke contempt *Caesar* seemed to vse, for the Soothsayers had appoynted the daye of hys death, and saide hee shoulde not passe the Ides of March: when that day was come, he laughed at hym, and sayd, the Ides were come, but that very day he was kylled. Both they despised ỹ Prophesies alyke, but were not angry with the Prophets, yet they both dyed as they were tolde. They were both studious of learning and vertue, aswel of their own coutry, as of Greek & other straungers. *Alexãder* delighted in *Caesar* contemneth tokens.

Brachmães vver the vvyſe Philoſopers of India, choſen to it by conſent.

the *Brachmanes*, whiche among the *Indians* be reputed moſte learned and wiſe men, as the *Magies* among the *Perſians*. *Cæſar* dealte with the *Aegiptians*, when he putte *Cleopatra* in hys kyngdome, wherby he directed many ciuil things in *Rome*: & among other, he turned the order of the yeare, being without certaintie, bycauſe of the odde moneths (for they meaſured it by the Mone) to the courſe of the Sunne, as the *Aegiptians* doe. It was hys happe that none dydde eſcape that ſoughte hys death, but by hys heyre receyued worthye puniſhemente, as *Alexander* dydde them, that kylled *Philippe* hys father. Howe that was done the bookes in order ſhall declare.

(·.·)

The end of the ſecond booke of Ciuill diſſentions.

Diſſention.

THus *C. Caſar*, ỳ was moſt worthy of rule among ỳ *Romaines*, was ſlayn of his enimies, & buried of the people. Of al his killers punyſhment, & how the beſt of them ſoneſt receyued it, this Booke & the nexte ſhal declare, & likewiſe comprehende al the other Ciuill ſtrifes, that the *Romaines* had among thẽſelues.

The Senate blamed *Antony* for the funerall of *Caſar*, by the which the people was ſo ſtirred, as they did forthwith deſpiſe the law of Oblition, and ranne with fire to the houſes of the ſtrykers. This vnkindneſſe, with one inuention, he turned into benenolence. *Amatius*, a coũterfaite Mariane, pretending to be *Marius* ſonne, was for that name accepted of the people, & by this counterfaiting, being taken as a kinſman to *Caſar*, he made moſt mone for his death, and ſet vp an Aulter where he was buried. He had a rowte of Ruffians about him, & was euer terrible to the killers, of the whiche ſome were fled out of the citie, and ſo many as had by *Caſar*, the gouernment of prouinces, were gone to their charges. *Decimus Brutus* was gone to *Fraunce* next *Italie*: *Trebonius* into *Aſia* aboute *Ionia*: *Tullius Cimber* into *Bythinia*. But *Caſſius* & *Marcus Brutus* with whome the Senate bare moſt, and were likewiſe choſen of *Caſar* to be Preſidents for the yeere to come, as *Caſſius* in *Syria*, & *Brutus* in *Macedonia*, being yet officers in *Rome*, of neceſſitie and law, (as Pretors) muſt attend vpon the diſpatch of thẽ that ſhould haue places appointed to liue in, & gaue audience to anye other that made ſute to ſell the partes of their places, which by law was forbiddẽ to be done within .xx. yeres. With theſe *Amatius* did conſpire, & only erſpected occaſiõ. At the talke of this cõſpiracy, *Antony*, as Conſul, came vpon them, & apprehended *Amatio*, & without iudgemẽt, put him to death very ſtoutly. The Senate marueled at this matter, as great & beſide law, yet the commoditie of it, they embraced very ioyfully: for without ſuch ſtontneſſe, they thought *Brutus* & *Caſſius* could not be in ſafetie. The companions of *Amatius* and other people with them, for the

Tumult.
Amatius the coũterfeyte *Marius*.

Lombardy.
Aſia the leſſe.

Amatio put to death by *Antony*.

loue of him, were much greued at this fact, chiefly that *Antony* shoulde so dispatche one that was honoured of the people. They could not abide so to be despised, wherefore, with shoutes they went crying out of *Antony*, & commaunded the Magistrate to erect an aulter to *Amatio*, & there to make the firste sacrifice to *Cæsar*. They were driuen out of the common place by the souldiours that were sent of *Antony*, wherewith they were more greued and made greater noyse: some of them brought forth the settles of *Cæsars* pictures pulled downe, and whereas one sayde he could bring them to a shop where his images were defaced, they straight way followed him, & when they saw it, they set al a fire, till other were sent of *Antony* which killed parte of the that stode to their defence, and parte they take, & as many as were borde they hanged, and the frée men, they threw downe headlong: and thus, this tumult ceased. But extréme hate of excéding loue, was now wrought in the people, agaynst *Antony*. The Senate was glad, as though there was none other feare to be had touchyng *Brutus* and *Cassius*.

The complices of *Amatius* punished.

And further, where *Antony* purposed to call home *Sextus Pompey*, some to *Pompey* the great, who yet was loued of al mẽ, out of *Spayne*, where still he made warre with *Cæsars* Capitaynes, and for his fathers goods confiscate, to giue him of the common, fiue thousand millions of Drammes of *Athens*, and to make him admirall of the sea as his father was, and to vse the *Romaine* nauies, where so euer they were, to al occasions: The Senate not a litle marueled, & accepted his offer, spending an whole day in the prayse of *Antony*, for they knewe no man more accepted, nor better beloued of the people, than *Pompey*.

Antony pretendeth to call home yong *Pompey*.

Millions be here ten thousande.

Brutus and *Cassius* the most honorable of all other, & of *Pompeis* faction, thought to holde their safetie with sure hande, and that the course that they had take shoulde prenayle, and the peoples authoritie be surely cõfirmed, and that their estate shoulde stande. *Cicero* for this, made continuall prayse of *Antony*, and the Senate considerying that the people euidently did meane euill to him, gaue him leaue to chose him a gard for his person of the olde Souldiours that resorted to him: he, eyther bycause he

Cicero prayseth *Antony*.

The Senate giueth a garde to *Antony*.

he had done all to this ende, or for that he would embrace this occasion so fauourable, picked out at length a garde of vj.M. not of the common Citizens, whom he knew he might haue at his pleasure at any other time, but of all the leaders and Captaynes of experience and estimation in *Cæsars* army. Of these, hée chose chiefe officers in comely order, whome he vsed honorably, and made them partakers of ordinary Counsels. The Senate driuen into a iealousie for this number and choyse, counsayled hym to reduce this garde as enuious, to a conuenient number: he promysed so to doe, when he had quieted the tumultes of the people.

Antony choseth a legion for his garde.

The Senate in a iealousie of *Antony*.

Nowe where by decrée he had stablished all that *Cæsar* had done and would doe, and had the writings of memoriall in his custodie, and *Phaberius Cæsars* Secretary at his commaundement, for *Cæsar* going away, lefte all his determinations with *Antony*, he added many things to the behoofe of many men: he gaue graunts to Cities, Princes, and to his owne garde. And he made knowne to all them, that coulde clayme any thyng by *Cæsars* allignation, that they takyng the benefite, might pelde him the thankes, and by this meane he brought many into the Senate and degrée to himselfe, & the other, he wan with faire promise, that they did no more maligne agaynst his garde.

Phaberius.

Antony abuseth *Cæsars* testamẽt.

Brutus & *Cassius* perceiuing nothing, neither of the people, nor of the soldiours to appeare peaceable for thẽ, neither vnlikely but ỹ cõspiracie of *Amatio* might be done against thẽ by some other, neither well abiding variable *Antony*, that bare himself so boldly of his army, nor seyng that the peoples rule could be cõfirmed by these doings, but suspecting that *Antony* wrought against it, they put their chiefe trust in *Decimo*, who had three Legions, lying in the sides of *Italy*. They wrote secretely to *Trebonius* in *Asia*, and to *Tullius* in *Bythinia*, to gather money closely, and loke aboute for an armye. They were desirous to take the prouinces that *Cæsar* had appointed thẽ, but ỹ time did not yet suffer them. They thought it not conuenient to leaue their office in the Citie, before the end of the same, and to run into suspition of desire of rule of nations. They chose rather for the

their necessitie, to spende the meane time, as priuate men, than to be officers in the Citie, where they could neyther be sure of themselues, nor do anye thing to their honour, in the seruice of their countrey. Being in this case, and the Senate perceyuing their minde, they thought good to make thē purueyers of grain for the Citie, from euery countrey, til the time might serue thē to take the charge of their prouinces: and thus they did, that *Brutus* and *Cassius* shoulde not seeme to flee. So great a care and reuerence was there of them, that for them chiefly they mayntained the other killers. When *Brutus* and *Cassius* wer gone out of the Citie, and *Antony* nowe alone ruled all, he coueted the presidentship of some prouince, and the armye therof: he was chiefly desirous of *Syria*, but knowing he was alredy suspected, he thought he should be more, if he required any, for the Senat had secretly wrought *Dolobella* to be against him, who was the other Consul, and alwaps at strife with *Antony*. *Antony* seing that *Dolobella* was a yong man and ambitious, perswaded him to aske *Syria*, in *Cassius* place, and their army that was made against the *Parthians*, but not to aske it of the Senate, (for that was not expedient) but of ỹ people, by a law. He was perswaded by and by, and propounded the lawe. The Senate aleaged that he brake *Cæsars* actes: he answered, that the war of *Parthia*, was appointed to no man by *Cæsar*, and that *Cassius*, who was sent to *Syria*, was the first that had altered *Cæsars* decrees, in giuing leaue to them that wer assigned dwellings in the coūtry, to sel their portions before twenty yeares determined by law: & that he could not take it wel, being *Dolobella*, not to be thought worthy of *Syria*, before *Cassius*. The Senate persuaded *Asprina* one of the Tribunes, to find a fault in the assēbly by some toke, hoping that *Antony* would haue allowed it, being Consul, and officer of the tokens, and stil (as they thought) at variance with *Dolobella*.

Brutus and *Cassius* made purueyers.

A deuice to defeate a lawe.

The electiō now being come, & *Asprina* affirming the toke to be vnlucky, & then the maner was to send other into it, *Antony* was angry at the subtilty, & cōmaunded the cōpanies to make choyce for *Dolobella*. And so was *Dolabella* made president of

Dolabella president of *Syria*.

Syria,

Syria, and generall of the army against the *Parthians*, and of the legions that *Cæsar* had gathered for this purpose, and left in *Macedonia*. This was the first time that *Antony* seemed to fauour *Dolabella*. This being done of the people, *Antony* required *Macedonia* of the Senate, thinking they would be ashamed to take it him, seeing *Dolabella* had *Syria*, and nowe voyde of an host. The Senate gaue it him vnwillingly, and marueiled that he would deliuer the armye that was there to *Dolabella*, whome yet they were glad should haue it before *Antony*. Nowe *Brutus* friendes thought good to aske *Antony* other prouinces for *Brutus* and *Cassius*, so *Cyrene* and *Creta* was giuen them, or as some saye, both *Creta* and *Syrene* to *Cassius*, and *Bythinia* to *Brutus*. And these were the doings at *Rome*.

Macedonia giuen to *Antony*.

Cyrene a Citie and a prouince in *Affrica*, nowe *Corcyra*.

Creta, an Iland in the middest of the Sea, nowe *Candia*.

Syrene and *Creta* to *Brutus* and *Cassius*.

Octauius Cæsar nephew, at *Velona*, which is on the other side of the gulfe of *Venice*.

Octauius, *Cæsars* sisters nephew, was made of *Cæsar* generall of the horsemen for one yeare, and this honor *Cæsar* vsed to giue to his friends from yeare to yeare. He being yet yong, was sent of *Cæsar* to *Velona* to apply his booke, and to be trayned in feates of warre, there to remayne whilest he went against his enimies, and to exercise himselfe with the bandes of horsemen that came from *Macedonia*, with other great Captaynes of the armie that resorted thither to visit him, as *Cæsars* kinsman, whereby he was knowen to many, and wanne the loue of the army, for he receyued them that came to him with great curtesie. Hauing bin now fiue monethes in *Velona*, about the euening, it was told that *Cæsar* was slayne in the Senate house, of them that he loued best, and might doe most with him. Of further matter nothing being yet told, he stode in feare and doubt, whether it were the whole publike worke of the Senate, or some priuate practise, or whether the doers were punished of the more parte, or whose acte it was, or whether the multitude did ioyne with them. After this, his frendes sente to him from *Rome*, wishing him to goe to the host of *Macedonia* for his suretie, in the which place, after it shuld be knowen, that it was no common fact, he might be a terror to his enimies, in reuenging of *Cæsar*, and diuers of the Captaynes promised him, that if he would come to them, they would see him safe. His Mother, and *Philip* his Father in law, e wrote vn-

to him, to take nothing vpon him, nor to be encouraged, remembring that after *Cæsar* hadde ouercome his enimies, he was thus vsed of his dereſt frendes. The priuate life at this preſent was further off from perill, and nowe rather to be choſen, and if he were with them at *Rome*, he ſhould be well kept. *Octauius* by theſe perſuaded, without further knowledge, what was done after *Cæsars* deathe, embracing the Captaynes, ſayled ouer the *Ionian* Sea, not taking land at *Brundiſe*, bycauſe he did not truſt the army that was there, and therefore was well ware: but at another Citie not farre off, called *Lupie*, where he ſtayed, and receyued aduertiſementes from his friends, of *Cæsars* deathe, of the peoples tumult, of the publication of his teſtamente, and of the orders taken, and was aduiſed to beware of *Cæsars* enimies, bycauſe he was named his ſonne and heire, & counſelled him not to take the inheritance vpon him. But he thinking it a diſhonor, as well of this, as not to reuēge *Cæsars* death, writ to *Brundiſe*, ſeeyng afore to ſearch, that there ſhould be none of the ſtrikers in anye awaite. The army of that place did mēete him, and receyued him as *Cæsars* ſonne, where with good courage he made ſacrifice, and ſtraightway accepted the name of *Cæſar*, for the *Romaines* vſed to giue their name to them whome they made their children by adoption, which he did not only admitte, but changed his name frō *Octauius*, *Octauius* ſonne, to *Cæſar*, *Cæſars* ſonne, which continued till his ende. By and by was there great repaire of mē to him, ſome as *Cæſars* frendes, ſome as his ſeruantes, and frendmade men, and ſome ſouldioures with them, ſome bringing preparation & money toward *Macedonia*, and ſome other reuenues of other prouinces to *Brundiſe*. He then truſting vpon the multitude that came vnto him, and in *Cæſars* glory, and in the benevolence of all mē to him, toke his iourney toward *Rome*, accompanyed with a conuenient number, which dayly like a ſtreame did increaſe, being ſafe from open force, by the multitude of people, not without ſuſpition of deceypt, bycauſe all that came with him almoſt were of newe acquaintāce, and euery tittle did not fauour him. But *Cæſars* ſouldioures, and ſuch as were by his appoyntmēt placed, came from the habitations to the fauour of this yong man. They lamented for

Octauius ſayleth into *Italy*.

Lupie Letters a port Towne.

The army at *Brundiſe* receyueth *Octauius*.

Octauius receyued the name of *Cæſar*.

Reſort to yong *Cæſar*.

for *Cæsar*, and complayned of *Antony* that wouldе not reuenge so great a mischiefe, affirming that they, if any man would be their guide, would reuenge his death. *Octauius Cæsar* gaue them great prayse, and willed thē to be quiet for the time, and came to *Terracina*, about fiftie miles from *Rome*, where it was told him, that *Syria* and *Macedonia* was taken from *Brutus* & *Cassius* by the Consuls, and that to comforte them, *Creta* and *Syrene* were graunted them, and that certayne banished men were reuoked, and that *Pompey* was restored, and that many were made Senatoures by *Cæsars* determination, and diuers other things. Being come to *Rome*, his mother, & *Philip*, and their friendes came vnto him, and againe prayed him, not to dissente from the Senate, bycause it was decréed, that there shoulde be no question of *Cæsars* deathe. Further, they feared *Antony* and his power, who neyther came himselfe to méete *Cæsars* sonne, nor sent any man to receyue hym, all the whiche *Octauius* toke very temperately, and said, it was méete that he should goe firſt to *Antony* as a yong man to an elder, and a priuate man to a Consul, and that he would obserue ỹ Senate as should be conuenient. And though (quoth he) there be a decrée, that no man should persecute the killers, and yet if anye mā durſt take it in hand, both the people and the Senate by law, and the gods by iuſtice, yea and peradventure *Antony* also wyll be helpe to it, & if he did refuse the inheritāce & adoptiō, he should offend againſte *Cæsar*, & defraude the people of their distribution. In the end he knit vp his speech, that it was not onely honeſt for him, to put himselfe in dāger for this matter, but also if nede be, to lose his life, otherwise he should seeme vnworthy the choyce ỹ *Cæsar* had made of him in so great matters, seeing he himself was wont to contemne all maner of perill. Then turning to his mother, he rehearsed those words that *Achilles* spake to *Thetis*.

Terracina, some-time *Anxur*.

In desire of *Octauius*.

Octauius words to his mother.

I had rather wish of my life an ende,
Than I should amitte reuengement of my friend.

This word (quoth he) did winne *Achilles* immortall fame, but much more the déede, and that he ought to reuenge *Cæsar*, not as a friende, but as a father: not as a fellowe Souldiour, but as ỹ Generall: not dying by lawe of warre, but murthered

wickedly in the Senate house. For this speche, his mother, from feare, turned to ioy, embraced him, affirming he only was worthy for *Cæsar*. This talke bring ended, she prayed that all myghte haue lucky and prosperous successe with speede, yet she perswaded him at the firste, rather to vse policie and sufferance, than playnenesse and boldnesse, when he, commending hir, answered he would so do. In the nighte, he sent to his friendes, and prayed them the nexte morning to be with him in the comon place with the other multitude. In that place meeting with *Caius Antonius*, brother to *Marcus Antonius*, a Pretor of the Citie, he sayde vnto him, that he did accept the adoption of *Cæsar*, for it was the manner of *Rome*, that the adopted children should exhibite testimonie to the Pretors, which being registred, he straighte wente out of the common place to *Antony* the other Consull, who was then in *Pompeys* gardings, whiche *Cæsar* had giuen him: and when he had tarryed at the gate a long whyle, he entred into a suspition of *Antonies* alteration. Being at length lette in, due salutations and intertaynmēts were betweene them, and bycause they must talke of things that were expedient, *Octauius Cæsar* sayd thus.

Adoption.

The meeting of *Octauius* and *Antony*.

Octauius Oration to *Antony*.

"Father *Antony*, for the benefites that *Cæsar* shewed to thee
"and the thankes thou gauest to him, requiring thee to be a father
"to me, do prayse thee for the things thou hast done for him, and I
"will be thy debtor of thankes for them, but wherein I maye
"blame thee, I will speake it frankely, for dolor doth thereto vrge
"me. When he was slayne, thou was not present, the queriers
"hewing thee without the doores, for either thou diddest thou haue
"saued him, or haue bin in the like daunger thy selfe: of the whych
"if the latter must haue happened. It is well now that thou was
"absente. When some decried them to be honored as agaynste a
"Tyrant, thou denyedst it effectually, for the whych I know thou
"deseruest clere thankes: but if thou knowest that those men did
"conspire thy death, not as one that would reuenge *Cæsar* (as
"we thinke) but as a successoure of hys tyrannie as they saye,
"then were they not Tyrantkillers, and for that they drewe
"to the Capitoll, as to a Sanctuary like offendors creating mee
"Cæsar, or into a Forte, as enimies for their strength, wherefore dis-

nio and acquitall of the murther, was required for thē, through, some of the Senate or the people were corrupted of them, and if, thou hadst bin otherwise minded, thy office did require thee to, punish so great a fault, and to correct them that did erre, yet didst thou send pledges of thine owne into the Capitoll, for the assurance of the manquellers. Well, graunt the corrupted sort did, force thee to it, but when *Cæsars* Testament was redde, and thou, madest his funerall Oration as right was, and the people for, the fresh memorie of *Cæsar*, carryed a fire againste them, and for, their neyghbours sake, spared them, and agayne, they were in, armes twice the next day, why didst not thou help the people as, their leader, with fire or armoure, to punishe the murtherers? if, any punishment ought to be of them that are euident offendors,, by thee, a friende to *Cæsar*, a Consull, and *Antony*. *Marius Amatius*, by commaundement of thy great power, was put to deathe,, but the quellers thou sufferedst to flee, and to runne to certayne, prouinces, which wrongfully they holde, hauing killed him that, gaue them. *Syria* and *Macedonia*, thou and *Dolabella*, doyng well,, when thinges were setled, take from them, for the whiche I, would thanke thee, if thou hadst not straight appoynted them to, *Creta* and *Cyrene*, and thought fugitiues worthy prouinces, euer, to be as garrisons against me. *Decimus* hauyng *Fraice*, our neyb-, bour, you haue suffered, he also being made ruler of that, and o-, ther by my father, but some will say, the Senate did determine, it, yea and thou didst confirme it, and farest as chiefe in that Se-, nate, the which thou chiefly of all others for thy feate, oughtest to, haue refused. To giue them oblision of their faulte, was as a, granting only of their liues, but to assigne prouinces and honor,, was a contumelie of *Cæsar*, and an ouerthrow of the iudgement., Therefore as passion bothe carrie me peraduenture beyonde the, due respect of my yeares and reuerence to thee, I will speake it,, both as to a sure friende of *Cæsar*, and of him, thought worthye, much honor and power, and also, as to one, that might haue bin, his heire, if he had knowen that thou hadst come of *Æneas*, ra-, ther than *Hercules*, for that did he muche consider, when he toke, order for his succession. But for the tyme to come, O *Antony*,,

for the Gods of friendshyp, and for the dutie to *Cæsar*, if thou wilt change any of the things done, as thou must if thou wilt, if not, at the least helpe to further me, that minde to be reuenged of ỹ quellers, with the people, and such of my fathers frends as I haue: and if any respect of men, or of the Senate doth moue thee, be not angry with me. Thou knowest what a charge I and my house haue about these matters, for the performing of the distribution that my father gaue to the people, and for the care thereof, that by delaying of them, I might not seeme vnthankefull, nor they ỹ should receyue habitations in the countrey, shoulde be consumed by me, tarrying in the Citie. Of al that was to thee brought immediately after ỹ death of *Cæsar*, to be in safetie for danger of his house, the iewels & apparel, I thinke good thou shalt haue, and al other things which thou wilt, but for the distributiõ, giue me the coyned gold which he had gathered for his determinate warres, which shall suffice me to deuide amõg three hundred thousand mẽ. The residue of the charges, if I may be so bold, I will eyther of thee, or by thy helpe, borowe it of publike money, and forthwith make sale of my priuate substance. Whilest *Cæsar* spake thus, *Antony* was astonished at his courage and boldnesse, farre beyond the opiniõ of his yeares, and being greeued with his speech made without reuerence of him, & specially for that he required the money, he answered him sharply after this manner.

Antonyes answvere to Octauius.

If *Cæsar*, togither with his inheritãce and name (O sonne) had left thee also the state, thou mightest well haue required an accompt of common things, and I must haue answered: but if the *Romaines* haue by oth decreed, that no man shall receyue rule by inheritance, nor no man be a successour to Kings, whome they did expell, whiche was chiefly obiected againste the father of the quellers, affirming they killed him as a King, and not as a Captayne, I ought not to answere thee touching any of these publike causes, and by the same reason, I do deliuer thee of the geuing of thankes, whiche thou owest to me therefore, for it was done not for thy sake, but for the peoples, yet one of the greatest actes that euer was done for *Cæsar*, and for thee: for if I of mine owne boldnesse and hate to them, had ouerpast the honors

for

for the ſtriker, as killers of a Tyrante, *Caſar* had bin iudged a Tyrant, to whome, neyther glory, nor honor, nor eſtabliſhmente of his actes had bin made, neyther Teſtament, ſonne, or ſubſtãce had bin kayd, nor his bodye bin thought worthy burial, no not, as a priuate man, for the law doth commaund the bodyes of Tyrants to be caſt vnburied, their memorie to be raced, and theyr goodes to be made common, all the which I fearing, did contend for *Caſars* immortall glorye, and for his publike burial, neyther without perill nor enuie of mine owne perſon, of men fierce and full of bloudſhed, and as thou mayſt know, conſpiring againſte me, and of the Senat that could euill beare thy fathers gouernement: but I thought rather to offer my ſelfe to peril and trouble, than to ſuffer *Caſar* to be diſhonored and vnburyed, the beſt of all other men, moſt fortunate in his affaires, and of all other thing me moſt honorably. By theſe mine onely perils, thou haſt preſently theſe ſingulare beneſites of *Caſar*, his bloud, his name, hys dignitie, and his ſubſtance, for all the whyche, thou oughteſt rather to giue me thankes, than to reprehende me for anye thyng done for the appeaſing of the Senate, for the recompence of ſuch as had deſerued, or for other commodities and conſiderations, ſeeyng thou art yong in reſpect to me: therefore this ſhall be ſufficient, for that thou ſpakeſt herein. Thou doeſt glance at mee, as though I were deſirous of rule only, which I never coueted, and yet haue bin thought not altogither vnworthy of it. Thou ſayeſt I am ſorye, for that I was not made heire by his teſtament, yet by thine owne confeſſion, I am content with the pettigrée of *Hercules*. For thy neceſſitie, that thou wouldeſt borrow of the common treaſure, I thinke thou didſt but diſſemble, becauſe thou canſt not be ignorant, that all is cõſumed, & that thy father had ỹ receypt of all the reuenue, ſince he came to his authoritie, being brought to him in ſtéade of ỹ treaſure houſe, & to be found in his ſubſtance, whẽ we had determined to ſearch for thẽ. This cã be no wrõg to *Caſar* being dead, nor be called vniuſt, though he were aline, ỹ being required, would yéld thée accõpts: & whẽ thou ſhalt find ỹ many priuate men will cõtend tõ thée for hys goodes, thou ſhalt wel perceiue thou cãſt not obteine thẽ without great

contro-

controuersie. As for the money which thou sayest was left with me, neyther was the summe so greate, nor nowe they be in my handes, for all were distributed to officers and magistrates, as Tyrants goodes, *Dolabella* and my brethren onely excepted, and by me bestowed vpō such purposes, as *Cæsar* had appointed: whē thou shalt haue the rest, thou shalt bestow it rather vpon the that may hinder thē, thā on the people, if thou bē wise, whome they will sende away (if they be wise) to their habitations. For the people as thou oughtest to know (being lately trayned in Greeke letters) is vnstable, and euer moning as waues in the Sea, now comming, now going. After the which sorte, the people haue set aloft oure ambitious men, and brought them downe as lowe agayne.

Peop'e vnstable.

Octauius beyng grēued with many of these things that tended to contumelie, wente his way, often calling vpon his fathers name. He put to sale his whole substance by and by that came vnto him by inheritance, coueting to winne the people by thys liberalitie, bycause *Antony* appeared a manifest enimie vnto him. The Senate intending to make enquirie by decrée for the publike treasure, many of them were afrayde of yong *Cæsar*, for the benevolence of his father had with the Souldyers and the people, and for the present largesse in allurīg of them, by consuming of his substance which was verye greate, many thinkyng that he woulde not liue in the rate of a priuate man, and chiefly for that *Antony* woulde agrée with him, bycause he was yong, famous, and rich, and would still vsurp *Cæsars* former dominion. Some were ioyfull of these things, that these men shoulde be at variance, and by the inquisition of the moneys, *Cæsars* ryches should waste, and they haue abundance of the common treasure, bycause muche of the publike store would be found among *Cæsars* goodes. Many of them called *Cæsar* into the lawe for their lands, euery one clayming his owne, and for that muche was common, by reason of condemned, banished, and attaynted men. These controuersies they brought before *Antony*, or before *Dolabella*, the other Consul. If any matter were heard before other Iudges, *Cæsar* had euer the worst, bycause of *Antonye* frien-

Octauius selleth his substance.

ship,

ship, albeit he shewed by record what his father had purchased, & that al his acts were ratified by the last decrée of the Senate. Many other actions of iniurie were put vp against him extraordinarily, and they grew infinit, in so much as *Pedius* and *Pinarius*, to whom *Cæsar* had giuen a portion of land, complayned of *Antony* for themselues and for *Cæsar*, as they that suffered wrong by the Senates decrée, affirming he ought to reiect onely matters of despight, and al other of *Cæsars* doings he should confirme. He answered, that things done peraduenture, had some contrarietie with the Senates decrée, and (quoth he) the decrée may be written contrary to the meaning. For where only oblivion of iniuries was graunted, there was no alteratiõs of the former proceedings, neyther for his sake, nor to be playne, for anye of their sakes, rather than a deuice to apease and stay the people which was in tumulte, and that it were more iuste to vse the meaning of the decrée, rather than the wordes: neyther was it méete to resist so many men, that by sedition were fallen from their owne, for their auncestours possessions, for one pong man that beyonde all hope had gotten so muche of other mens substaunce, and none of his owne, vsing fortune not for honoure, but for insolencie. Yet he sayd he would fauour them, whē they had diuided with *Cæsar*. Thus did *Antony* answere *Pinarius*, who streight made diuision, least their partes shoulde be consumed in sutes, not for themselues but for *Cæsar*, whom not long after they must gratify in all.

The time of playes drew nygh, which *Caius Antonius*, brother to *Antony*, should exhibite for *Brutus* as Prætor, being absent, in as good sorte as might be, bicause *Brutus* had made great preparation for the same, thinking by this liberality & passtime, the people would be wonne to cal him and *Cassius* home again. But new *Cæsar* working ẏ multitude to the contrary, did giue among the ambitious sort (as euery man first came) al the money that he had got by his sale, to preuent the others whole purpose. He went into euery common market, commaunding to be proclamed, ẏ they should sel al his goods, thoughe that he had were neuer so good cheape, because of the doubtful and suspitious

Playes for Brutus.

pitious controuersie of the lawe and of his harte. Wherby hee turned all the people to benevolence and pitie, as vnworthye to suffer so muche. For whereas beside his owne heritage he had solde his priuate substaunce that came to him by his father *Octauius*, or by any other waye, and all that his mother and hir husband *Philip* hadde, and clayming a portion of more goods of *Pedius* and *Pinarius*, he determined to sell all, as though *Cæsars* substaunce woulde not suffice, onely bycause of his veratiõs. The people thinking no löger ẏ to be *Cæsars* gifte, but *Octauius* liberalitie, they had inwarde compassion of him, wondring at his great attemptes, and well perceyuing that he would not long passe for *Antonies* displeasure.

The playes disturbed.

Now were the playes of *Brutus* shewed in most ample maner. When certaine hyred men, did cry that *Brutus* and *Cassius* might be called home, and the rest of the Theatre did agree vnto them for their pardon, the other rushed in by heapes, and marred all the playe, and quenched their instant request. *Brutus* and *Cassius* vnderstanding that *Cæsar* had dashed their hope in the shewe, they determined to goe to *Syria* and *Macedonia* by force, as prouinces appointed to them before *Antony* and *Dolabella*.

This being evident, *Dolabella* also went into *Syria*, and made hast by the way, to make money in *Asia*. *Antony* desired much to haue the army of *Macedonia*, as very fit for the maintenãce of his power, being in vertue best, and in power most, (for they were fiue legions) beside other number of Archers, Darters, and light armed, with many horsemen and other greate furniture for the warre, al the whiche he feared should follow *Dolabella* into *Syria*, going against the *Parthians*, whether *Cæsar* had appointed them. He minded to haue them himself, bycause they were nyghe to the sea of *Ionia*, frõ whence he might sone bring them into *Italie*. In the meane time a sodaine rumor came, that the *Geetes*, knowing of *Cæsars* death, did inuade *Macedonia*. Wherfore *Antony* required his armie of the Senate, that he myght punish the *Geetes*, bycause they were first appointed against the of *Cæsar*, & so that all was none quiet with the *Parthians*. The

The *Geetes*, ben people of *Sythia* in *Europe*. The name nowe is turned into the *Thracians*.

Senate

Senate suspected this rumor, and sente to vnderstande the certainty of it.

Antony, to deliuer them of feare and suspition hereof, decreed that for no cause it should be lawfull to create a Dictator, nor that any man should take it, though it were giuen him: and if any man did perceyue anye to contemne this order, it should be lawfull to kill him whereseuer he were mette. By this meanes he did temper the hearers, and practising with *Dolobellas* friend to giue him one legion, he was chosen captaine of the army, & Lieuetenant of *Macedonia*. Hauing now what hee would, he sent his brother *Caius* in al hast to cary the decree to ỹ army.

Antony deuiseth to stoppe the creation of a Dictator.

They that wente to vnderstande of the *Geetes* being returned, affirmed that they sawe no *Geetes* in *Macedonia*, but they added (either saying true, or being taught of *Antony* what they shold say:) It was to be feared, if the army were taken away, the *Geetes* would ouerrunne *Macedonia*.

Whiles this was doing in *Rome*, *Cassius* and *Brutus* did gather money and men, and *Trebonius* that was gouernour in *Asia* did make Cities strong for them, and would not admit *Dolobella* neither at *Pergamo* nor at *Smirna*, only he appoint him a market place out of the walles as to a Consul. He therfore went about with anger to winne the walles: *Trebonius* not obtayning, promised he should be receiued at *Ephesus* the going thither, *Trebonius* sent certaine aleke to se his doings: who, when night was come, seeing him going on, not suspecting anye thing else, left a fewe to followe hym, and returned to *Smirna*. *Dolobella* hauyng layde wayte for thys matter, turned vpon these fewe, and slewe them, and streight in that nighte came to *Smirna*, whyche findyng without watche, he toke with a stale. *Trebonius* was founde in bedde, and desyred he might be brought to *Dolobella*, and that he would willingly followe them. One of the Captaynes lokt on hym, and sayd: Come on, giue vs thy hande, for thy handes, not thee, are we commaunded to bring: and when he had thus sayde, he stroke off hys heade streighte. When daye was come, *Dolobella*

Dolobella kept out.

Ephesus, NOVV *Egglio* in *Ionia*.

Dolobella taketh *Smyrna*.

Trebonius killed and spightfully vsed.

cassed *Trebonius* heade to be set vp ouer the iudgemente place wher he was wõt to giue audiẽce. The army (in fury) ẏ folowed ẏ cãpe, & the people (bicause *Trebonius* was priuy to *Cæsars* death, and helde *Antony* with a tale without, when they killed *Cæsar* in the Senate house) did vse his body very spightfully, & threw his head vpon a pauemẽt of stone, like a bal frõ one to another, which whẽ they had scornefully vsed, they crushed and brake it a pieces. And this was the first of *Cæsars* strikers that receiued this punishment.

Trebonius one of the conspirators vvas the first that vvas killed.

Antony intended to bring the army from *Macedonia* into *Italie*, and wanting other pretence therunto, desired the Senate, that in steade of *Macedonia* he might haue Fraunce within the *Alpes*, of the which *Decimus Brutus Albinus* was ruler, remembring that *Cæsar* brought his army from thence, when he ouercame *Pompey*: but when it was perceyued, that he minded to bring that army not into *Italy* but into *Fraunce*, and the Senat considering that part of *Fraunce* to be as a strong fort for thẽ, was grieued, and now vnderstode the deceytes of *Antony*, repenting they had giuen *Macedonia* vnto hym. Therefore they sent priuie messengers to *Decimus*, to kepe his prouince strongly, and to gather other army and money, that he might resiste *Antony*. So muche were they troubled and in anger against *Antony*.

Celtica now *Lombardy*.

Senate vvorketh secretly against *Antony*.

And he, contrary to the Senats minde, entending to take it of the people by lawe, as *Cæsar* had obtayned it before, and as *Dolabella* had *Syria*, now of late. And to affray ẏ Senate, he commaunded his brother *Caius* to transport the army of *Macedonia* by the *Ionian* Sea to *Brundusie*, and there to tarie what *Antony* should require.

Critonius shevvs

Now was there a player to be shewed by *Critonius* the ouerseer of pleasaũces for the iubile that *Cæsar* had prepared a crowne, and a chayre of golde for his father, as in all shewes they had ordeyned so to honour him.

Ædilis Cerealis, & of honses as vvel profane as holy.

Critonius saide he would not admitte *Cæsar* to be honored in the charges he should make. Wherefore *Dolabella* brought him before the Consul, saying he would put it to the Senate. Whereat *Critonius* being offended, *Dol-*

so

so (quoth he) and I will set the Chaire till thou hasse made the decrée.

Antony was angry and forbad hym. He forbadde it also in other playes after to be made, and that was somewhat vnreasonable, for *Octauius* hymselfe did exhibit it, being instituted of hys father, to *Venus* his parent, to whome in the common place, hée builded a Temple wyth a Courte. *Antony* againste *Cæsar.*

Of thys did manifeste hate growe agaynste *Antony* of all men, as thoughe he did not rather enuy *Octauius Cæsar* now, than contemne the former vnthankfully. Young *Cæsar* with a multitude as a guarde wente among the people, and such as had bin benefited by hys father, or serued hym in the wars enuiously, hée besoughte them, that they wouldo not suffer hym thus, to be so many wates despised, but both reuenge *Cæsar* their chiefe tayne and benefactour so dishonoured of *Antony*, and defende themselues, who should haue none assurance, vnlesse the things that he had decréed were established. He went vp to euery highe place of the Citie, and cried vpon *Antony*: Hate agaynste *Antony.* *Cæsar* to the people:

Be not angry with *Cæsar* for me, nor dishonor hym that hath moste honoured thée O *Antony*, and was moste affectionated to thée, do me what iniury thou wilt, but saue his substaunce from spoile, till the Citizens haue their parte, all the reste take vnto thée. It shal be sufficient for me, though I be poore, so be successe for to hys glorye, so thou wilte suffer the people to haue their portion. *Cæsars* exclamations againste *Antony.*

After these wordes, there was euident and continuall exclamation againste *Antony*, and although he sharpelye threatned *Octauius*, and that hys threats were openly knowen, yet did they the more stirre at it. Wherfore the chiefe of the Capitains, that serued in *Antonies* guarde, in great estimation wyth hym, and had bin before wyth *Cæsar*, desired hym he wouldo leaue his displight, as well for their cause, as for his own, hauing serued vnder *Cæsar*, and receyued so many good turnes of him. The Capitaines of *Antony* in fauour of *Octauius* now.

Which things *Antony* conforming, and confessing them to be true, and halfe ashamed they shoulde be layde vpon hym, and nowe shoulde haue nede of *Octauians* helpe, for the prouince of

Antony relēcth

France, he beganne at lengthe to bée quiet, and to shew, ethat some thynges were done againste hys wyll.

But bycause the young manne was so hawtie at those yeares, hée dydde revoke certaine thynges, forthat he hadde no regarde nor reuerence to the Capitaines and olde officers: yet for theyr sakes he woulde refraine hys anger, and returne to his olde conditions, if hée also woulde leaue hys insolent behauiour.

Reconciliation of *Antony* and *Octauius*.

The Captaines being gladde of this, brought them togither, & when they had declared their griefs they set them at one. Now was the law called vppon for *France*, the Senate being against it, and entending to prohibite it, if *Antony* woulde propounde it to them, and if hée didde not, but require it of the people, they woulde set the Tribunes to be againstit, and some there were, that woulde haue it frée from al Lieutenants ouer that nation, so muche afraide were they of it.

Antony did obiect vnto them, that they would truste *Decimus* with it, that was one of *Cæsars* killers, and distruste hym that did not kill hym that wanne that prouince, and made it fall to his knées, calling forthopenly against them al, as though they had bin desirous of that was done to *Cæsar*.

The Senate taketh a guarde:

The courte daye being come, the Senate willed the assemblye of the companyes to be gathered, and in the night, they sette vppe Tentes in the common place, and called a bande of Souldioures to defende them from all happes.

Octauius nowe speaketh for *Antony*.

The people being offended, laboured for *Antony* by the helpe of *Octauio*, that sate among the Tentes, who entreated for hym: for hée was very much afraid, least *Decimus* shoulde be Gouernoure of a Prouince of suche importaunce, and an armye so greate, beyng one that hadde killed hys father: and for thys cause hée beganne to fauoure *Antonie*, wyth whome he was reconciled, trusting to gette some good at hys hande.

Tribunes corrupted.

The Tribunes being corrupted of *Antony*, and keping silence, the lawe toke place, and the armye being nowe at the sea, was

was for reasonable consideration assigned to *Antonie*.

One of the Tribunes being dead, *Octauius* much fauoured *Flaminius* against the next election, and bycause the people thought himselfe woulde haue the office, but refused to aske it, bycause of his yong yeares, they determined neuertheleſſe at the election, to make him Tribune. The Senate had enuy at his encreaſe, & were afraide, if he were Tribune, he would accuſe his fathers killers to the people. And *Antonie* not regarding to breake friendſhip with *Octauius*, whither it were to pleaſe the Senate, and to quiet their minds, for the late lawe made for hys Prouince, or for their ſakes that ſhoulde go to inhabite as Conſull, hée decréed that *Cæſar* ſhoulde deale with no man but lawfullye, otherwiſe he woulde further by al meanes his auctoritie againſt hym.

Flaminius. The people mindeth to make *Octauius* Tribune.

Antony againſte *Octauius* againe.

Thys declaration beyng vnpleaſaunte to *Cæſar*, and contumelious bothe to hym and the people, they were angrye, and entended to make ſtirre at the election, and to affraye *Antonie*, and by the helpe of the other Tribunes, to reuoke the decrée.

Sedition procured.

Octauius Cæſar, as one euidently deceyued, ſente manye to the Citties that hys father made for to inhabite, to ſhew them how hée was vſed, and to knowe their minds therin.

He ſent ſome alſo as cariers of victual into *Antonies* campe, to mingle among them, chiefelye to deale wyth the boldeſt of them, and among the reſte to ſcatter libells: and thus hée dydde.

The Capitaines and chiefe men with *Antony*, finding time conuenient, ſaide thus vnto him:

The oration of the Capitaynes to *Antony*.

Wée (O *Antonie*) that wyth thée haue ſerued *Cæſar*, and gaue to hym chiefe auctoritie, and till this daye haue remayned as aſſured ſeruauntes of it, haue knowne that hys killers and the Senate fauouring them, didde as muche hate, and ſéeke to diſpatch vs. But when the people did diſturbe them, we were encouraged agayne, bycauſe wée ſawe that *Cæſar* was

'was not forgotten lacked no friendes, nor destitute of fauoures
'yet did wee put all our truste in thee, as in *Cæsars* frende, and
'nerte him, most acquainted in the seruice of warre, and nowe
'our Generall and for al respects most fit for it. When our ene-
'mies did rise, and boldly force *Syria* and *Macedonia*, and prepared
'mony and men against vs, and the Senate maintayning *Dola-*
'*mim*, and thou consumming the tyme in contention with *Cæsar Octa-*
'*uius*, not without cause, we were afraide, that in tyme to come,
'thys dissention betweene you, woulde raise a greater warre
'than hathe beene, and gyue occasion to our ennimies to do what
'they woulde againste vs: all the whyche, seeyng thy selfe doest
'vnderstande, we beseeche thée, that for *Cæsars* sake, and for oure
'loue, whiche hath done nothing to offend thée, and for the com-
'modities that may rise both to thée and vs, that whilest thou
'mayest, thou wouldest agrée with *Octauius*, whiche onlye is suf-
'ficient, entending to be reuenged of the strykers. The whiche
'thing, cleare of all care, shall stay thée in authoritie, and place
'vs in securitie, that now are in doubt both for thée, and for oure
'selues.

The chiefetaynes hauyng sayde thus muche, *Antony* thus aunswered:

Antonies aun-
swveare to the
Capitaynes.

'What benenolence and loue I haue euer borne to *Cæsar*,
'in all hys causes, offeryng my selfe to moste perills of all o-
'ther, you that haue béene in Souldiour fare with me, and pre-
'sent to euery thing that hathe bin done, can well testifie. How
'muche loue and good will he shewed to me, euen till his last day,
'I shall not néede to repeate. For his quellers, waying both
'these, meante to haue kylled me with him: as thoughe I be-
'ing aliue, they coulde not thinke their intentes to consiste
'in safetye. And if anye manne dydde affraye them from
'that mynde, it was not done for desire and care of my
'life, but for a respecte onelye that they woulde not séeme
'to persecute their ennimies, but to dispatche a Tyran. Who
'then can thinke that I doe forgette *Cæsar* my benefactour, or
'haue more estéemed his enimies than him, or woulde willingly
'forgyue them his death, that haue sought mine, as this new *Ce-*
sar

Cæsar thinketh? How then commeth the oblíuion of his deathe, and their aduancemẽt to prouinces: for this he obiecteth against me, and not the Senate? Heare you then how it hathe come to passe. *Cæsar* being slayne in the Senate house, euery man was afrayd, and I most of all for *Cæsars* friendshyp, and ignorance of the fact, for I neyther hearde of the coniuration, nor vnderstoode howe manye were of the conspiracie. The people was in tumulte, and the strikers with the swordplayers toke the Capitoll, and made themselues fast, and the Senate was of their side, whyche is nowe more euident, bycause they decréd honors to them, as to the killers of a Tyrant, and if *Cæsar* were a Tyrant, then must we haue bin destroyed strayght, as friends to a Tyrante. So I béeyng troubled with tumult, with feare and sorrow, coulde not vse reason, nor bée without perplexitie, as you maye perceyue, if you will consider, for on the one side, was néede of boldnesse vehemente, and on the other dissimulation extreame. Firste thys was to be done (the reste easlie followyng) to take away the honor to be gyuen to the strikers, againste the whiche I onely standyng, resisted both the Senate, and them● and brought to passe with greate payne, vsing euidente courage, onely offering my selfe to that perill, supposing that wée, *Cæsars* friendes, should be in suretie, if hée were not condemned as a Tyrant. The lyke feare troubled our enimies and the Senate, that if he were not iudged a Tyrant, they shoulde be accompted manquellers. And for thys contention, I thoughte it best to gyue place, and to allow oblíuion of hys death, in stead of honor to be giuen to them, that I mighte wynne of them, as muche as by necessitie I coulde. And this was the manner of my doings, that neyther I dyd suffer *Cæsars* name to be abolished, nor his substance to bée confiscate, nor his adoption (in the whiche this man nowe most gloryeth) to be dissolued, nor his testament to be frustrated. Hys bodye I caused to be buryed princely, and honoures due vnto him before, to be consecrated as immortall, and all his actes and decrées to be kept firme and sure, and hys sonne and our friends the Captaynes and the Souldioures, to be in good safetie, and to liue in honor in stead of rebuke. Thinke you the obteyning of

'these thynges of the Senate for Oblivion, were but small and
'trifles? or doe you thynke wythout Oblivion the Senate would
'haue graunted them? whyche for these causes (I thynke) is
'playnely to bee performed, for a true dealyng wyth the strikers,
'and for an immortall glory of *Cæsar*, and all oure weale and sure-
'tie. The whyche I haue not done of that purpose, but to turne
'the course to the contrarye. For when I hadde brought the Se-
'nate to that that was profitable to vs, and allowed the killers
'to remayne in quiet, I did ouerthrowe the Oblivion, not by de-
'cree nor statute (for that I coulde not) but by an earnest iealou-
'sie of the people, bringing *Cæsars* bodye to be buryed in the com-
'mon place, and causing hys woundes to bee seene of the multi-
'tude, shewyng his vesture bloudy and mangled, and declaring his
'vertue and beneuolence to the people, weeping when I made the
'mourning Oration. I called hym by the name of a kylled God.
'These were my wordes and workes, whereby the people was so
'prouoked, as in stead of Oblivion, they toke fire, and wente to
'the quellers houses, and in the ende droue them out of the Citie.
'Howe thys was contrarye to the Senate, they beeyng greeued
'wyth it, it was euidently seene. For they accused me first of am-
'bition, and appoynted prouinces to *Brutus* and *Cassius*, *Syria*, and
'*Macedonia*, whyche were full of greate armyes. And least they
'shoulde seeme to make haste before theyr tyme, they gaue them
'pretence to prouide grayne for the Citie. Wherefore a greater
'feare dyd yet trouble me, for lacke of an appoynted armye,
'as menne naked to fyghte wyth so manye well armed, my fel-
'lowe beeyng a man suspected, and disagreeyng from me, and
'one of the conspirators agaynste *Cæsar*, and appoynted to bee
'heere at the daye of hys deathe. For these thynges beeyng in great
'trouble, and seekyng with speede to disarme oure enimies, and
'to arme oure selues, I kylled *Amatius*. I thoughte good to call
'home *Pompey*, that by thys meane I mighte ioyne the Senate a-
'gayne. Yet not much truskyng them, I persuaded *Dolobella* to
'aske *Syria*, not of the Senate, but of the people, by a lawe to bee
'made: and in hys sute I furthered hym, of a friende to make
'hym an enimie to the strikers: and that it shoulde seeme verye

vnfytte

vnlytte for the Senate to denye me *Macedonia*, ſéeyng they hadde graunted *Syria* to *Dolobella*, for otherwiſe woulde they not haue graunted mée that prouince, nor delyuered me that armye, excepte they hadde firſte graunted to *Dolabella* the ſame, to goe agaynſte the *Parthians*: nor they woulde not haue taken from *Brutus* and *Caſſius*, *Syria* and *Macedonia*, vnleſſe they hadde appoynted ſome other prouinces to them for theyr ſurette. Néedes muſt they appoynte one for another, but what manner ones, *Cyrene* and *Creta*, voyde of armies, whyche they oure enimies, in contempte, haue lefte as vnprofitable, and by violence, haue entred the other, whyche wée toke from them. Thus was oure armye putte from oure enimies to *Dolabella*, by deuice and ſleighte, and exchange of other prouinces: for where warre was not, there muſt thinges bée done by lawe. This béeyng thus brought to paſſe, and oure enimies gathering another armye, I hadde néede of the ſame my ſelfe, that was in *Macedonia*, yet wanted occaſion to require it. When the fame came that the *Getes* woulde inuade *Macedonie*, whyche not béeyng beléeued, eſpies were ſente to vnderſtande the truth, I decréed, that no man ought to aſke the Dictatorſhippe, nor to take it though it were gyuen hym. By the whych thyng they béeyng chiefly allured, appoynted me the armye, and then dyd I thinke my ſelfe equall with mine enimies, not theſe that be euidente, as *Octauius* thynketh, but other moe in number, greater in power, and not yet appearing. When I had done this, one of the ſtrikers remayned ſtill hard at our ſides, *Decimus Brutus*. He béeyng a gouernoure of a greate countrey, and a mighty armye verye bolde, I deuiſed to take hys prouince from hym, yet wyth a regarde of the Senate, promiſing to delyuer *Macedonia* voyde of armye. The Senate takyng the thyng euill, and perceyuing ſome deuice to bée hadde, what and howe greate matter was written to *Decimus*, you knowe, and to ſtirre the Conſulles agaynſte mée, wherefore wyth the more boldeneſſe dyd I practiſe to wynne that prouince, not by the Senate, but by the people and lawe, and to haue the armye of *Macedonia* come to *Brunduſe*, to

'vse at all opportunities, and with the Gods help, we will vse them
'as necessitie shall compell vs. Thus from muche feare, wherein
'we were at the first, we be turned into safetie of them that haue
'to doe wyth vs, and into boldnesse agaynste oure foes, whose
'courage beginnes to shrinke, and ours to increase. You see what
'repentance they make of their decrées, and what payne it was
'to mée to take *France*, gyuen to another man. You knowe what
'they wrote to *Decimus*, and what they persuaded the Consuls a-
'gaynste me for that matter, but wyth the Gods of oure Coun-
'trey, wyth dutifull mynde, and wyth oure valiante actes, by the
'whyche *Cæsar* was a conqueroure, wée wyll reuenge him, labou-
'ring with our bodyes, and counselling wyth oure mynds. These
'thyngs (O Souldioure fellowes) I wouldé haue secrete, al-
'though howe I haue done them, I haue tolde you, with whome
'I will participate all thyngs both in worde and déede, the which
'you may shewe to any other that do not knowe it, onely *Octauius*
'except, who is most vnthankefull to vs.

When *Antony* hadde thus saide, it séemed to the Captaynes that he had done all things with great art and policie, to deceiue the quellers whome he hated, and therefore they were desirous to reconcile them with *Cæsar* once agayne, and persuaded them to méete in the Capitoll.

Nevv despighte of *Antony* against *Cæsar*.

Not long after, *Antony* did cause some of his gard to be apprehended by his friendes, as entised by *Octauius* to destroy him, eyther to discredite *Octauius*, or for that he thoughte it true, learning it of such as were sente to hys Campe. He declared this to be done by all coniecture, to dispatche hys person, whiche matter béeyng quietly heard, caused muche adoe and indignation among the people. A fewe that were grounded vppon reason, were glad that *Antony* myghte doe *Cæsar* good, and also hurte at hys pleasure, bycause hée was terrible to the strikers, and if hée were once dispatched, they myghte wyth the more securitie, doe theyr feates, bycause the Senate chiefly fauoured them. Thus the wyser sorte did thinke: but the multitude séeyng that despight and hynderance was dayly offered to *Octauius*, they thoughte it not vnlike to be a calumniation, and yet supposed it not good

nor

nor honest, that *Antony* beyng Consull, shoulde bée in daunger of hys person. *Octauius Cæsar* with greate anger and furie wente among them that were of thys opinion, and cryed, that hée was circumuented of *Antony*, for the frendshyppe that he onely had with the people, and raune to *Antonyes* house, and there he exclaymed and called the Gods to witnesse, with all execrations and othes, prouoking hym to come to tryall: and bycause no body came to hym, he sayde to hys friendes, I am contente to bée iudged by hys owne people. And with that, he brake in at the dores, but béeyng kepte backe, he ſware, and rebuked them that kepte the gates, bycause they stopped hym from making further tryall wyth *Antony*. He wente hys way, and protested to the people, that if any hurte came vnto hym, it shoulde come by *Antonyes* meanes. *Cæsar* exclaymeth agaynſte *Antony*.

Hauyng spoken this with greate vehemencie, it grœued the people, and some of them repented of theyr former opinion. Some stoode in doubte, and trusted neyther of them. Some thoughte it a dissimulation betwéene them, the better to bryng to passe, that they had agréed vpon in the Temple againste their enimies: and some thought *Antonie* deuised it, to haue a greater garrison about him, and to turne mens good will from *Octauius*.

Nowe was there secrete intelligence gyuen to hym, that the armye at *Brunduſe*, and the ordinarie Souldioures, were angrye with *Antonie*, bycause he neglected *Cæsars* death, and that they woulde reuenge it to their power, and that *Antonie* was gone in hast to *Brunduſe* for this cause. *Octauius* was afrayde, leaſt he returning with his armye, shoulde finde hym vnprouided. He toke mony, and wente to *Campania*, to winne the Cities that were inhabited by such as had serued his father, and first he perſuaded *Celatia* and *Silio*, two Townes about *Capua*. He gaue euerie man fiue hundred drammes, and had tenne thoulande menne, neyther armed, nor distributed into due bands and order, but only as a gard of his person vnder one ensigne. They in the Citie were afrayde of *Antonies* commyng with his army, and when they heard that *Octauius* was comming with another, they were in a double feare, and some toke it well, that they mighte vse *Antonyes* armye at *Brunduſe* discontented.

Antonyes goyng to *Brunduſe*, ſuſpected to *Cæſar*.

Octauius goeth to make men. *Celatia* in *Latio*. *Silio*, *Caſilinum* in *Campania*, not farre from *Capua*. Feare in the Citie.

Octauius against *Antony*. Some that sawe theyr reconciliation in the Capitoll, thought it but a dissimulation, and a recompence of the one to be in authoritie, and the other to persecute the quellers.

Carnutius.

In thys disquietnesse, *Carnutius* the Tribune, enimie to *Antony*, and friende to *Octauius*, wente to knowe the truth, whyche beeyng done, hee declared to the people that there was playne variance betweene *Antony* and *Octauius*, and that it stode them in hande to make *Octauius* theyr friende, seeyng they had none other armye to resist *Antonyes* Tyrannie. When he had sayde thus, he willed *Octauius* to enter, who lay a little withoute the Citie at the Temple of *Mars*. Hee dyd so, and came to the Temple of *Iupiters* chyldren, about the whyche the Souldioures stode with theyr weapons openly. *Carnutius* spake firste against *Antony*. Then *Octauius* hymselfe reuiued the memorie of hys father, and shewed what iniurie *Antony* hadde done hym, whereby he was forced to gette an armye for hys suretie, wyth the whyche he woulde obey, and serue his Countrey in all thyngs, nowe readye agaynste *Antonie*. When he hadde thus sayde, the Counsell was broken vp.

Carnutius a Tribune, receiueth yong *Cæsar* against *Antony*.

Octauius to the people.

The armye that thoughte otherwyse, bycause of theyr reconciliation, and that they were onely broughte to preserue *Octauius* person agaynste hys quellers, seemed to bee greeued, that suche wordes shoulde bee spoken agaynste *Antonie*, then beeyng a Generall of an armye, and Consull of the Citie: and some desired to goe home, as to arme themselues, for they coulde abyde none other, but theyr owne armies: and some tolde the very truth.

Octauius armye goeth from him.

Octauius beganne to doubt agayne, seeyng it came otherwyse to passe than he thought, and therefore gaue place to the occasion, trustyng to wynne them rather by gentlenesse than by force, wherefore some be sente to bee armed, and some to theyr home agayne, promising them all for theyr labours, and hydyng hys griefe, he gaue them newe giftes, and promised them more liberally to requite them, and that he woulde vse them in all hys enterprises, rather as hys fathers friendes, than as hys

Octauius giueth place to the Souldyoures.

Soul-

Souldioures: When he hadde so sayde, one thousande, or three at the most (for in thys the Writers vary) he wanne to tarrie, the rest wente awaye. They remembryng the toyle of tyllage, and the gayne of warfare, and the woordes of *Cæsar*, that easilie dyd drawe them, and the giftes they hadde receyued, with the hope of that they shoulde receyue, as the variable nature of people is, beganne to repent, and turning occasion to dutie, they armed themselues, and returned to him, and he went to *Rauenna* for more reuenue, and when he hadde gone ouer the Countrey, and gotten more menne one after another, he sente them to *Arezzo*.

Octauius armye returneth to him.

Aretium a Citie in *Tuscane*, thirty myles from *Florence*.

In this meane time, of the fiue Legions of *Macedonie*, foure were come to *Antonie* to *Brundusc*, accusing him, as one that neglected *Cæsars* deathe: and bycause they gaue no greetyng to hym when they broughte hym to hys seate, as to heare somewhat firste sayde of themselues, he was offended with their silence, and coulde not refrayne, but rebuked them of vnthankefulnesse, that where by hym they were called from the iourney into *Parthia*, to remayne in *Italie*, they did not acknowledge anye thanke for it. Then he blamed them for bearing with the rashe yong man, (for so he called *Cæsar*) that they woulde not discouer to hym suche persons, as he had sente to make difference betweene them: but he woulde fynde them out hymselfe, intendyng to leade them to the wealthie prouince of *Celtica*, and to gyue euery one that woulde abide with hym, one hundred drammes. The Souldyoures laught at his miserable offer, and the more he was angry, the more were they in disorder and tumulte, wherefore he rose and sayde, *You shall learne to be ruled.*

Antony offended with the Souldioures.

A mutiny in *Antonyes* Camp.

The Souldyoures laughe at the miserie of *Antony*.

Then he enquired of the Chiefetaynes, who were the seditious? (for among the *Romaines* they vsed to note euerye manne by writing) and by lawe of warre he chose them out, but hee dyd not kyll euery tenth manne, but parte of them, thinking by a fewe, to affray the rest. They, not to feare, but rather to anger and hate, tourned his doings, whiche thyng when they perceyued, that were sente thyther by

Octauius,

Octauius, they threwe billes aboute the Campe, conteyning the niggardnesse and crueltie of *Antonie*, with an vnthankefulnesse to *Cæsar* that dead was, and the liberalitie and gentlenesse of him that now they might helpe. *Antonie* with great diligence sought out the authors, with threatning of greate payne to them that dyd not disclose them, but when he coulde not finde anye out, he was muche offended, that the whole army should fauoure them: and when he hearde of the extraordinarie bands that were gone to *Cæsar Octauius*, and what was done for him at *Rome*, he was troubled, and came againe to the army and sayde. It did greeue him to doe that he had done for the necessitie of Souldious discipline, taking but a few, in stead of many, according to the lawe, and that they did well knowe, that *Antonie* was neyther cruell, nor sparing, but (quoth he) let anger go, let this be ynough, both of punishment, and of offence, and as for the hundred drammes, he meante it not as a gifte, (for *Antonies* fortune requyred otherwyse) but as a welcome of fryndly acquayntance betweene them, rather than a gifte, hee willed them to haue it, and that by the lawe of their Countrey and Souldyoures order, they ought to bee obediente to hym in thys, and in all other thyngs.

The practises of *Octauius* against *Antony* in his Camp.

Antony to his Souldyoures.

Thus he sayd: yet dyd he not adde anye more to the somme, leaste the Captayne shoulde seeme to giue place to the Souldioure, and they eyther for repentance or for feare, accepted it, and hee changed the officers of hys Campe, eyther for the displeasure of thys sedition, or for some other suspition. The rest, with suche furniture as he had, deuiding his hoste, he sent by sea to *Arimeno*.

He takyng one bande of the moste likely men, both in bodye and obedience, wente towarde *Rome*, from thence to goe also to *Arimeno*. Hee proudely entred the Citie, leauyng one bande withoute the Citie in Campe, and wyth them that were aboute hym armed, hee caused hys house to bee garded in the nyghte for hys safetie, to whome he gaue watchwordes, in dyuers parts, as a garrison in the Citie. He assembled the Senate, intending to haue accused *Octauius* for his doings, but at hys

Arimeno in Romagna.

his entry, it was tolde him that the martiall legion by the way was gone to *Octauius*. And as hée stode in doubt and feare what to doe, it was also shewed hym, that the fourthe legion following the Martials example, was likewise reuolted to *Octauius*. Being much troubled, he entred, and made a shew as he had called the Senate for an other purpose, & tarried not long there, but went to the gates, and from thence to the Cittie of *Alba*, to stay the reuolters. But being put from the walles, hée returned, and to the other legions hée sente fiue hundred drams a man, and with them that he hadde, hée wente to *Tiburo*, hauyng suche prouision as they bée wonte that goe agaynst theyr enimies.

Two legions reuolte to *Octauius* frō *Antony*.

Tibure; now *Tiuole*.

Nowe was it euident that warre woulde followe, for *Decimus* meante not to leaue hys Prouince.

Antony béeyng in thys place, almoste all the Senate, and manye of the Gentlemen came to do hym honor, and so dyd a great part of the people, fyndyng hym gruyng othe to hys Souldiors that were presente, and of other that hadde serued him béefore, whyche resorted to hym in greate number. And they frely sware to *Antony*, that they woulde not breake faith and beneuolence wyth hym. So as nowe a man mighte doubte, who they were, that a little before hadde spoken againste *Antony* for *Octauius Cæsars* sake.

The Senatoures and Citizens swoorne to *Antony*.

Antony thus wyth great pompe, approched *Arimene*, where was the beginning of *Fraunce Celtica* his armye. Beside these newe Souldiours, was three legions from *Macedonia*, for nowe all were come vnto hym, and the olde Souldiours that then serued, were counted twice so good as the yong.

So hadde *Antony* an armye of foure legions of experte Souldiours, beside suche as bée wonte to followe as venturers, and the olde guarde of hys person, wyth other newe chosen.

Antonies armye.

Lepidus in *Iberia*, hadde three legions, *Asinius Pollio*, two, and *Plancus* in further Fraunce, three, all the whyche séemed to take *Antonies* parte.

Lepidus. *Asinius Pollio*. *Plancus*.

Octauius Cæsar had two choise legions that wente from *Antony*,

tony, one of yͤ ſouldiors, and two of them that ſerued him firſt, neyther full in number, nor furniſhed in armoure, yet ſupplyed of the newe commers. He gathered theſe togither at *Alba*, and ſent them to the Senate.

The Senate miſliked of *Octauius* and *Antony* bothe.

They dydde ſo muche reioice in *Octauius*, as a man myghte doubte that anye dydde before honoure *Antony*: yet were they not content that the legions that went from hym, ſhoulde goe to *Octauius*, and not to them. Neuertheleſſe, they prayſed them and *Cæſar*, promiſing ſhortly after to determine by decrée what was to bée done, when the newe Magiſtrates hadde theyr offices.

It was euident in the ende, that they woulde bend againſt *Antony*, and bycauſe they had no armye, and coulde gather none wythout the Conſuls auctoritie, they deferred all till the newe election.

Cæſars army offred him Maces and Sergeants prepared, and prayed him to take vpon hym the Lieutenantſhip and leading of their warre, they being euer vſed to ſuch auctoritie.

He thanked them for the honoure, but referred the matter to the Senate, & them that wolde haue gone by heaps for this purpoſe, he forbad, and ſtaied them that would haue ſent Ambaſſadours, that the Senate (quoth hée) maye take order for it of themſelues, vnderſtanding of your offer, and my refuſall. They hardly beeyng contented this waye, and the Capitaines conſtruing it as men had in ſome ſuſpition, he declared vnto them, that the Senate dyd not rather encline to him for good will, than for feare of *Antony*, and want of armye, til we (quoth he) haue diſpatched *Antony*.

The murtherers being friends and kinſemen to the Senate, wil gather power for thé, whych I perceyuing, wil pretend to obey them. And this is not to be diſcloſed, for if we take power vppon vs, they will call it violence and contumelie: but if wée make daunger of it, they will peraduenture giue it vs, fearing otherwiſe wée ſhal haue it by you.

When hée hadde thus ſayde, hée ſawe the two legions that

that came to him from *Antony*, shewing the shape of battayle, contending together in as vehement wise, as thoughe they hadde bene fighting indeede (kylling onely excepted) and hee beeing delighted with this feate, and glad to take the occasion, dyde gyue to euery man other fiue hundred drammes, and if anye necessitye by the warre shoulde followe, hee promised to them, hauing the better hande, fyue thousande drammes a man.

A shewe of fight by twoo legions.

Thus did *Cæsar* with liberalitie of rewarde, winne them that were hys hyred menne, and these were the twyngs in *Italy*.

In *Fraunce*, *Antony* commaunded *Decimus* to go into *Macedonia*, to obey the people, and saue himselfe.

Antony warneth *Decimus* oute of his Prouince.

Decimus sente him the letters of the Senate verye well written, signifying, that as well oughte hee to obey the Senate, as he the people. *Antony* appoynted hym a daye when hee woulde vse hym as an enimie. *Decimus* required hym to appoynt a longer daye to hymselfe, that hee shoulde not too soone be made an enimye to the Senate. *Antony*, that was too good for hym in the fielde, yet thoughte it better to goe vnto the Cities, and they receyued hym.

Decimus beeyng afrayde that hee shoulde not when hee would, enter anye of them, fayned he hadde receyued letters from the Senate, to returne to *Rome* wyth hys armye, and so as one goyng home into *Italy*, he was receiued in euery place.

Mutina a Citie in *Lumbardy*, now *Modena*.

But when he came to *Mutina*, a plentifull Citie, he shutte the gates, and commaunded the Citizens to bring all thynges forthe, that was necessarye for foode, and caused al their beasts to be kylled and poudred, for feare the siege woulde laste long, and so he tarryed for *Antonies* comming.

Decimus taketh *Modena* for hys defence.

Hys armye was a number of Sworde-players, and three legions armed, whereof one was of new Souldiours without experience, the other two of former seruice, and very faithfull to hym.

Antony with anger came againſte *Decimus*, and caſte a trenche aboute the Cittie, and ſo was *Decimus* beſieged. In *Rome*, the Conſuls according to the yeare, being choſen, dyde ſtraighte aſſemble the Senate with ſacrifices in the Temple againſte *Antony*.

Cicero againſte *Antony*.

Cicero and his friends, did require he might be iudged an enimie, bycauſe, he by force of armes, didde take the Prouince of France, contrarie to the Senats pleaſure, to trouble hys countrey, and bycauſe he had brought that army into *Italie*, that was appoynted hym againſte the *Thracians*.

They alleadged alſo againſte hym, that after *Ceſar* he ſought to rule, being armed in the Cittie with ſo many band-leaders, and bling his houſe as a forte full of Souldiours and Enſigns, and in all hys doynges more inſolent, than became a yearely officer.

Lucius Piſo againſte *Cicero*.

Lucius Piſo, one that fauoured *Antonies* faction (and a man verye notable among the Romaynes) and other that fauoured *Piſo* for *Antonies* cauſe, required hée myghte bée called into iudgement, bycauſe it was not the manner of theyr countrey to condemne anye manne beſore hée were hearde, nor conuenient, that hée that was yeſterdaye a Conſull, ſhould thys daye be an enimy, eſpecially hauing bene ſo ofte prayſed bothe of *Cicero* and of other.

Senate againſte *Antony*.

The Senate ſtode doubtfull in the cauſe all the night.

The nexte day in the morning, béeyng agayne aſſembled, the *Ciceronians* wyth greate inſtaunce, hadde decréede *Antony* an enimye, hadde not *Saluius* the Tribune diſſolued the counſell till the nexte daye. In theſe offices hée hathe moſte power that maye prohibite.

Adire againſte *Antony*.

The *Ciceronians* dyde ſpitefully laboure againſte hym, and ranne among the people, to ſtyre them vppon hym, and cited *Saluius* to aunſwere. He wythoute feare came forthe, till the Senate ſtayed hym, fearing leaſte he ſhould incenſe the people to drawe them to the memorye of *Antonie*, they were not ignorannte, that they condemned a noble manne wythout iudgement, nor that the people had gyuen hym France: but

but for feare of the frykers, they were angry with hym, bycause he first brake the lawe of *Oblivion*, & therefore they chose *Octauius*, against him before, who not being ignoraunt therof, was desirous to dispatch *Antony*.

The Senate being thus affected, the voyces notwithstanding were deferred to the Tribunes. Yet it was determined, that *Decimus* shoulde be praysed for that he had not giuē place to *Antonie* in *Celtica*: And that *Cæsar* with the Consuls *Hircius* & *Pansa*, shoulo ioyne with such armies as he nowe had, & that an Image of gold should be made to honour him, & that he might giue voyce among the Senatours, and be allowed to be Consull ten yeares before the lawe: and that the legions that went from *Antony* to him, shoulde haue as muche giuen them of the Treasure, as *Cæsar* had appointed to them after the victorie: all the which being decreed, they brake vp, euen as already *Antony* had, being an enemy in deede, no Tribune daring speake for him the next daye.

Honours giuen to *Octauius*.

Wherefore his wife, and hys mother, with his sonne being yet yong, and his other friendes and familiars, all the night went to the great mens houses, to beseech them, and the next daye came to the Senate house, suing to euery man, falling to their feete, with weeping and waylyng in blacke habite, they cryed out at the counsel doore: and some, for the lamentable voyces and behauiour, & for the sodennesse of the matter, were moued with compassion: wherefore *Cicero* being afrayde, he spake thus vnto the Senate.

What we ought to decree of *Antony*, yesterday we did determine, for when we gaue honour to his aduersaries, we condemned him as an enimie. *Saluius*, was only an impediment against vs, eyther for that he thinketh himselfe more wise than we, or for the friendship he beareth to *Antony*, or for ignorance of the matter. Euery one of these, is to our great shame, that al we should haue lesse wit than one: and also to *Saluius*, if he do prefer his friendship before the cōmon wealth. But whē he hath not well vnderstand this present case, he should haue giuen credite to the Consull, the Pretors, and to the Tribunes,

Cicero against *Antony*.

' his fellowes, and to the other Senatoures in number and wor-
' thinesse so manye, who for oure age and experience, oughte to
' knowe *Antonie* better than *Sabyn*. In publique causes and
' iudgementes the more parte euer hath the right, but if causes
' muste bee knowne, and nowe learned againe, I wyll re-
' peate them briefelye, and touche the moste principall mat-
' ter.

' When *Cæsar* was deade, *Antony* toke awaye oure com-
' mon money, the rule of *Macedonia* he hadde by vs, but into
' Fraunce he entred violently without vs. The armye that was
' deliuered hym againste the *Thracians*, hee brought into *Italie*
' againste vs, requiring these deceitfully of vs, and not obtay-
' ning, hee did them of himselfe. At *Brundusie* hee ordained
' a principlye bande to be aboute hym, and openlye in Rome,
' men in armour dyd guarde and watche hym vnder ensignes.
' He broughte from *Brundusie* an other armye to the Cittie
' readye to all attemptes, aspiring to the things that *Cæsar*
' (whom hee lamented) coueted: and when yong *Cæsar* prepa-
' red againste hym another armye, hee was afrayde and
' wente into Fraunce, as a place fittest to vse force a-
' gainste vs, because *Cæsar* from that place did inuade vs,
' and got the rule ouer vs, and giuing terrour to his armye,
' that they mighte sticke to him in all hys vnlawfull dee-
' dings, by lotte, hee caused them to dye, neither making
' anye mutinie, nor forsaking their charge and order in
' battell, for the whiche onelye the lawe of armes, (I
' thinke,) hath appoynted that punishemente, whyche, fewe
' Captaynes scarcelye in greate perills woulde vse for ne-
' cessitie: But hee at a worde and a ieste giueth death
' to Citizens, and death not of them that deserue, but
' of suche as he woulde chose: wherefore they that coulde,
' haue forsaken hym, and yon yesterdaye dyd determine
' to rewarde them, as those that hadde done well. They
' that coulde not escape awaye, for feare doe dwell with
' him, and as enimies inuade youre lande, and besiege
' youre armye: and youre generall, and whom you appointed

to

to remaine in Fraunce, *Antony* commaundeth hym to departe.

Whether then haue we iudged *Antony* an enimye, or doeth hee vse vs as enimyes? Dure Tribune wyll not knowe this, tyll *Decimus* be deade, and tyll that prouince so greate and so nygh vnto vs, and after the prouince, the armye also of *Decimus* maye be in *Antonies* power, to worke hys hope agaynste vs. For by lyke the Tribunes wyll not lo sone decrée hym to be an enimye, tyll hee bée Lorde ouer vs.

Whyle *Cicero* was thus saying, hys frendes made a greate noyse continuallye, and would not suffer anye manne to speake agayne, tyll *Piso* rose vppe, when as the Senate for the reuerence of him commaunded silence, and then the *Ciceronians* clapde, and *Piso* thus beganne to speake:

Piso against Cicero

The lawe, (O Senatours) doth allowe the accused to haue hys cause heard, and when he hath aunswered for himselfe, to be iudged accordyngly: *Cicero* the moste vehement Oratoure, I doe chalenge, who durste not accuse *Antony* when he was presente, and in hys absence hath layde greate matter to his charge, the greatest and doubtfullest whereof I wyll note, and wyth shorte aunswere shewe them to bée false.

Hee sayeth, that *Antony* after *Cæsars* deathe, dyd take the publique money as hys owne, the lawe calleth suche one a Théefe, and not an enimye, appointyng the payne. Therefore when *Brutus* hadde slayne *Cæsar*, and accused hym to the people, for spoyling the common money, and leauing the Treasure nothyng, *Antony* by and by dyd decrée, that the matter shoulde be searched: you approued hys sentence by publique proclamation, appointyng a reward of the tenthe parte, to them that woulde declare it, whych we wyll double if any man can accuse *Antony* of that. And thus much concerning the money.

The

The prouince of *Fraunce* we did not appoint to *Antony*: the people did by lawe, *Cicero* being present, in such sort as manye other be giuen, and heretofore gaue the same to *Cæsar* in like maner. Part of the decree is, that *Antony* should make warre vpon *Decimus* if he would not giue place vnto him, and that the army prepared against the *Thracians*, (who stirreth not) should be led against him, if he resisted. *Cicero* doth not iudge *Decimus* an enemye that maketh warre against the lawe, but *Antony*, that obeyeth the lawe. If he condemneth hym, hee condemneth them that made the lawe, whome hee ought by persuasion to pacifie, and not to prouoke by contumelie. Neither ought he to credite that place to *Decimus*, whō the people haue banished for murder, & discredite *Antony*, to whom the people haue giuen it by law. It is no good counsel to make diuision with the people, especially in daūgerous times, nor to forget, that this belongeth chiefly to the people, to iudge of friendes and foes: for by the auntient lawes, the people only is Lord of warr and peace, in the whiche at this time notwithstanding they haue not appointed, nor commaunded, nor vsed their priuiledge ouer vs. But (he saith) *Antony* killed certain Souldiours, being generall and appointed thereunto by you. Neuer was there Captaine generall, that was charged with that office. For the lawes haue not thought it meete, that the Captaine should be subiect to the Souldiours: and there is nothing worse in a campe, than disobedience, by the whiche some conquerours haue bene ouerthrowen. None of them that were punished, haue complayned, nor none of their kinsfolke. But *Cicero* hath accused, and finding fault at their death, in stead of such honor as hath ben wont to be giuen to such executors, he will haue *Antony* exclaymed an enimy. How *Antonies* army was disordered, & how they disdayned hym, it is euident, by the two legions ỹ are fled frō him, whō you cōmanded to serue vnder him: & they, contrary to ỹ law of souldiers, haue not fled frō him to you, but to *Octa. Cæsar*, which *Cicero* prayseth also, & yesterday would haue thē rewarded of ỹ commō Treasury: whiche example I pray God you do not one daye repent,

to

to suche inconuenience hath enmity caried *Cicero*. He accuseth *Antonies* Tyranny also, and murder of soudiours, whereas they that seke mischiefe to their countries, euer do please their armies, and not so punish thē. And bycause he can accuse *Antony* of none other matter of Tirannye after *Cæsars* rule, goo to, I wil aske him questions of euery thing. Whom hath *Antony* killed vnharse, as a Tyrant, who now himselfe vnhardis in daunger to be condemned? whome hath he banished? whom hath he cast out? hath he bin so to euery particular man? hathe he layde traynes for vs all at once when (*Dolabella*) he decreed forgetfulnesse of all things done? or that no man shoulde prosecute the murder? or that a search shoulde be made of common Treasure? or when he called home *Pompey*, your *Pompeis* sonne? or when he wished he might be recompenced of the common, for his fathers substaunce? or when he dispatched the counterfayte *Marius*? whom then you al praysed, and now only, in that *Cicero* will not, you dispraise? or when he determined that no Dictator should be created or spoken of? or when he ordayned that he that would, shoulde dye for it. These were the things that *Antony* did to vs in two monethes, when he alone remayned in the Cittie after *Cæsar*: when by and by the people pursewed the strikers, when by and by we were afrayde of things to come. When, if he woulde haue taken his occasion, and haue bene vniust, he coulde not haue had a better, yet he ordyd not vse hys power to the contrary. What did not he alone rule, when *Dolobella* was gone into *Syria*? What dyd not he vse hys army prestie, to al purposes in the Citie, whyche you appointed to hym? did he not watch the Cittie? was not he himself garded by night for feare of his enimies? had he not occasiō by *Cæsars* death, his friend, and benefactour, and most deare to the people? Had he not another, more nere vnto his body was laid for of mē, of whom he neyther banished, nor put to death any but rather fauoured them as much as by reasō e honesty he coulde, not enuying them? These you see. O *Romaines*, be the greatest, and most doubtful matters that *Cicero* hathg athered against him, and to hys accusations he ioyneth deuina-

tion was thought *Cæsar* woulde haue brought to great an ayuoi against the Cittie; but that hee was afrayde of *Dolabella* that preuented hym with an other matter. If to entende onely so, bee the parte of a manne that is an enimye; why doeth hee not counte hym one that came and encamped in the Cittye, and gaue you no warning of it? If *Antony* woulde come, howe happe it hee came not? was hee afrayde of *Cæsars* three thousande disarmed, he hauyng thirtye thousand well armed? They came onely to *Cæsar* for to helpe to a pacifycation betweene them, but when they saw that warre would follow, they forsake hym. If he were afrayde when hee had thyrtie thousande? howe came he hither with one thousande? with the whyche goyng to *Rome*, howe manye dyd wee kende vnto hym? howe manye of vs wente to bee sworne of hym, that were not sworne before? what prayses dyd *Cicero* make of hys good gouernemente and vertue? howe woulde *Antony*, if hee hadde knowen thys, haue lefte wyth vs the pledges that nowe bee without the Senate house, hys mother, hys wife and hys young sonne, whyche lamente and feare nowe, not of *Antonies* doyngs in the common wealthe, but for hys enimyes power.

Thys I haue rehearsed vnto you, as an example of *Antonies* innocencye, and *Ciceros* mutabilitye. And to them that well wyll consyder, I wyll giue thys exhortation: neyther to charge the people nor *Antony*, neyther to bring in generall enimetie and daunger, the common wealthe beyng sickely, and wantyng them that spedilye might relieue it: but to make the Cyttie strong before they abroade doe styrre anye tumulte; whereby wee maye resiste anye that wyll ryse againste vs, and iudge of them as wee shall thinke good, and perfourme what wee haue iudged. But howe can thys bee done? If wee can suffer *Antony* for the loue or fauour of the people

people, to haue Fraunce, if wee call home *Octauius* wyth hys three legions, and when he is come sende hym into *Macedonia*, retayning hys legions, and calling for the two legions that were from *Antony*, wee doe require them (as *Cicero* sayeth of *Cæsar*) to bee in the citie, so as hauyng fiue legions, wee maye conquere that wee willyng lacke, and not be driuen to hang of anye mans hope.

The decree of Cicero against Antony.

Thys haue I spoken to the hearers, without enuye or emulation. But for them that inconsiderately and wrongfully seeke to trouble you for priuate grudges or displeasure, I shall beseeche the Iudges not to bee to quicke nor sharpe against so greate men, and leaders of so mightie armyes, that they doe not force them to make warre against them, well remembryng *Marius*, *Cornelius* and the late *Cæsar*, whom, bringing an armye likewise, and offring verye good conditions of concorde, wee rashelye condemned as enemye, and of necessitie made him to bee so indeede. Let vs, I beare wyth the people that while euill did raigne amongste the tyrantes of *Rome*, that we seeme not to haue reigned, hauing them prouinces of nations, not people. *Octauius* hee despiseth the peoples fauor, and condemns *Antonius* cause hee receyueth Fraunce by the peoples order. And it behoueth them that bee of good iudgement to reuoke them, that goe astraye, and the Consuls and Tribunes to prouide for the daungers of the present state.

Thus did *Piso* speake in defence, with cries and sharpe wordes, and was the onlye cause why *Antony* was not iudged a rebell. Yet could he not obtayne that hee should haue the prouince of Frenche *Gallia*. For the friendes and kinsefolke of the killers for feare did lette it, leaste the warre should ceasse, and bee bee at one with *Octauius*, and they both reuenge *Cæsars* deathe. Wherefore their practise and deuise was to kepe *Antony* and *Octauius* still at debate.

It was decreed that *Antony* should receiue *Macedonie*, in steade of *Lombardie*. All other orders, eyther of ignorannce or of purpose, they committed to *Cicero* to appoint, and to giue answere to Embassadours. He hauing this sentence, dyd thus determyne.

The decrees of *Cicero* against *Antony*.

That *Antony* shoulde streight departe from *Modena*, and leaue *Celtica* to *Decimus*: and to be within the compasse of the floud *Rubicone* (which diuideth *Italie* from *Lombardie*) by a daye prefixed, and committe all his matters to the Senate.

Thus *Cicero* ambitiously and vniustly dyd appointe his determinations, not for anye so great priuate emnitie, but as it shoulde seeme, by destinye that was determined to trouble the state with mutation, and bring himselfe to some euill happe in the ende.

At this instante they were come that broughte the ashes of *Trebonius*, and the despight dyd to him, which being throughly knowne, the Senate did easilye decree *Dolobella* to be a rebell.

Dolobel'a declareda rebel.

When the messengers were come to *Antony*, they were ashamed of their straunge commission, and layd nothing, but deliuered the decree vnto him. He with great anger did inueigh against the Senate & *Cicero*, marueilling that they would thinke *Cesar's* Tyrannie dyd king: that had so muche augmented the state of *Rome*, and not accompte *Cicero* so, whome *Cesar* tooke in warre, and pardoned not him, whereas *Cicero* doeth preferre hys killers, before his friendes, and hated *Decimus*, when he was trusty to *Cesar*, and loued him euer since he was a killer of him, & would ayde him, that only by *Cesar* kept *Celtica*, & iudge him a rebell that hadde it by the people. To the legions that were assigned by decree, and reuolted, the Senate giueth rewarde, but none to them that remayne in their duety: and so corrupt (quoth he) the discipline of warre, not belonging to me, but to the Citie. To the quellers, he could graunt oblision of the facte, to whiche I consente for two noble mennes sake: but *Antonye* and *Dolobella* bee iudgeth enimyes, bycause

The answere of *Antony* to the decree.

wee kéepe that was giuen vs, for that is the verye cause. But if I leaue *Celtica*, I am neither enimy nor tyranne. I protest I will dissolue that forgetfulnesse, that shall not be verye acceptable to hym.

Antony to the Senate.

Many things after this sorte spake *Antony*, and wrote hys aunswere to the decrée, that to the Senate he woulde obey as to hys Countrey, but to *Cicero*, that wrote the commaundement, thus he spake:

Antony to Cicero

The people haue giuen me *Celtica* by lawe: *Decimus*, that will not obey, I will remoue, and reuenge the matter of murther in hym for all, that the Senate may be purged of the faulte they be in, whereof they be ful for *Ciceroes* sake, to helpe *Decimus*. When *Antony* had thus saide, he wrote it by and by. Wherefore the Senate iudged hym an enimy, and the armye with him, vnlesse they wente from hym.

Antony condemned.

Macedonia and *Illiria* with the armies of both, they appointed to *Marcus Brutus*, till the common wealth were brought to better state. He had an armye of hys owne, and had receyued one of *Appuleius*. He had shippes bothe gallies and hulkes, and sirteen thousand talents of money, and greate plenty of armour, which he founde in the Citie of *Demeatride*, layde vp there by *Cæsar*, all the whiche the Senate confirmed by the decrée, that hée might vse to the benefit of hys country.

The powver of *Marcus Brutus* in *Asia*, *Macedonia* and *Slauonia*.

Demeatride, a towne in *Thessalie*, that was called *Pagasa*, nowe *Demetrides*.

Syria was by the Senate appoynted to *Cassius*, and commaunded to make warre vppon *Dolobella*, and all that had prouinces or armies of the Romaines from the *Ionian* Sea to the Easte, were charged to obey *Brutus* and *Cassius*. Wherefore *Cassius* and *Brutus* estate was sodainely in great fame.

Syria appoynted to *Cassius*.

When *Octauius Cæsar* vnderstoode these thynges, hée was in doubt, for where he thought the lawe of Oblíuion to proceede of a conuenience of humanitie, and a respect of pitie of their kinsfolke that were men in like authoritie, and therfore had appointed them to prouinces for a shorte tyme for their securitie, as *Celtica* to *Decimus*, to note *Antony* of Tyranny, and by that deuice to induce hym againste *Antony*.

Nowe that *Dolobella* was condemned as a rebell, for killing

one of the quellers, and that mighty nations were giuen in prouince to *Brutus* and *Cassius*, and manye armies wyth greate prouincile appointed to them, with abundaunce of money: and that they were made Generalles of all the people from *Ionia* to *India*. He perceiued that all this tended to the aduauncement of *Pompeys* parte, and to the vtter destruction of *Cæsars*: And that the Senate wente aboute to deceyue hym as a youngman: (the plotte wherof he conceiued in his mynd,) and that whenthe was made a Capitaine against *Antony*, it was meant to take his armye from him, and that the Consulls being in the fielde, there was no nede of any other Capitayne, and that onely honours were gyuen to the Souldiours that reuolted from *Antony*, and hys vnhonoured: and that this warre would worke his infamy, beyng vsed to none other intent of the Senate, but to the destruction of *Antony*. He kept the considerations secrete to hymselfe, and makyng sacrifice for the charge gyuen hym, he thus sayd to hys armye.

VVhen they decreed an Image and an office vnto him.

This honour, (O fellow Souldiours) I may thanke you for, not onelye newe, but from the tyme you gaue me power. For your sakes the Senate haue gyuen it me, and therfore, for this also you know I am youre debtor, of thankes, whiche, if the Gods shall gyue vs good luche, I will requite abundantly. Thus did he speake to winne hys armye, and marched forth.

Oration to the souldiours.

Panſa, one of the Consuls, lead his army ouer *Italy*. *Hirtius*, the other Consull, diuided with *Cæsar*: and as he was secretely instructed of the Senate, he required in the diuision, the two legions that went from *Antony*, bycause they were counted the best Souldiors. *Cæsar* did grant euery thing, and when they had diuided, they encamped togither that wynter.

Octauius deliuereth two legios to *Hirtius* the Consull.

At the ende of winter, *Decimus* beganne to lacke victual, wherefore *Hirtius* and *Cæsar* wente to *Mutina*, that *Antony* shoulde not get from them. *Decimus* armye oppreſt with famine.

The ſiege of *Modena*, one of the olde Cities of Italy, and made an inhabitaunce of *Rome* wyth *Peſaro* and *Parma*.

Antony holding *Mutina* straighte, they with all their forces woulde not fight with hym, but tarried for *Panſa*. Diuers skirmishes were made, in the whyche, thoughe *Antony* hadde the greater number of horſe, yet the narrownesse of the fielde, and

the

the ditches about the riuers, did keepe backe the multitude of horsemen. And thus went the matter at *Mutina*.

In *Rome* in the absence of the Consuls, *Cicero* dydde al, as the peoples ruler. He assembled the Senate euerye daye: hée made prouision of armour, compelling workemen without payment: He gathered money, and putte great impositions vppon *Antonies* frendes. They suffered it patiently to auoide displeasure, til *Publius Ventidius* that had serued vnder *Cæsar*, and was frende to *Antony*, could not abide the sharpenesse of *Cicero*, but wente to *Cæsars* habitations, where he was well knowne, and gotte two legions, whyche he ledde to *Antonie*, by *Rome*, to take *Cicero*. Great trouble grew of this, insomuche as manye wente awaye wyth their wiues and children for feare, and *Cicero* ledde oute of the Cittie, whyche when *Ventidius* knewe, hée tourned straighte to *Antony*, and being stepte by *Cæsar* and *Hirtius*, hée wente to *Picene*, where he gathered another legion, and stayed to see what would come.

Cicero ruleth all at *Rome*.

Ventidius maketh *Rome* afraid and Cicero to flee.

Cicero fleeth.

La Marca de Ancona the countrey of *Ancona*.

The Consull and *Cæsar*, seeing that *Pansa* drew nighe with hys hoste, sente *Carfuleius* the leader of *Cæsars* chiefe bande, and the Partiall legion to helpe him to passe the straights.

Carfuleius.

Antonie dydde not muche care for the passage, so he mighte otherwise hinder them, and being desirous of the fight, could not vse his horsemen in the playne, bycause of the Fenny place full of ditches. He hidde two of hys beste legions in the Fenne, the waye being made by hande, and straighte, and on both sides couered with rédes.

The stratagems of *Antony*.

Carfuleius all the nighte passing thys place, by the breake of day, was come to the way made with hand. With the Partialls Souldiours and fyue other bandes, they wente vppon the made way, being cleare of enimyes, and beheelde the Fenne on euerye syde, and when they sawe the stirring of the rédes, and some glittering of targats and headpéces, they began to suspect, when as the chiefe band of *Antony* sodainelye appeared afore them.

The Partiall legion being on both sides beset, and hauing no

no rowth to shifte abroad, forbad the newe souldiours to take anye paines wyth them, leaste for lacke of experience they shoulde trouble them, they placed *Cæsars* chiefe bande againste *Antonies*, and they dividing themselues to two, encountred with bothe legions. *Pansa* was Capitaine of the one parte, and *Carfuleius* of the other. And bycause there was two Fens, there was two fights: and bycause of the straight place, the one could not see the other: and vppon the verye waye, the two chiefe bandes beganne another fight betweene themselues. *Antonies* men entended to be reuenged of the Martialls, bycause they were fugitiues, and to vse them as traytoures. The Martialls woulde bee reuenged of them, as suspected of theyr fellowes deathes at *Brunduse*. Beeyng thus privie one to anothers doings, and that they were the strength of eyther armye, they hoped by thys onely feate, that the warre woulde be determined. The one was ashamed that two legions shoulde be ouercome of one, the other sought glorye, that one legion shoulde defeate two: and so they ioyned battel for anger and emulation, rather of themselues, than of their Capitaynes, trying now their owne matter. And for their experience, they neyther made crie, as though they had not stroken one another, nor in the fight any of them vttered anye voyce, neither when he had the better, nor when he had the worse. They fetched no compasse nor course, but stode firme, as in Fennes and ditches, where they could not one put another backe, but with their shorte swords, they clasped togither, as in a wrestling place. No blowe was given in vaine, but either woundes or slaughter followed, and only sighes in stede of voice. He that fell had straight another putte in hys place. There was no nede of exhortation or calling on, euerye man by his owne experience was a Captayne to hymselfe. And when they had ouerlaboured, they woulde stape to take breath, as men do in places of exercise, and straighte close agayne.

The notable fighte of the Martiall legion againste twvo of *Antonies*, and the twvo chiefe bandes of *Antony* and *Octauius*. This battell is declared in the tenth booke of *Cicero* hys Epistles.

The young souldiours stoode in a maze to see thys feate done with so good order and silence: all these continuing beyond mans nature, the chiefe band of *Cæsar* was all slaine. The Martialls vnder *Carfuleius* hadde rather the vpper hande of their enimies, who

who not disordredly but in ray, withdrew themselues. They vnder *Pansa* dyd abide it out, and equally stode to it on bothe sides, till *Pansa* was wounded with a darte in the belly, and was caried to *Bononia*. Then they, at the firste retyred in order, but after they turned more swiftely as flying, which when the yong Souldiours sawe, they fled with confusion and crie to the campe: which *Torquatus* the Pretor had prouided whyles they were fightyng, foreseeing the nede of it, to the whiche the new Souldiours ran with great violence, beyng *Italians* as well as the Partials, but exercise maketh them of one nation so much to differ in vertue. The Partials dyd not enter the trench for dishonour, but stode before it, and weary though they were, remayned ready to resist any assaulte, and to abide the ende of the matter. *Antony* dyd not touche the Partialles, bycause he knewe them valiant, but the young Souldiours he chased, and made greate slaughter among them.

Pansa the Consull is vvounded.

Bononia, nowe *Bologna la grassa*, The olde name vvas *Felsina*, *Torquatus*.

Exercise.

Hirtius, at *Mutina*, hearyng of the fight, beyng aboute eyght myles distant, came in haste with the other legion that was fled from *Antony*. The sunne was now goyng downe, and *Antonies* Souldiours hauing the victory, went singing to their camp. *Hirtius* appeared to them, he beyng in good order with one legion sounde and valiante, and they out of order. Wherefore of necessitie, they placed themselues in due sort, and shewed many valiant and noble feates: but although they were corragious, yet beyng weary, they were ouercome of the other that were freshe, and the most parte slayne of *Hirtius* in this feate: albeit he did not folow them, for feare of the Fennes, and the night comming on, did seuer them. The Fenne in most places was filled with harnesse and dead men, and with half dead and wounded. They that were take, dispaired of themselues for wearinesse. But the horsemen of *Antony* rode about all night, and gathered them togither: some they caried themselues: some they brought home on horseback: some they badde take holde by the horse tayle, to goe the faster, and saue themselues. Thus *Antony* hauyng fought very nobly, losse his force by the commyng of *Hirtius*: wherefore he abode in a village in the fields without a campe.

Hirtius.

The fight vvith *Hirtius* and *Antonies* men.

Antonies men ouerthrowen.

The horse men of *Antony*.

Forum Gallorum. Inter Cæsarem & Antonij Cœtr.

The village is called *French Market*. The halfe of eyther syde was slayne, and *Cæsars* bande of his person vtterly destroyed. Of *Hirtius* Souldiours few were left, all the which the nexte morning remoued their Camps to *Mutina*.

After this losse, *Antony* determined no more to giue battell to hys enimies, nor to admitte any attempt to the same, but with his Horsemen only to molest them daye by day, till he had gotten *Decimus* to yelde, being driuen by hunger. For this cause *Hirtius* and *Cæsar* the rather prouoked hym to fight: and whereas they did perceyue, that *Antony* woulde not come forth, keeping his men in order, they went to the other side of the Citie, whych, (because it was the harder to approch, was the lesse kept) ỹ with their whole army they myght enter by force. *Antony* made resistance only with his horsemen, but they being put backe by other horse, and the army passing as it would, *Antony* was afraid of the Citie, and brought forth two legions. They glad of thys, retired, and foughte with them, and whilest *Antony* from other campes sent for moe legions, as in a troubled time of so greate and suddayne attempt, the whiche being long a comming, *Cæsars* men ouerthrew *Antonies* in the fight, and *Hirtius* droue *Antony* to his Campe, where fighting manfully before *Antonies* Tente, he was slayn, whose body *Cæsar* louing, in great spéd recouered, and gote the Campe, till shortlye hée was repulsed by *Antony*. Both of them watched all night in armoure. *Antony* being fallen with this seconde losse, streighte after the battell called hys friends to counsell. They thought, according to his former meaning, to kéepe still the séege at *Modena*, and not to come to anye fight, for both the losses were like, *Hirtius* slayne, and *Pansa* hurte. In Horsemen, he the better, and *Mutina* broughte to extreame want, must nédes shortly giue ouer. Thus his friends thoughte good, and it was best indede, but *Antonie* (God now striking him) was afrayde least *Cæsar* shoulde procéede to the obteyning of the Citie, as he did the day before, or by making walles entrenche hym, hauing many pioners for the purpose, and then his horse should do him no good: he said, *Lepidus* and *Plancus* wil despise me, as one ouercome, but if we goe frō *Modena*, *Ventidius* wil streight come

The third fight where *Antony* lost the fielde, and the Consull was slayne.

Hirtius slayne.

Antonys determination.

come to vs with three legions, from the marches of *Ancona*, and then being so strong, *Lepidus* and *Plancus* will take my part. Thus he said, and as a man not afrayde in perils, he lewyed his seege, and went straight toward the Alpes. When *Decimus* was delyuered of the seege, he began to feare *Cæsar* as an enimie, bycause both Consuls were now gone, wherefore he brake the bridges of the riuer before day, & sent to him, both acknowledging hym the author of his safetie, and prayed him, that hauing the floude betwixte them, he woulde come to a talke, with witnesse of Citizens, where he would let him understand, that very wicked Fortune forced him to conspire against *Cæsar*, being thereto driuen of other. *Octauius* angerly aunswered the messengers, refusing the thankes that *Decimus* gaue him, for I (quoth he) came not to saue *Decimus*, but to ouerthrow *Antonie*, with whome to bee reconcyled, there is no reason, but to come to speech or sighte of *Decimus*, his nature abhorred it: let him therefore kepe himselfe, so long as it shall so seeme to them of the Citie. When *Decimus* heard this, not being farre from the floud, he called to *Cæsar* by name, and with a loude voyce, redde vnto him the Senates letters, by the which they had giuen him the prouince of *Celtica*. And he forbad also *Cæsar*, that without the Consuls, he shoulde not passe the bridge into any others prouince, nor follow *Antonie*, for he was able ynough to do it. *Octauius* seeyng him in such boldnesse by the Senate, when he mighte by his commission haue taken him, hee spared him, and wente to *Bononia* to *Pansa*, from whence he wrote to the Senate of all things, and so did *Pansa*, whose letters *Cicero* did reade to the people of *Rome*, as from the Consull, but *Cæsars*, were redde to the Senate onely. There was decreed generall Procesions of fiftie dayes agaynste *Antonie*, the like whereof was not done of the *Romaines*, neyther for the warre of *Fraunce*, nor none other battayle.

Decimus sendeth to *Octauius*.

Octauius aunswere to *Decimus*.

The Consuls letters are redde openly. *Cæsars* to the Senate only. Supplications of fiftie dayes.

The Consulles armyes were appoynted to *Decimus*, *Pansa* beeyng yet aliue, but not lyke to scape, and *Decimus* made generall alone agaynste *Antonie*, and publike Prayers were made, that *Decimus* myghte ouercome *Antonie*: so greate an hate and displeasure was growen agaynste *Antonie*.

Decimus made generall.

To the two legions that fledde from *Antony*, was confirmed to euery Souldiour accordyng to the former promise, fiue thousand Drammes of the common treasure, as to Souldiours of conquest: and it was graunted them in solemne feastes to weare a crowne of Diue leaues. Of *Octauius* nothing was mentioned, not so much as his name, so sone dyd they contemne him, as though *Antony* had bene vtterly destroyed. They wrote also to *Lepidus*, *Plancus*, and *Asinius*, to fight with *Antony*, when they should be nygh hym. These were done in *Rome*. *Pansa* beyng at poynt of death by reason of his wounde, said thus to *Cæsar* sittyng by him:

Crowne of Oliue.

The Romaines vsed to honour their Captaines or Souldiours with crownes or garlandes.

The Counsell of *Pansa* the consull, to *Octauius*, whiche was the cause of all mischief.

« I was a friende to thy Father as to my selfe, whome I coulde
« not reuenge beyng slayne, not able to resiste so many, whome,
« thou also haste done wisely to obey, although thou haddest an
« armie. They at the firste fearyng thée and *Antony*, a manne
« moste ambitious, and enclinyng towarde *Cæsars* sentence, haue
« bene content to suffer you to be at variance, and consume your
« selues, and when they sawe that thou wast Lorde of an army, as
« a yong man, they set thée forth with some countenance and slen-
« der honours. After thou wast stronger and of more estimation,
« and that thou wouldest not receiue the authoritie vnder the army
« that they gaue thée, they were troubled, and they appoynted thée
« to ioyne with vs, that wée might take from thée the two legi-
« ons, which were moste practised, hopyng that if any of you were
« ouercome, the other alone shoulde be the more weaker, and af-
« ter hym destroy al *Cæsars* friendes and set vp *Pompeys*. This was
« the summe of the determination. I and *Hirtius* haue done our cõ-
« mission, to repressse *Antony* that grewe into suspition. Now that
« he is ouercome, wée thought it beste for thée to be at one with
« him, doyng thée this benefite, in remembraunce of *Cæsars* amitie,
« onely that whiche we supposed will further thy felicitie in tyme
« to come. Afore this time to haue giuen thée this Counsell had not
« bene fitte, but nowe that *Antony* is broken, *Hirtius* dead, and I
« not like to liue, opportunitie serueth to speake, not that thou shoul-
« dest thanke me when I am dead, but that thou beyng borne to
« great felicitie (as thy déedes do shewe) mightest knowe what is
« beste for thée, and the choyse and destiny of *Hirtius* and mée.

The

The armye that thou gauest vs, we thinke it most fitte to gyue thee agayne, and so we do. The yong Souldyoures if thou coul-
dest keepe, I would also giue thee, but it would much offende the
Senate, bycause the officers of them, were sent as keepers to vs,
and it would worke thee enuie, and put thee to more trouble than
nedes, therefore *Torquatus* the Pretor shall haue them. When he
had thus sayd, and deliuered them to *Torquatus*, he dyed: and they
as the Senate commaunded, were sent to *Decimus*. *Cæsar* deliue-
red *Hirtius* and *Pansa* to their funerall with greate honor, and
sent them to *Rome* with great shew. In *Syria* and *Macedonia* at
this time diuers things happened.

Pansa the Consul dyeth.

The Consuls buryed honourably.

Iulius Cæsar when he passed by *Syria*, left a Legion there, mynding then to go against the *Parthians*. *Cecilius Bassus* had the charge thereof, but *Iulius Sextus*, a yong man, and allyed to *Cæsar*, had the dignitie, who ledde the legion without order, to delitious and licentious like, the which when *Bassus* reproued, he vsed him wyth despightefulnesse, and *Bassus* againe calling him, and he grudging at it, he commaunded he should by force be broughte before him. At the which whē tumult and fray was made, the army not bearing this despighte, killed *Iulius*, whereof they streightrepented thē, for feare of *Cæsar*. Then making oth one to another, that vnfeasable forgiuenesse and faith were giuen them, they would fyght to deathe, and compelling *Bassus* to that oth, they gathered another legion, & trayned them to their exercise. Thus some do write of *Bassus*. But *Libo* writeth, that *Bassus* was of *Pompeys* parte, and after the battayle, liued priuately in *Tyre*, where he did corrupte some of the Legion, who killed *Sextus*, and after obeyed *Bassus*. But howsoeuer the matter wente, they valiantly resisted *Sextius Murcus*, that was sente of *Cæsar* with three Legions, till *Murcus* did call to *Minutius Crassus*, that was ruler of *Bythinia*, who came into his ayde with three other Legions, and when *Bassus* was besieged of these, *Cassius* came in great hast, and receyued by and by the two legions of *Bassus*, and also wanne the fyre legions that besieged him, by friendship, who obeyed him as vnder-Consul. For (as I sayd before) it was decreed, that all should obey *Cassius* and *Brutus*.

Cecilius Bassus.

Iulius Sextus.

The mutiny of the army in *Syria*.

Iulius kylled.

Sextius Murcus.
Minutius Crispus.
Bythinia in *Asia* the lesse, nexte *Troy*.
Cassius obteyned the Legions.

Albienus.

Albienus at that time, being sente of *Dolobella* into *Aegipt*, brought from thence foure legions, whiche being scattered after the ouerthrowe of *Crassus* and *Pompey*, or else lefte of *Cæsar* with *Cleopatra*, *Cassius* comming suddaynely vpon hym, compelled him to deliuer his Legions in *Palestina*, being afrayd with foure Legions to fighte with eyghte. So *Cassius* beyonde expectation, was Lord of twelue full Legions, and *Dolobella* going out of *Asia* into *Laodicea*, where for frendshyp he was receyued, he followed and besæged, whiche thyng when the Senate hearde, they were glad.

Palestina nexte *India* and *Arabia.*

Cassius, Lord of twelue Legions.

Laodicea, a noble Citie in *Asia*, nigh the floud *Lycus.*

In *Macedonia*, *Caius Antonius*, brother to *Antonius Marcus*, dyd make warre with *Brutus*, hauing one Legion of armed Citizens, and being inferioure to *Brutus*, he layde traynes for hym, which *Brutus* escaping, did catch him with the like traynes, and doing nothing to him nor them that he had taken, he badde his owne Souldioures to be familiar with their enimies, but they refusing that familiaritie, and not admitting their conuersation, he suffered them freely to departe, when he had them at aduantage. They goyng another way, he appeared suddaynely vnto them in another straight, where he dyd not touche them, but gently receyued them. They remembring that he was euer thought to be the most courteous Citizen, and worthy the opinion that he had of wisedome and mildenesse, they accepted hys courtesie, and gaue themselues vnto him. *Caius* also yelded to hym, and was in honor with *Brutus*, till he was founde manye times corruptyng the army, and so put away.

Brutus getteth legions in *Macedonia.*

Brutus the gētle.

Thus *Brutus* to his former army, had syxe Legions, and praysing the *Macedonians*, he gathered of them two legions more, whome he exercised after the Italian manner.

These thyngs were done in *Siria* and *Macedonia.*

In *Italie*, *Cæsar* take it euill, that *Decimus* was made Generall agaynste *Antonie* before him. He hidde hys anger, and desired that hee myghte make a Triumph for the [illegible] hee hadde done, and beeing reiected of the Senate, [illegible] requiring greater thynges than belonged to hys age, for [illegible] hee

Decimus desireth Triumph.

The Senate denyeth Triumph to *Decimus.*

hée was afraide, least if *Antonie* were ouerthrowen, they woulde more despise him, and therefore desired to haue conference with hym, as *Pansa* counselled hym when hée dyed.

All the Souldioures and Captaynes of *Antonies* that he had taken, hée vsed courteously, and toke them as hys owne, and them that woulde, he sente to *Antonie*, as a signification, that he was no enimie to hym. *Cæsar* vseth *Antonyes* Souldioures vvell.

To *Ventidius* that was friend to *Antonie*, and hadde broughte thrée legions, he drewe nygh with hys army, and when he had made hym afrayde, he did nothing to hym, but graunted hym eyther to ioyne with hym, or to goe to *Antonie* freely with hys armie, and to protest, that for lacke of knowledge, he had omitted the common profite. When *Ventidius* heard thys, he wente to *Antonie*. *Octauius Cæsar* practiseth vvith *Ventidius*, *Antonyes* friende.

In the meane tyme, *Octauius Cæsar* honoured *Decius*, one of *Antonies* Captaynes whome hée hadde taken at *Mutina*. He gaue hym leaue to goe to *Antonie* if he woulde, and he demaunding of hys mynde towarde *Antonie*, hée sayde, he had shewed sufficiente and manye tokens to them that coulde perceyue, and to them that woulde be ignorante, more woulde not suffice. *Octauius* saying to *Decius*, a Captayne of *Antonyes*.

Thus dyd *Cæsar* signifye to *Antonie*.

To *Lepidus* and *Asinius* he more playnely signifyed of the despight againſt hym, and of the myghtie preparation of the kyllers, makyng them afrayde, that to increase *Pompeis* faction, all *Cæsars* friendes one after another, shoulde be serued as *Antonie* was, whych he, through ignorance and suspition of a feare, did longer suffer. He allowed well they shoulde obey the Senate for a fashion, but for theyr owne suretie they shoulde agrée together whyleſt they myghte, and that they shoulde herein remoue *Antony*, and to vse the manner of the legionaries, not to departe from them when the seruice was done, nor to leaue the trade of warre and diſſeuer, (leaſte thereby the Enimie myghte take some aduantage,) but *Octauius* dealeth vvith *Lepidus* and *Asinius*. *Octauius* practiſe vvith *Antonyes* friends.

but rather togither inhabite others places, thereto desirous for their power, than seuerally euery man in his countrey consume his owne. This did *Cæsar* send to *Lepidus* and *Asinius*. *Decimus* armye olde and famished, was full of sickneſſe, and loſeneſſe of bodye, and the newe Souldioures were yet vnexercised: but *Plancus* with his ordinarie armye drew nigh vnto him, & *Decimus* wrote to the Senate, that *Antonie* shoulde be caught in his snares, being tyed with things past.

Decimus army after hunger, falleth sicke for plenty.

Plancus ioyneth vvith *Decimus*.

Pompeys friends hearing of this, did marueilously reioyce, trying now to be time, to restore their Countreys libertie. Euerye man made sacrifices, and elected tenne men to punishe *Antonies* power. And this was a forme to abolish *Cæsars* decrées, whiche *Antonie* put in vre by his remembrances, doing little or nothing of himselfe: whiche thing the Senate well perceyuing, did by occasion disanull some, and so they hoped to dissolue all: and the tenne men did commaund, that whosoeuer hadde receyued anye thing by *Antonies* authoritie, contrarye to the Senate, they shoulde restore it, and declare it, and to them that disobeyed, a punishment was threatned. *Pompeys* sede required the rule of Consuls, in stead of *Hirtius* and *Pansa*, for the rest of the yeare. *Cæsar* did the like, not of the Senate, but of *Cicero*, priuately sendyng to him, and exhorting him to be in office with him, bycause he was more sage, more experte, and better acquainted with the office than he, and that he only would thinke it a benefyte to beare the name, that he might haue an honest pretence to leaue his armye, for the which cause he had required a triumph.

A creation of tenne men in Rome.

Edict of tenne men.

Decimus requireth to be Consull vvith *Cicero*.

Cicero hereby being blowen vp with ambition, sayde, he perceyued a conspiracie to be wrought by the Captaynes abroade, and therefore he thought good to pleasure this yong man, beyng not well intreated, and Lorde of a greate armye, and rather to graunte him an office in the Citie before his time, than to force him to be in armes, least he might do something that should not content the Senate, and wished some of the wise antients might be appoynted, as a maister of his yong yeares. But the Senate laughed at *Ciceros* ambition, and the kinsmen of the killers were against it, fearing that *Cæsar* would accuse them when he should be

The ambition of *Cicero*.

Cicero is laughed at.

be Conſull, and for diuerſe lawfull cauſes made delay in the election.

Antonie in this tyme paſſed the mountaines. Hauing perſuaded *Culeo* a Capitaine of *Lepidus*, and keper of the paſſage, to credite hym, he drewe nighe the ſloude where *Lepidus* was, and lay without trenche or ditche, bicauſe he would ſhew he was friend to him. Diuerſe meſſages were ſent betweene them. *Antony* recoyding diuers friendſhippes and pleaſures, affirmed, that if he woulde not agree, all they of *Cæſars* amitie, ſhoulde be broughte to the like calamitie.

Culeo ſuffereth *Antony* to paſſe the mountaines.

Practiſe betweene *Antony* & *Lepidus*.

Lepidus being afraide of the Senate, that hadde commaunded hym to make warre vppon *Antonie*, affyrmed yet that he didde it againſte his will. Now *Lepidus* his army reuerencing the dignitie of *Antonie*, and perceiuing the meſſengers betweene them, and delighting in the quietneſſe of his ſouldiours, ſecretly firſte mingled among thē, & after openly, as with their fellow citizens and ſouldiors: and when they were forbidden by the Captains, they making no accompte of their commaundemente, made a bridge of boats ouer the riuer, that they might the better come togither: and the legion called the tenth, ſometime wont to bee led of *Antonie*, prepared for him in their tents.

The tenth legiō began to reuolte from *Lepidus*.

Laterenſis, one of the noble Senatours perceiuing thys, opened the matter to *Lepidus*, who giuing no credite to hym, willed the armye to bee deuided into diuerſe partes, as to be ſent to diuers ples to trie their treaſon or faith. *Lepidus* deuided them into three, and commaunded them in the nighte that they ſhoulde conduct a Treaſourer of the armye that was comming at hand. They paſſing the laſt watch, and arming themſelues as to a iourney, went to the ſtrongeſt parte of the campe, and opened the gates to *Antony*, who ranne into *Lepidus* Tentes, all the armye bringing hym and praying *Lepidus* of mercie and peace for the afflicted Citizens, *Lepidus* leapte oute of hys bed without his clothes, and promyſed ſo to doe, and embracing *Antony*, excuſed the neceſſitie. Some ſaye he dydde kneele to *Antonie*, as one that was a cowarde and of ſmall experience, the whyche all writers doe not allowe, nor I thinke

Laterenſis.

Lepidus ſouldioures lets in *Antony*.

Antony and *Lepidus* agree.

sayled, and Galleys beeyng full at euery shore, shewed tokens to them that went amisse, and saued all that they mette. He receyuing them that came, gaue them raymente and liuing forthwyth. The worthy sorte he vsed in hys armye or his nauie: and when the three men and he shoulde make a truce, he woulde neuer graunte to it, tyll they that were come to hym, shoulde be comprised in it. So was he moste profitable to hys afflicted Countrey, and wanne greate glory to hymselfe, not inferioure to that hee hadde of hys father. Others, beeyng otherwise fledde or hydden tyll the truce, some in fieldes, some in graues, and some in the Citie, lyued with sharpe paynes. There were loues incredible shewed of Women to theyr Husbandes due, and of chyldren towarde theyr fathers, and of Seruauntes, againste nature, to their maisters: the which as they be moste notable, I will declare.

Paulus saued.

Paulus, brother to *Lepidus*, (the Captaynes hauyng reuerence vnto hym, as a brother of a Prince) with theyr leaue sayled to *Brutus*, and after to *Mileto*, at the whiche place, peace not yet beeyng made, hee obteyned returne, and was called home, but woulde not.

Miletus a citie in the endes of *Ionia* and *Caria*.

Lucius.

Lucius, Uncle to *Antonie*, *Antonyes* mother kepte hym not hydde, beeyng hyr brother, the Captaynes for the moste parte honouryng hyr as the mother of a chiefe ruler, but after, they vsing violence, she came forthe into the common place, and to *Antony* that sate wyth the other Princes, she sayde:

A good sister.

I confesse (O Prince) that I haue receyued *Lucius*, that I haue hym yet, and will kepe hym, till thou kill vs both together, for the lyke payne is appoynted to the receyuers.

Antonies words to his mother.

He reproued hir, as a good sister, but as an vnkynde mother, for that shee ought not to saue *Lucius*, but shoulde haue stopped hym, when he indged hyr Sonne an enimie, neuertheleſſe, he caused *Plancus* the Consull, to decree hys reuocation.

Messala.

Messala a noble yong man, fledde to *Brutus*. The three men fearing his wisedome, wrote thus:

Since

Since the friendes of *Messala* dothe affyrme vnto vs, that hée was not a medler when *Caius Cæsar* was kylled, we put hym out of the proscribed numbey. But he dyd not accepte the pardon, but when *Brutus* and *Cassius* were kylled aboute *Thrace*, the armye whyche remayned greate, hauing shyppes, money, and good hope, woulde haue hadde *Massala* to bée theyr Captayne, who refused it, and persuaded them to gyue place to aduerse fortune, and to ioyne wyth *Antony*. Wherefore hée was in greate credite with *Antonie*, and agreed wyth hym, tyll hée reproued hym for hys wanton dealing wyth *Cleopatra*, and then he wente to *Cæsar*, who made hym Consull in *Antonyes* place, when hée was agayne declared an enimie, after hée hadde foughte agaynste *Antonie* in the battell by Sea at *Actio*.

A letter of the three men.

Messala.

Actio, a foreland of *Epirus*.

Cæsar sente hym agaynste the Frenche that reuolted, and graunted hym to triumph for the victorie.

Cæsar sent.

Bibulus also was accepted to *Antony*, with *Messala*, and was an Admirall for *Antony*, and wente agaynste *Cæsar* when they warred togyther, and beyng President of *Syria* vnder *Antony*, there he dyed.

Bibulus.

Acilius fledde from the Citie secretely, and beeyng betrayed of hys seruaunte to the Souldyoures, hée persuaded them in hope of muche money, to sende some of them to his wyfe, wyth a token whyche he toke them. She brought vnto them all hyr store, saying, she dyd delyuer all vnto them, as though they woulde performe theyr promise: but yet shée knewe not whether they woulde or no, but she was not deceyued of thys good lyking, for they hyred a shippe for *Acilius*, and sente him into *Sicelie*.

Acilius and his good vvife.

Lentulus, beeyng desired of hys wyfe to flée wyth hym, and diligentlye attendyng on hym, he, for that hée woulde not putte hyr to the daunger, fledde secretely into *Sicelie*, where beeyng made a Lieutenaunte of *Pompey*, hée sente hyr worde howe hée was escaped, and in office. She hearyng where hyr husbande was, secretely lefte hyr mother, who had good eye

Lentulus and his good vvife.

vpon hir, and wyth two Seruauntes wyth greate payne and wante, she as a slaue went, till she came to *Messina* from *Reggio* aboute nyghte, and eastlie learning where the Lieutenantes Tente was, she founde *Lentulus*, not as a Lieutenant, but with a poore bedde layde vppon the grounde, and simple dyet, for desire of hir.

Apuleius and his good wyfe.

Apuleius wife threatned she would bewray hym, if he fledde alone, wherefore against his will he toke hir with him, and it

brought from thence foure legions, whiche being scattered after the ouerthrowe of *Crassus* and *Pompey*, or else lefte of *Cæsar* wyth *Cleopatra*, *Cassius* comming suddaynely vpon hym, compelled him to deliuer his Legions in *Palestina*, being afrayd with foure Legions to fighte with eyghte. So *Cassius* beyonde expectation, was Lord of twelue full Legions, and *Dolobella* going out of *Asia* into *Laodicea*, where for frendship he was receyued, he followed and besieged, whiche thyng when the Senate hearde, they were glad.

Palestina nexte *India* and *Arabia*.

Cassius, Lord of twelue Legions.

Laodicea, a noble Cuite in *Asia*, nigh the flood *Lycus*.

In *Macedonia*, *Caius Antonius*, brother to *Antonius Marcus*, dyd make warre with *Brutus*, hauing one Legion of armed Citizens, and being inferioure to *Brutus*, he layde traynes for hym, which *Brutus* escaping, did catch him with the like traynes, and doing nothing to him nor them that he had taken, he badde his owne Souldioures to be familiar with their enimies, but they refusing that familiaritie, and not admitting their conuersation, he suffered them freely to departe, when he had them at aduantage. They goyng another way, he appeared suddaynely vnto them in another straight, where he dyd not touche them, but gently receyued them. They remembryng that he was euer thought to be the most courteous Citizen, and worthy the opinion that he had of wisedome and mildenesse, they accepted his courtesie, and gaue themselues vnto him. *Caius* also yelded to hym, and was in honor with *Brutus*, till he was founde many times corruptyng the army, and so put away.

Brutus getteth legions in *Macedonia*.

Brutus the gētle.

Thus *Brutus* to his former army, had syxe Legions, and praysing the *Macedonians*, he gathered of them two legions more, whome he exercised after the Italian manner.

These thyngs were done in *Syria* and *Macedonia*.

In *Italie*, *Cæsar* toke it euill, that *Decimus* was made Generall agaynste *Antonie* before him. He hidde his anger, and desired that hee myghte make a Triumph for the [illegible]s hee hadde done, and beeing reiected of the Senate, [illegible]eat. quiring greater thynges than belonged to his age, for [illegible] hee

Octauius desireth a Triumph.

The Senate denyeth Triumph to *Octauius*.

it: As they wrighte that *Aeneas* was reuerenced of his enimies, when he bare his Father *Anchises*. The people of *Rome* commendyng the young manne, caused that afterwarde he was made Chamberlayne of the Citie. And bycause hée coulde not beare the charges of his office, for that hys goodes were confiscate, the artificers freely gaue hym to supply the same. And the people that beheelde hys shewes, did euery man caste so muche money into the game place, as they made him riche. *Aeneas. Anchises.* Kindnesse of Commons.

woulde more despise him, and therefore desired to haue conference with hym, as *Pansa* counselled hym when hée dyed.

All the Souldioures and Captaynes of *Antonies* that he had taken, hée vsed courteously, and toke them as hys owne, and them that woulde, he sente to *Antonie*, as a signification, that he was no enimie to hym. *Cæsar* vseth *Antonyes* Souldioures vvell.

To *Ventidius* that was friend to *Antonie*, and hadde brought thrée legions, he drewe nygh with hys army, and when he had made hym afrayde, he did nothing to hym, but graunted hym eyther to ioyne with hym, or to goe to *Antonie* freely with hys armie, and to protest, that for lacke of knowledge, he had omitted the common profite. When *Ventidius* heard thys, he wente to *Antonie*. *Octauius Cæsar* practiseth vvith *Ventidius, Antonyes* friende.

In the meane tyme, *Octauius Cæsar* honoured *Decius*, one of *Antonies* Captaynes whome hée hadde taken at *Mutina*. He gaue hym leaue to goe to *Antonie* if he woulde, and he demaunding of hys mynde towarde *Antonie*, hée sayde, he had shewed sufficiente and manye tokens to them that coulde perceyue, and to them that woulde be ignorante, more woulde not suffice. *Octauius* saying to *Decius*, a Captayne of *Antonyes*.

Thus dyd *Cæsar* signifye to *Antonie*.

To *Lepidus* and *Asinius* he more playnely signifyed of the despight againste hym, and of the myghtie preparation of the kyllers, makyng them afrayde, that to increase *Pompeis* faction, all *Cæsars* friendes one after another, shoulde be serued as *Antonie* was, whych he, through ignorannce and suspition of a feare, did longer suffer. He allowed well they shoulde obey the Senate for a fashion, but for theyr owne suretie they shoulde agrée togyther whyleste they myghte, and that they shoulde herein remoue *Antony*, and to vse the manner of the legionaries, not to departe from them when the seruice was done, nor to leaue the trade of warre and diseuer, (leaste thereby the Enimie myghte take some aduantage,) but *Octauius* dealeth vvith *Lepidus* and *Asinius*. *Octauius* practise vvith *Antonyes* friends.

but rather togither inhabite others places, thereto destrous for their power, than seuerally euery man in his countrey consume his owne. This did *Cæsar* send to *Lepidus* and *Asinius*. *Decimus* army after hunger, falleth sicke for plenty. *Decimus* army after hunger, falleth sicke for plenty. *Decimus* army after hunger, falleth sicke for plenty

be Consull, and for diuerse lawfull causes made delay in the election.

Antonie in this tyme passed the mountaines. Hauing persuaded *Culeo* a Capitaine of *Lepidus*, and keper of the passage, to credite hym. he drewe nighe the floude where *Lepidus* was, and lay without trenche or ditche, bicause he would shew he was friend to him. Diuerse messages were sent betweene them. *Antony* recording diuers friendshippes and pleasures, affirmed, that if he woulde not agree, all they of *Cæsars* amitie, shoulde be broughte to the like calamitie.

Culeo suffereth *Antony* to passe the mountaines.

Practise betweene *Antony* & *Iepidus*.

Lepidus being afraide of the Senate, that hadde commaunded hym to make warre vppon *Antonie*, affyrmed yet that he didde it againste his will. Now *Lepidus* his army reuerencing the dignitie of *Antonie*, and perceiuing the messengers betweene them, and delighting in the quietnesse of his souldiours, secretly firste mingled among thē, & after openly, as with their fellow citizens and souldiors: and when they were forbidden by the Captains, they making no accompte of their commaundemente, made a bridge of boats ouer the riuer, that they might the better come togither: and the legion called the tenth, sometime wont to bee led of *Antonie*, prepared for him in their tents.

The tenth legiō beganne to reuolte from *Lepidus*.

Laterensis, one of the noble Senatours perceyuing thys, opened the matter to *Lepidus*, who giuing no credite to hym, willed the armye to bee deuided into diuerse partes, as to be sent to diuers vses to trie their treason or faith. *Lepidus* deuided them into three, and commaunded them in the nighte that they shoulde conduct a Treasourer of the armye that was comming at hand. They passing the last watch, and arming themselues as to a iorney, went to the strongest parte of the campe, and opened the gates to *Antony*, who ranne into *Lepidus* Tentes, all the armye bringing hym and praying *Lepidus* of mercie and peace for the afflicted Citizens, *Lepidus* leapte oute of hys bed without his clothes, and promysed so to doe, and embracing *Antony*, excused the necessitie. Some saye he dydde kneele to *Antonie*, as one that was a cowarde and of small experience, the whyche all writers doe not allowe, nor I thinke

Laterensis.

Lepidus souldioures lets in *Antony*.

Antony and *Lepidus* agree.

Antony hathe greate powver againe.

thinke it to be probable, for hée hadde done no parte of an enmmye againste *Antony*, whereby he should bée afrayde of hym.

Thus *Antony* was risen agayne to greate power, and bécame moste fearefull vnto his enmmyes, for hée hadde the Armye that hée ledde from *Modena*, hée hadde receyued thrée legions by the waye of *Ventidius*, and nowe hadde the fellowshippe of *Lepidus*, wyth seauen legions, armed wyth all kynde of furniture, and preparation requisite.

Lepidus bare the name among them, but *Antonie* had the direction of all.

When this was shewed at Rome, a marueilous and suddayne mutation of mindes followed, some, from greate boldenesse fell to feare, some from great feare were lifted vppe to courage.

Alteration in *Rome.*

The decrées of the tenne men were broken wyth spighte, and the creation of Consulles was instantelye called for.

The Senate stoode in doubte what to doe, and feared that *Cæsar* and *Antonie* woulde agrée.

The Senate sendeth *Lucius* and *Pansa* to *Brutus* and *Cassius.*

They sente secreatelye *Lucius* and *Pansa*, to *Brutus* and *Cassius*, as to viewe publique playes, that they sette forthe in *Grecia*, and secreatlye required them, that as sone as might bée, they woulde come to helpe them.

From *Liby*: they called twoo of the thrée legions vnder *Sextius*, and the thirde, they commaunded to be gyuen to *Cornificius*, that was ruler of the other *Libya* that obeyed the Senate.

The feare of the Senate.

They were afrayde of these, when they remembred they hadde serued vnder *Iulius Cæsar*, and were enclined to hys doings.

This doubtefulnesse droue them to this pointe, that bycause they feared newe *Cæsar* woulde consente wyth *Antonie*, they chose hym agayne verye vnfitlye lieutenaunte vnder *Decimus*, but *Cæsar* for anger, as continuallye vsed with dispight,

Newe *Cæsar* chosen lieutenãt to *Decimus.*

stirred

ſtirred his armye, that they ſhoulde be ſente to a nedye iorney before they were paide the ſyue thouſande drammes, promiſed them for the fyrſte, and counſelled them to ſende to the Senate for it, and they ſent the Captaines of the bandes.

Caſar ſtirreth his ſouldioures againſte the Senate.

The Senate knowing wherefore they were taughte to come, aunſwered they woulde ſende their Ambaſſadoures vnto them, whome they thus inſtruged.

That they ſhoulde priuately ſpeake to the two legions that wente from *Antonie*, and teache them not to putte their truſte in one, but in the Senate onelye, whoſe power was eternall, and that they ſhoulde goe to *Decimus*, whither they woulde ſende them their money, and pretended they hadde readye to gyue them the one halfe, and that tenne men ſhoulde be appointed for the payment, not nampng *Caſar* for the eleuenth.

Senate ſendeth to the ſouldiors

The Meſſengers, becauſe the legions would not be ſpoken to, without *Caſar* returned in vaine.

Caſar woulde no more haue other to ſpeake to the Souldioures, nor tarrye anye longer, but himſelfe wente to the armye beyng aſſembled, and ſhewed what deſpight the Senate had done him, and that they ment to deſtroy euerye one of *Cæſar* friendes.

He badde them beware of them, that woulde haue them tourne to a Capitayne by ſentence of gods, iudged an enmimy, and ſo from one enmimye to another, eyther to bee vtterlye deſtroyed, or to be at debate among themſelues, for the feate at *Mutina* being common, rewarde is onelye appointed to two legions, to worke ſtrife and diſcorde among them.

Octauius ſtirreth his ſouldioures againſte the Senate.

You knowe (quoth hee) why *Antonie* is perſecuted, and what the *Pompeyans* haue propounded in *Rome*, againſte them that haue receyued giftes by *Cæſars* appointement. What truſte can you haue, eyther of the lande, or the money that hee gaue you, or of my ſafetye, ſo long as the kyllers kinſemen doe beare rule in the Senate? As for my ſelfe, I am readye to take ſuche ende as ſhall happen vnto

'me, and it ſhall be myne honoure to ſuffer for my fathers de-
'fence: but for you, ſo manye and ſo worthye men, my whole
'care is, beyng in perill for my fathers ſake and mine. You
'know that I am cleare from al ambition, ſince I refuſed the au-
'thoritie that you woulde haue giuen me, with the ceremonies
Octauius deſ- 'of a Magiſtrate. Nowe I ſée that bothe oure ſafeties doeth
reth to be decla- 'conſiſt, if I be of you declared Conſull, for ſo ſhall the things
red Conſull by 'be made ſure vnto you, that my father hathe giuen you: the
the ſouldioures. 'landes and habitations that be due vnto you, you ſhall obtaine,
'and all youre giftes to the vttermoſte: and I ſéeking the pu-
'niſhment of the ſtrikers, will, wyth you, diſpatche our other e-
'nimies,

When hée hadde thus ſaide, the armye chearefully made a noiſe, and ſent the Capitaines againe to *Rome* to require the Conſulſhippe for *Ceſar*. When the Senate obiected againſt hys age, the Captaines, as they were inſtructed, ſaide that in olde tyme *Coruinus* was Conſull before hys tyme, and after hym *Scipio*, both the firſte and the ſeconde, and by their youth, the Countrey was aduaunced. Comming to later tyme, they broughte forth *Pompey* and *Dolobella*, and *Ceſar* himſelfe, to whom it was graunted to be Conſull tenne yeares before hys tyme.

Conſulls vnder age. *Coruinus*. *Scipio*.

The Capitaines ſpeaking thus with much boldeneſſe, ſome of the Senatoures coulde not abide, that they beyng but bandleaders, ſhould vſe ſuche frée ſpéech before the Senate, and rebuked them, as menne more inſolent than became Souldioures duety.

The Senate rebuketh the ſouldioures.

When the whole armye heard this, they were more angry, and deſired they might ſtraighte be led to the Cittie, that they might make *Ceſars* ſonne a Conſull by a famous election, whoſe father they extolled with immortall praiſe.

Octauius goeth againſt the citie.

When *Octauius* ſawe this vehemencie, by and by from that aſſemblye, he marched forward with eight legions of footemē, and a ſufficient number of horſemen, and all prouiſion accordingly, and when he was paſſe the floude *Rubicone*, from *Celtica* into *Italy*, as his father did afore, whē he moued ciuil war, he deuided his army into .ij. parts, ỹ one he commaūded to follow at leyſure,

leysure, the other and ꝑ better, he toke with him, & made much spēde, minding to take them vnprouided. He met with part of the money that the Senate had sent the souldiours for a reward, and being afrayde of the bringers of this gifte, he sente secretlye some afore to afraye them, whereby they with their money fledde awaye. When the report of his comming was at *Rome*, great was the trouble and tumulte, running hyther and thyther to sende their wiues and children, and to carye their chiefe substaunce, eyther into the countrey or to the strongest parts of the Citie. For it was not throughly known, whyther he came onlye to aske the Consulshippe. But when they heard that he came as an enimy with an angry armye, they were afrayde of al hands. *The feare at Rome.*

The Senate was greatly stroken that they had no power sufficient, and as in suche feare happeneth, one of them accused an other: some, bycause they toke awaye the army from *Antony* with suche dispight: some, bycause they had suspition of the Triumphe, whiche was but right: some for hatred and diuision of the money: some, bycause he was not appointed the eleuenth manne in the distribution: some, bycause the rewards were not giuē, neither soone ynough, nor ful ynough, sayd the army was become their enimy: & blamed this contention so much out of season, *Brutus* and *Cassius* being so farre off, and *Antonius* and *Lepidus* their ennimies so nygh, whome perceyuing to be redy to agrée with *Cæsar*, made the feare to grow the greater. *Alteration in Rome.*

Cicero, that before was the great styrrer, did nowe no where appeare. In euerie manne was marueilous mutation in euerye matter: and for the two thousande and fiue hundred drams that shoulde be giuen to two legions, to giue fiue thousande drammes to eight legions, and in stēde of tenne men, to make *Cæsar* the distributour alone, and to graunte hym to aske the Consulshippe in his absence. Ambassadours went in haste to make thys message with diligence, who were not out of the towne before the Senate repented them, as they that ought not so cowardly to be troubled, nor to receiue an other Tyran *Cicero* not seene

Inconstancie of the Senate.

without bloudshed, and that it was not the vse to aske the Consulshyp by force, nor that Captaynes shoulde rule the Countrey at their pleasure, and that they in the Citie shoulde arme themselues, and alleage the lawes againste them that came to invade the Countrey: and if they woulde nedes proceede, rather to suffer the siege till *Decimus* and *Plancus* myghte come, and better to defend themselues to death, than willingly to receyue servitude without redresse.

They recyted the olde examples of the *Romanes* in sufferance and Counsell for their libertie, whiche they woulde in no wise giue ouer. And when the two legions called from *Libya*, dyd that day arriue at the porte, they thoughte that the Gods did exhort them to maintayne their libertie: and repenting now themselues, they woulde revoke all that they had done, (*Cicero* now appearing among them.) Therefore all men that were of age, were appoynted to serue.

Cicero seene agayne.

The two Legions that came from *Libya*, and with them a thousande Horse, and one Legion that *Pansa* lefte them, were putte togither, all the whiche was deuided. One parte kepte the hyll *Janiculo*, where all their money lay. Another kepte the passage of the flood by, the officers of the Citie deuiding themselues: and some hadde broughte their moneys to the porte in Shippes and boates, that if they were ouercome, they myght escape by Sea.

Two Legions arriue agayne.

Thus they dyd with greate boldnesse and spæde, trustyng thereby to affray *Cæsar*, or to moue hym without his army to aske the Consulshippe of them, or manfully to defende themselues, and that the state myghte change to contrarie fortune, whyles they did fyght for their libertie.

Cæsars mother and his sister they coulde not fynde, neyther by priuie nor open search, wherefore they made a greate stirre, beeyng spoyled of so great pledges, and thoughte that the *Cæsarians* did not encline to them, bycause they had so surely hid them from them.

Cæsars mother and sister sought for.

Some of the messengers remaynyng yet with *Cæsar*, the contrarye determination was tolde him: wherefore they departed

parted from him with ſhame, he with the armye beyng the rather ſtyrred, came forwarde wyth greate haſt, fearing the women myghte take hurte. And to the people that was in tumulte, he ſente hys Horſemen afore, willing them no more to bee afrayde: whereat euery man reioyſing, he toke the places aboue Mount *Quirinale*, no man daryng to encounter or reſiſte hym.

Mount *Quirinale*, one of the ſeuen hilles of *Rome*.

Wherefore an other marueilous mutation was ſeene of the ſodayne. So many noble menne that wente vnto hym and receyued hym, the common people folowyng and vſing the Souldiours in battayle raye, as men quiet in peace, hee leauyng hys armye in that place, the nexte daye came into the Cittie with a ſufficient Garde aboute hym: they of the Cittie mette wyth hym all the waye on euery ſide, and ſaluted hym, omittyng no parte of humanitie nor humble ſeruice. His Mother and hys Siſter from the Temple of *Veſta* wyth the holy Nunnes, ranne out to embrace hym. The three legions diſpoſing theyr Capitaynes, ſente Embaſſadours vnto him to yelde themſelfe. *Cornutus* one of theyr chiefe Capitaynes, killed hymſelfe, the other truſted to hys promiſſe and fayth.

Mutation in *Rome*.

Honour gyuen to *Octauian*.

Legions of the Senate goeth to *Cæſar Octauius*.

Cornutus himſelf.

Cicero hearyng of theſe promyſes, practyſed to come before hym by hys friendes, whiche beyng done, he excuſed hymſelfe and extolled the perſwaſion that hee had vſed to the Senate for hys Conſulſhippe: he anſweared onely with a taunt, that he was the laſte of hys friendes that came vnto him.

Cicero taunted.

In the nyghte a ſodayne rumour was rayſed, that two legions of *Cæſars*, the Martiall and the fourth, were reuolted to the Cittie, as grieued they ſhould be brought to betraye their countrey. The officers and the Senate gaue fayth vnto the rumour very lightly, and though the other army was at hand, they thought with theſe menne ſo valiant, they might reſiſt the reſte of *Cæſars* hoſte, till more power mighte come to them from other place. And in the nyghte, to be ſure, they ſente *Acilius Craſſus* into *Picena* to gather an armye, and they commaun-

Light credite to a vayne rumor.

Ancona.

commaunded one *Apuleius* a Tribune to runne to the people wyth thys ioyful tydings: and the Senate that night, came to the Counsell, *Cicero* standing at the doze and receyuing them with greate ioye and gladnesse: and when it was knowne it was but a false rumoz, he fledde his waye in a waggon.

Caesar laughing at them, broughte his armye nygher the Cittie, to the place called the fielde of *Mars*. He hurt none of the officers, not so much as *Crassus*, ỳ was posting into *Picene*, al- *Acilius Crassus.* thoughe hee was broughte vnto hym in a seruile habite, but spared all, to the opinion of hys humanitie, albeit, not long after, he put them to death.

Of Auius dealing in the Cities.

The common treasure founde in *Ianiculo* oz in any other place, he commaunded to be brought togither: and al that was afoze appointed by *Cicero*, he distributed to his army, two thousande and fiue hundzed dzammes to euery man, the residue he pzomised to giue them. When he had done this, he retyzed from the Cittie, till the election of the Consuls, when, he was *Of Auius* and *Q. Pedius* Consuls. chosen, and with hym, *Q. Pedius*, as he desired, who had left a portion of *Caesars* inheritaunce vnto hym.

When he came into the Cittie as Consul, and sacrifised. *A token of xii. Vultures.* And there appeared to him twelue Gripes, as did to *Romulus* when he builded the Cittie. The sacrifices being ended, he gaue him selfe in adoption, to his father, accozding to the lawe *Curiate*, that is, to be confirmed in adoption by the people.

Curiæ. Phratriæ. Foz the *Romaines* call *Curias*, companies oz wardes of the people deuided, as the *Grecians*, do call *Phratriæ*, fellowshippes and *Fraternities*. This vse among the *Romaines*, was most effectuall in the lawe foz them that be without fathers: and they may as well as *Legitimate* childzen commaunde the kinsefolke and frée made men of them that doe adopte them. And it was one of *Cains Caesars* glozies, that he had manye riche frée made men: and chiefly foz this cause peradueture, thys *Caesar*, in his first adoption by testament, had néede of this also.

He dissolued by a newe lawe that *Dolobella* shoulde not be iudged a rebell, and that the lawe might pzocéede foz *Caesars* killing.

Wherfoze

wherefore accusations were written against them by *Cæsars* friends, to them as strikers, to the other, as priuie only: for this was obiected against some of them, and to some, bycause they would not be seene when *Cæsar* was kylled. And to all these, a day certayne was assigned by Proclamation, when they should appeare to make their aunswere, all the whiche saying at the day, *Cæsar* himselfe marking the iudgementes, none was pardoned of the faulte, but one noble man, who then had no hurte, but shortly after was condemned to deathe with the other. And at this tyme *Q. Gallius*, brother to *Marius Gallus*, *Antonyes* friende, beyng a Pretor in the Citie, dyd desire of *Cæsar* the Lieutenantshippe of *Libya*, whyche when he hadde obteyned, he wrought wyles against *Cæsar*: The other Pretors deprined him of his office, and the people and the Senate condemned him to deathe. *Cæsar* commaunded hym to goe to his brother that was with *Antony*, and when he had taken shyppe to goe, he was neuer seene after.

Accusations against the kerers of *Cæsar*.

Many condemned for *Cæsars* death.

Q. Gallius condemned.

When *Cæsar* had done these greate things, he enclined to pacification with *Antony*. When he had hearde that *Brutus* hadde twenty Legiõs, against ỹ which he would haue *Antonyes* help, he wente out of the Citie towarde the *Ionian* Sea, and makyng small iourneys, he tarried to see what the Senate would do. *Pedius* when *Cæsar* was gone, perswaded, that before grudge should growe to extremitie, they would agree *Antony* and *Lepidus*. And although they perceiued that this agreement was not for their sake, nor for their Countrey, but onely to helpe *Cæsar* against *Brutus* and *Cassius*, yet did they by necessitie determine it, and reuoked the sharp decrées made against *Antonie* and *Lepidus*, and all the Souldioures vnder them, and to sende them other more fauourable, for the whyche *Cæsar* wrote his letters of congratulation vnto them, and promised to helpe *Antonie* against *Decimus*, if nede were. The Senate vsed lyke friendly manner toward him, and gaue him their harty thãkes, and *Antonie* wrote that he would plague *Decimus* for *Cæsar*, and *Plancus*, for himselfe, and ioyne with *Cæsar*. Thus they wrote one to another.

Pedius counsell.

Pacification of *Cæsar* & *Antony*.

Whilest *Antonie* pursued *Decimus*, *Asinius Pollio* came vnto

Plancus reconcyled with *Antony*.

him with two Legions, and practised to haue him pacifyed wyth *Plancus*, and *Plancus* with three Legions agreed with *Antony*, in so muche as nowe *Antony* hadde a moste myghtie power.

Decimus hadde tenne Legions, whereof foure moste warlike being feebled with hunger, were yet vexed with sickenesse.

Decimus is drine to flee, and hys army forsaketh him.

Of newe taken, there was syxe Legions, but vnexperte and fearefull. Wherefore *Decimus* doubting to fyghte, determined to flée to *Brutus* into *Macedonia*, and not to passe by the Mountaynes, but by *Rauenna* and *Aquileia*. And bycause *Cæsar* was comming that waye, hée toke a longer and an harder iourney to passe by *Rene*, and goe to the wilde places of barbarous people, where the newe Souldioures, oppressed with wante and heate, forsoke hym, and wente to *Cæsar*, and after them the foure Legions of older Souldioures wente to *Antony*. Then to the other multitude (the Frenche Horsemen men, beeyng the gard of hys person only except) he gaue leaue (if they woulde) to goe euery man to hys owne, and gaue them suche golde as he hadde, so as when he came to the *Rene*, he had but three hundred, where, bycause the passage was hard, they all forsoke hym sane a fewe, whyche fewe also shortly dyd leaue hym, and wyth tenne onely, changing hys garmente lyke a French man, whose language he coulde speake, he wente forthe as one of that nation, not with hasty iourneys, but easlie to *Aquileia*, thynking with so fewe he myghte wel escape: but beeyng taken of Theeues and bounde, he asked what Prince was Lorde of that parte, they sayde *Camillus*. He muche esteemyng the name of *Camillus*, desired he myght be brought to hym, who when he sawe hym in apparance, spake sayre to hym, and rebuked the takers, that without regard, hadde so euill entreated so noble a man, but priuily he sent vnto *Antony*, and *Antony* moued with the mutation, coulde not abyde to see him, but willed *Camillus* to kyll hym, and sende hym hys head, whyche when he sawe, he commaunded it to be buryed.

Rauenna.
Aquileia.

Reno is a flood in *Italy*, that runneth not farre from *Bononia*.

Decimus forsaketh.

Decimus is taken with theeues.

Camillus.

Barbarous treason.

Decimus is killed of one *Camillus*, by the commaundemente of *Antony*.

Thys ende hadde *Decimus*, a Captayne of *Cæsars* Horsemen, and

and by hym made Ruler of olde *France*, and for the yeare to come elected Consull, and Gouernoure of the other *Fraunce*, and was the seconde of the kyllers that nexte *Trebonius* was punished, a yeare and a halfe after *Cæsars* deathe. And this verye tyme *Minutius Basillos* one of *Cæsars* quellers also was killed of hys owne seruauntes, bycause he had made some of them Eunuches for punishmente.

Minutius Basillus killed of his owne men.

(··)

The ende of the thirde Booke of Ciuill dissentions.

¶ The fourth Booke of *Appiane* of Alexandria, of the Ciuill dissentions of Rome.



Thus two of *Cæsars* killers, being ouerthrowen in their prouinces, had their punishment, *Trebonius* in *Asia*, and *Decimus* in *Celtica*. Nowe, how *Cassius* and *Brutus*, chiefe of the conspiracie against *Cæsar* were plagued, being Lordes of all the lande betweene *Syria*, and *Macedonia*, hauing mighty power both by Sea and land, with twenty armed legions, beside Horsemen and Shyppes, and money at will, thys fourth Booke of Ciuill discorde shal declare. And with the same, the inquisitions, and the searchers of them that were appoynted to dye by proscription, and the lamentable afflictions on euery syde, suche as neyther among the *Greeke* seditions or tumultes, nor among the *Romaines* themselues hadde bin done by any remembrance, sauing onely of *Sylla*, who was the fyrste that by Proclamation condemned hys foes to dye: for *Marius* did onely seeke to punishe them whome he founde: but *Sylla* with greate rewardes and lyke punishmentes of them that did conceale, proscribed menne to be killed, as they were caughte. What *Marius* and *Sylla* dyd, it is shewed before in that matter, nowe the rest shall follow in order.

Proscription, is a condemnation without lawe, to kill men where soeuer they be founde.

The agreement of *Octauiane*, *Antony* and *Lepidus*. *Fabius*.

Cæsar and *Antonie*, of enimies, were made friendes, about the Citie of *Modena*, in a little playne Ilande of the floude *Labinio*, eache of them hauyng fyue armed Legions, whiche beyng placed one ouer-agaynste another, eyther of them with three hundred, came to the bridges of the Riuer. *Lepidus* beeing come afore to searche the Ile, made a token with hys cloke to them both to come. They lefte theyr companyes with theyr

friendes

frendes at the Bridges, and came into the myddeſt, to a place that myghte bee ſéene, and ſate all thrée downe, *Caſar* in the myddeſt, bycauſe of his office. Two dayes from morning tyll nyghte they conferred, and made thys determination.

That *Caſar* ſhould gyue ouer hys Conſulſhippe, and *Ventidius* receyue it for the reſt of the yeare.

That a newe office ſhoulde be inſtituted by lawe, for redreſſe of ciuill troubles: and that *Lepidus*, *Antonius*, and *Caſar*, ſhoulde haue that authoritie for fyue yeares, wyth the ſame power that Conſulles haue, ſo it was thought beſt to name it, peraduenture bycauſe of *Antonyes* decrée, forbiddyng anye man to be Dictator.

That they ſhoulde by and by appoynte the offices of the Citie from yeare to yeare, durying the fyue yeares, and diuide the Prouinces.

That *Antony* ſhoulde haue all *Fraunce* on thys ſyde the Pirenei Mountaynes, excepte that whiche they call olde *Celtica*, Nowy Narbone

That *Lepidus* ſhoulde rule that and *Spayne*.

That *Caſar* ſhoulde gouerne *Lybia*, *Sardinia*, and *Sicelie*, and all nye other Ilande there.

Thus did theſe thrée diuide the *Romaine* Empire, leauing the prouinces beyonde the Sea, bycauſe of *Brutus* and *Caſius* that were Gouernoures there.

That *Antony* and *Caſar* ſhould make warre vpon *Brutus* and *Caſius*.

That *Lepidus* ſhoulde be Conſull for the time to come, and remayne in the Citie for all occaſions, and gouerne *Spayne* by Deputies.

That *Lepidus* ſhoulde reteyne thrée Legions of his owne army for the defence of *Rome*.

That the other ſeauen ſhoulde be diuided betweéne *Caſar* and *Antony*, that *Caſar* ſhoulde haue thrée, and *Antony* foure, that eyther of them myghte leade twentye Legions to the warre.

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Cæsar and *Antonie*, of enimies, were made friendes, about the Citie of *Modena*, in a little playne Ilande of the floude *Labinio*, eache of them hauyng fyue armed Legions, whiche beyng placed one ouer-agaynste another, eyther of them with three hundred, came to the bridges of the Riuer. *Lepidus* beeing come afore to searche the Ile, made a token with hys cloke to them both to come. They lefte theyr companyes with theyr

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That they shoulde encourage their armyes as well with rewardes of victories, as other giftes, as by the promise of syghteene Cities of *Italie*, excelling in substance, soyle, and fayre buyldings, and that both landes and houses of the same shoulde be deuided vnto them, as though they had bin taken by warre. Amongst the rest these were the chiefe, *Capua*, *Reggio*, *Venusia*, *Beneuento*, *Nuceria*, *Arimene*, and *Vibone*. Thus were the fayrest partes of *Italie* assigned to the Souldioures.

Cities of Italy deuided to spoyle.

It was also agreed, that euery of them shoulde dispatche hys priuate enimies, that no trouble myghte come by them, after that they, vppon these determinations, shoulde be gone farre off, to make a long warre out of their Countrey. All these thynges were signed with their handes. *Cæsar*, as Consull dyd declare them to the armye, sauyng onely theyr names that were appoynted to dye. When the Souldioures hearde it, they were glad, and embraced together for ioy.

Tokens in *Rome*.

These beyng done, many Monsters and terrible tokens were seene in *Rome*. Dogges yelled like Wolues, a fearefull warning. Wolues ranne about the common place, a beast not wonte to be seene at *Rome*. An Oxe sounded a mans voyce: and a childe spake assone as it was borne. Some of the Images sweate. Some dyd sweate blood. Greate voyces of men, noyse of harnesse, and running of Horses, were heard, and nothyng seene.

Aboute the Sunne, there were manye vnpleasante sightes. Stormes also of stones. Continuall lightnings fell vppon the Temples and the pictures.

For thys cause, the Senate sente for Southsayers and Prophetes out of *Tuscane*, the most auntiente, of the whyche, affirmyng that the olde Kyngs shoulde returne, and euery man be in bondage but himselfe alone, he shutte his mouth, and stopped hys breath tyll he dyed.

A rare example of a Southsayer.

These three men beyng thus alone by themselues, dyd appoynte them that shoulde dye. They suspected some for their power,

wer. Some they registred as they? priuate enimies, and some
thoy? owne familiars and frendes they gaue to dye, to serue
eache others turne, both then, and afterwarde. And so were men
condemned one after another, some fo? enemitie: some onely
fo? a little offence, as fo? louing hys enimies, o? hatyng hys
frendes, o? fo? beyng to riche, bycause they wanted much mo-
ney to mayntayne the warre. *Brutus* and *Cassius* receyuing the
rentes and Tributes of *Asia*, and beyng also holpen by the
Kynges and Pryinces there, and fo? asmuche as they were in
wante, bycause *Europe*, and chiefely *Italie* was wasted wyth
warres and paymentes, they dyd put a greuous imposition vp-
on the common sorte of menne and women, and made the arti-
ficers and worke men to pay them tribute, and some was pro-
scribed fo? the goodnesse of hys lands & houses. And thus all these
were condemned to dye, and to be confiscate, whereof there
were three hundred Senators, and two thousands of them *Equites.*
that be called Gentlemen, among the whyche were the bre-
thren and vncles of these that hadde condemned them, and some
that ruled armies vnder them, and as many as hadde displeased
them o? other that were leaders vnder them. And intendyng to
condemne the multitude after this conference, at they? beyng
in *Rome*, they appoynted twelue of the suddayne (o? as some say)
seauentéene of the chiefest to be kylled, whereof *Cicero* was
one. And by and by they sente aboute it, and foure were straight
kylled at they? tables, o? where they were mette, the other
were soughte in houses and Temples, so as there was a sud-
den trouble al that night among them, with cries, running, and *Miseria of Rome*
yelling, as in a Citie taken. Fo? when it was knowen that
menne shoulde be apprehended, and no certentie vpon whome
the proscription woulde fall, euery man thought himselfe to be
sought of them that made enquirie. Wherefore in this confusion
some hadde determined to burne their owne thynges, and
some to sette publike places all on fyre, intending by good
reason to doe some notable feate, before they woulde suf-
fer. And they hadde done it out of hande, hadde not *Pedius* the
Consull gone aboute with Proclamation, and comforted

them

them to tarrie, till the truth were throughly knowen. When morning was come, *Pedius* according to the sentence of the three men, did condemne seauenténe, as only supposed chiefe authors of ciuill euils, and onely condemned: whereof he gaue his faith publikely to the rest, not knowing what was done, and he for the labour he toke in the nighte, dyed. The three men, *Lepidus*, *Antonius*, and *Cæsar*, entred *Rome*, each one by himselfe in three seuerall bandes, with the gardes of their persons, and one Legion a peece, in order of battell.

Pedius Consull dyeth.

When they were come, the Citie was full of Souldioures, and enlignes placed, where was fytte, and by and by there was an assemblie, in the whyche, *Publius Titius* Tribune of the people, dyd by lawe confyrme the newe rule, by the appointemente of them presente, for fyue yeares of three men, *Lepidus*, *Antonius*, and *Cæsar*, with equall power as Consuls (whyche a man myghte call reformers, after the *Greeke* manner, and that name the *Lacedemonians* gaue to them that directed their state, neyther any respite being gyuen for the approbation, nor a speciall daye appointed for voyces to be vsed. But of hande the lawe toke place, and that myghte condemnations of thirtie, beside the seauenténe, and of one hundred more, were sette vp in many places of the Citie, and shortlye after, another hundred and fiftie, and euer some were added more in the booke, to them that were firste condemned, or kylled, as by ignorance, that it myghte bée thoughte they were worthy to dye. It was ordered, that all theyr heads shoulde be brought to the three men, and a reuarde appointed. A free mans rewarde was syluer, a Seruantes, libertie and syluer, and who receyued a condemned man, or concealed, or hindred the search, should bée punished with lyke payne, and euery man myghte declare agaynste whome hée woulde for the same rewarde. The Proclamation was after thys sorte.

Publius Titius propoundeth the newe rule of the three men.

Ἀριστοι was the name among the *Lacedemonians*, which were rulers of Cities and Castels. Encrease of condemned mē.

Revvards.

And that all men shoulde suffer their priuate places to be searched. *Marcus Lepidus*, *Marcus Antonius*, and *Octauius Cæsar*, chosen reformers and directoures of the Common wealthe, saye thus: If the vnfaythfull, euill disposed mynde, haue not

The Proclamation of the three men.

not bene pitied when they nedes, and being so, had not become enimies of their benefactours, and after cõspired against them, they had not slayne *Cæsar*, whome he toke by warre, and saued by mercy: accompted them friends, and plentifully aduaunced them, with offices, honours and giftes: no we should haue ben compelled thus violently to vse them, that haue with suche despite, made proclamations of treason against vs: but now by their euill meanings towarde vs, & their worse working toward *Cæsar*, perceyuing that by humanitie, their malice is made obstinate, we haue chosen rather to preuent them than to be taken tarey of them. Let no man thinke our act vniust, cruell or to lose, considering what *Cæsar*, what we haue suffered at their handes. *Cæsar* being chiefe ruler, and prince of holy things, Conquerour and ouerthrower of nations, most terrible to the *Romaines*, and the first man that beyond *Hercules* pillers did proue the sea not sayled before, and founde lande vnknowen to the *Romanes*, in the middest of the sacred place, called the Senate house, in the sight of the goddes, they haue enmoully killed with .xxiij. woundes, whom he toke prisoners in warre, and not onely saued their liues, but made some of them heyres of his liuing. The reste of them through the same wicked purpose haue sente theyr detestable offendours, in steede of punishment, to the rule of prouinces and armies, whiche they abuse in spoyling of common treasure, in gathering one army against vs of them, and requiring an other of the *Barbarians* alwayes enimies to this state. Certaine Cities belonging to the *Romanes*, refusing to obey them, they haue burned, spoyled or rased: others oppressed with their terrible threatnings, they force agaynst their countrey and vs. We haue already punished some of them, and by the helpe of God, ye shall sone se the rest haue their iuste deserte. The greatest matters touchyng *Spayne*, *Fraunce*, and here at home, we haue at our commaundement well dispatched. Nether therefore wee haue an harde and sharpe worke in hande, to make warre agaynst the murderers of *Cæsar* that be beyonde the seas: and because wee shall make this warre abrode, we do not thinke it sure, neyther for vs nor

for you, to leaue enimies at home, that mighte disturbe vs in our absence, and wayte theyr times as the warre shoulde haue succesſe, neyther to make any delay in this hasty expedition, but rather to ridde them at ones, they hauyng begonne the warre agaynſt vs, and iudged vs and our armies, traytours to our Countrie, not regardyng neyther the enuy of manne, nor the reuengment of God, in destroying so many millions of their Citizens.

Wée are not offended agaynſt the multitude nor will take them all as enimies, that haue bene so to vs, nor altogither weigh riches, substaunce or dignities, nor kill so many as an other chiefe ruler haue done before vs, who redressed the Citie in lyke Ciuill dissentions, whome, for his lucky doings you did call *Happie*, (although there muſte nédes be more enimies to thée than one) but onely the worſte and moſte wicked ſorte, as well for you as for our selfes, wée entende to correct otherwiſe by our contentions, you all, betweene vs, muſte nédes be vtterly destroyed, and of neceſſitie, our armie that hath bene so iniuried and despighted, as they haue bene proclaimed publique enimies, muſt nédes some way be comforted at our hande.

Sylla.

And where as wée mighte lay handes vppon the condemned, where wée woulde, yet we thought it better to pronounce them, than at all aduentures to oppreſſe them, and that for your sake, leaſt the rage of the Souldiours mighte exceede vppon them that are not touched, and that their names beyng comprehended in a certayne number, they might leaue the reſt by the decrée.

Then that good Fortune may come by them that be contayned in this writyng: Lette no manne receyue any manne, nor hyde, nor sende away, nor be worne for money. For if any doe saue, helpe, or be founde priuye: him, will we, without all excuſe and pardone, put among the condemned ſorte.

Penaltie.

Of them that shall bryng the heades of ſuche as they

shall

shall kyll, before vs, a free manne shall haue xxv. thousand drammes of *Athens* for euery heade, a seruaunt shall haue, Rewardes.
hys libertie and tenne thousande, and hys Maysters place, in the Cittie, and the same shall they haue that shall enforme, and none of theyr names that receyue these rewardes, shall bee noted in our bookes, that they may not be knowen.

This was the proclamation of the three men, as I could translate it out of Latine into Greeke.

Lepidus was the firste that dyd condemne, and the firste of the condemned was *Paulus* his brother. *Lepidus* condemneth his brother

The second that did condemne, was *Antony*: and the second that was condemned, was his vncle *Lucius*, for they firste condemned these as enimies. *Antony* condemneth his vncle.

The thirde and the fourth was of them, whiche in an other booke, were appointed to be Consuls in tyme to come. *Plotius*, brother to *Plancus*, and *Quintus*, Father in lawe to *Asinius*: and these were not the rather putte before other bycause of theyr dignitie onely, but as muche for terrour and desperation, that none shoulde hope to be saued.

Thoranius was among the condemned men, who, as some say, was Tutor to *Cæsar*. *Thoranius* tutor to *Cæsar* condemned.

By and by after these condemnations, the gates were kept, and all other passages and portes of the Cittie, Fennes also and Woodes, and any other place suspected to bee fitte to flee vnto, or for them that fledde, to be hydden in.

The Capitaynes of the bandes were commaunded to raunge the fieldes abroade, and to searche diligently, and all this was done at once.

Forthwith, bothe in the countrie and the Cittie, as menne were taken, there was greate suddayne slaughter, and diuerse kyndes of murders, & cuttings off of heads to be shewed for rewardes sake.

Then was there hasty fleyng, and vnseemely sight of them,

that before were goodly to be ſeene: ſome leapte into puddles, ſome into ditches and ſinckes moſt vncleane: ſome got vppe to the ſmoky rouffes and chimnies, or ſat cloſe with deepe ſilence vnder heapes of tyles: ſome were as muche afrayde of their wiues or children that bare them no good will, as they were of the killers: ſome of their free made mē: ſome, of their bondmē: ſome creditours, of their debtours: ſome of their neyghbours, coueting their grounde: what ſoeuer had bin kept in before, thē it burſt forth: a cruell and confuſed mutation of Senators, of Conſuls, of Prætours, of Tribunes, of newe elect to thoſe offices, or of them that had borne office. It was to ſee them fal at a ſlaues feete with teares, namyng him ſauiour and good maiſter: and more pitifull it was, that when they hadde done all this, they could get no grace, there was all ſhapes of miſerie: not as in ſedition or ſacking of a Cittie, where men myghte feare their foes and enimies, and truſt their families, but here they were more afrayde of them, than of the killers: The whiche beyng voyde of feare, otherwiſe than in tumulte and warre, they ſodainelye of friendes were made enimies, eyther for hydden hate, or for the proclaymed rewards, or for the gold and ſiluer in their houſes: for by thys occaſion, euerye man ware extremely vnfaythfull to his maiſter, and their reward did ouerwhelme naturall deuoty toward the ſame, and he that was faythfull and wel willing, was afrayde to help, to hyde, or conceale, for the cruelte of the puniſhment.

The former feare of the ſeuentene men did amaze them againe, for then none being named, but many ſodaynly taken, all were afrayde of the like, and therefore ſought together for defence. For vpon theſe proſcriptions, ſome were by, and by giuen in pray to euery man, and ſome being ſure of themſelues and deſirous of the game, hunted out the other, to haue reward of the killers. The reſte of the common ſorte, ſome ſpoyled the houſes of them that were killed, whych profit drew their mindes from common feeling of preſent miſchief: ſome more temperate and mylde, were aſtoniſhed and amazed. It ſeemed wonderful

to

to them to conſider, that other Cities being vndone by ſedition, haue bin preſerued againe by agreement. This Cittie, the deuiſion of the rulers hadde conſumed, and their agreement, brought it to deſolation: ſome dyed reſiſting the killers, ſome without reuenge, as not knowing by whome they were maimed. There were ſome that killed themſelues with voluntarie hunger, ſome vſed halters, ſome drowned their bodies, ſome threwe themſelues downe from the houſe toppe, ſome leapt into the fyre, ſome offered themſelues to the ſtrykers, ſome tarryed when they were called, ſome hid and diſgraced themſelues vnſemelye, ſome reſiſted the cruill, and thoughte to haue boughte it out: ſome beſyde the ſentence of the three men, of ignorance or deceit, were diſpatched (as it did appeare) by one that was ſlaine and not condemned, when the head was ſhewen.

Contrarie effect to former calamitie.

The condemned perſons heads were brought before the ſeats in the common place, that they that had brought them, might receiue their goods.

On the other ſyde, there was as much care and payne, bothe of women, children, brethren and ſeruauntes, ſauing and ſhifting for many, and dying with them, if they could not bring to paſſe what they ment, and ſome killed that came to kill them.

Of them that fledde, ſome were drowned in the Sea, Fortune beeing in all againſt them: ſome beyonde all hope, returned to offices in the Cittie, to be Capitaines in warre and triumphes. Suche the demonſtration made that ſeaſon of things to be wondred at. And theſe were done, not in a priuate Cittie, nor in a weake and little kingdome, but in the moſte mightye, and the Ladye of ſo manye nations, bothe by lande and ſea. God himſelfe did ſtirre it, to bring it to that good order, that nowe it is in.

God vvould haue it ſo.

There were ſuche thinges done of *Sylla*, and before him, of *Marius*, the chiefe of the which I haue ſhewed in their liues, and then men laye vnburied. But theſe doings for the worthynelle of theſe three men, eſpecially for the vertue and fortune of one of them which brought the Empire to a ſure ſeate, and left a ſtorke and name to them that now remaine after him, a man

Sylla.
Marius.

may worthily think to be far of more importance, which, as they were more or lesse notable, and be more freshly in memorie, and lately done, I will declare, yet not al (for they be not worthy the telling, that touche the simple death & fleeing, of them that were pardoned of the three men, whiche after they retourned, liued a life vnknowne) but the moste marueilous, that may make a man afrayd, and cause credite to that is spoken before. They be manye, and manye of the Romaines haue in many bookes, written these of themselues, of the which I will shew briefely a fewe of the greatelle in euerye sorte, for the reliefe of the same, and for the happynesse of the tyme that now is.

The euil began at the firste brunte, of them that were yet in office. And *Saluius* the Tribune was the firste that was kylled, whose power was sacred and sure by lawe, exceeding the reste, so as the Tribunes haue committed some Consuls to prison.

Saluius. Authorities of Tribunes.

This was the Tribune that syrste forbadde that *Antony* shoulde be declared an ennimye, after the whiche tyme he stucke altogither to *Cæsar*.

Saluius the Tribune kylled.

Understanding the intelligence of the three men, and they approche to the Cittie, hee made a stealke to his friendes, as one that shoulde not ofte so doe againe. The Souldioures running into the house, they arose with feare and trouble. The Capitaine of the bande commaunded them to be quiet and still, but *Saluius*, as he sate, he toke by the heare, till he might dispatch hym, and vppon the table cutte off hys heade, and commaunded them within to make no businesse, leaste if anye trouble were rayled, they shoulde suffer the lyke, and they beeyng astonished, remained after the Captaine was gone, til midnight, with the Tribunes Corpse.

Minutius killed, that vvas a Prætor.

The seconde that was kylled, was *Minutius* a Prætor, setting in iudgement in the common place.

Understandyng that the Souldioures were commyng, hee leapte downe, and thinking where he might hide hymselfe, he chaunged hys garment, and came into a shoppe, sending awaye hys seruauntes and hys shewes of office.

They for reuerence and pitie, tarying stil, againste their will, made

made the killers the eullier to finde their mayſter.

Reuerence out of tyme.

Annalis an other Pretor (goyng about with his Sonne that labored to be a treaſurer, to ſew to them that gaue voyces) hys friendes that were with hym, and they that bare the maces of his office, vnderſtandyng he was condemned, forſoke hym. He fledde vnto a tenaunt of hys, whiche had a ſtraight and a homely houſe in the Suburbs, for all purpoſes very fitte, and was his ſafe, till hys Sonne, that thought he was fled thyther, brought the ſtrykers to the houſe, and was rewarded of the thre menne with his Fathers goods, and choſen a Chamberlayne of the Citie, who, beyng after very dronke, and troubling the Souldiors, the ſame killed him, that diſpatched his Father.

Annalis killed.

A vvicked ſon kylled.

Cheranius not now a Pretor, but one that had bene, and father of a young man that was vnthriftie, and myght doe much with *Antonie*, prayed the ſtrykers to ſpare his kyllyng a whyle till he might ſende hys ſonne to ſpeake to *Antony*, they laughed and ſayd his ſonne had ſpoken, but it was to the contrarye. When the olde man heard that, he deſired them to tarrie til he had ſeene his daughter, whome when he ſawe, he commaunded to abſteine from hys goodes, leaſte hir brother ſhoulde ſewe for hir death alſo to *Antony*. But he, hauyng conſumed all his ſubſtaunce in euilliſe, was attached of felony, and ſaued himſelfe by fleyng away.

Cheranius killed by the ſute of hys ſonne.

Cicero who after *Iulius Ceſar*, did direct all like a ruler alone in a popular ſtate, was proſcribed, with his ſonne his brother, his nephew, his friends, familiars and adherents. Fleyng by bote, he could not abyde ꝑ ſickneſſe of the ſea, but returned to a place of his owne: whiche I for the remembraunce of hys vnfortune, did ſe aboute *Gayta* a Cittie of *Italy*. Whenthey that came to ſeeke hym were at hande (for, of all other, *Antonie* was moſte deſirous to haue hym, and all aboute *Antonie*, were ready to gette him) the Crowes rande vnto hys houſe, and made ſuche a noyſe, as they waked him out of his ſleepe, and drew out his garment frō his body, that lay vpon him, til his ſeruants perceyuing the thyng, and taking it to bee a token from God, put *Cicero* in a litter, and ledde him toward the Sea, through a thicke wood,

Cicero kylled.

Cicero cannot abide the ſea ſickeneſſe and retourneth.

The Author goeth to ſee *Cicero* his houſe in the countrey.

Cicero vvarned by Crowes.

and

rode secreatly, and whereas stode centurions euery where, killing if they sawe *Cicero*, some for good will and pitie saide, he was gone and sailed ouer sea, but a shomaker tenaunt to *Cladie*, the sharpest enimie of *Cicero*, tolde *Lena* the Captayn where he went with a fewe. He ranne, and seing his seruants to be manye more than he had brought with him, and readye to defende him, he cried very loude for a politie, made haste you vandeleaders that be behinde. When *Ciceroes* seruaunts thinking they should haue bin ouerlaide, forsoke their maister.

A Shomaker bewrayeth *Cicero*

Lena, whiche by *Ciceroes* helpe had bin before saued, pulled hys heade out of the Litter, and cut it off, hauing three strokes, and making three wounds for lacke of cunning. He cut off also his hande, with the which he wrote the orations against *Antonie* as a Tyrante, in the whiche, he followed *Demosthenes*, that did the like against *Philippe*. Some rode, some sailed to carry *Antony* the newes, and *Lena*, as he sate in the common place, toke the heade and the hande, and shewed it to euery one was maruelous ioyful, and crowned the Captaine, and gaue him honoure with great gifte, that is to say, two hundred and fifte thousand drammes of *Athens*, bycause he had dispatched his greatest and bussest enimy.

Lena, one saued by *Cicero*, killeth hym.

The orations of *Cicero* called *Philippica*.

Post haste made to carry e *Antony* the newes of *Ciceroes* deathe.

Honors done to *Lena* for kyllyng of *Cicero*.

Cicero his head and his hande was sette vppe for a time in the common place before the Tribunall, where he was wont to make orations, and more came to see it, than before to heare him.

After that *Augustus* had the rule of all, & founde one of hys Nephewes, wyth a booke in hys hande wherein was of *Ciceroes* making the child was afraide to shewe it, but he woulde needes see it & reade it, and sayd; Child, this manne was learned, and a louer of hys countrey. And not long after hee tooke *Cicero* hys sonne to be hys fellowe in the Consulshippe, in whose tyme *Antonies* images were ouerthrowne, and it was ordeined that euery one of hys house should bee called *Augustus*, & in the ende, the ceremonies of *Antonies* exacting was appointed by God, to the house of *Cicero*.

* *Cicero* his sonne is sent to *Brutus*.

* *Quintus Cicero* and his sonne kylled.

ſtriuers, to kill him before his ſonne: but his ſonne deſired the contrary. Wherefore, the ſouldiours promiſed bothe theyr requeſtes, and takyng them aſunder, by a token killed them both at one inſtante. *Ignatius* the father and the ſonne, ſlaiyng together, dyed of one wounde, and when their heades were ſtriken off, their bodies did yet embrace. *Ignatius* father and the ſonne.

Balbus ſent his ſonne to the ſea, that they ſhould not be eſpied going together, and ſhortely after he followed alone, and when one tolde him, either of malice, or of ignorance, that his ſonne was taken, he went backe and ſent for his killers, and it chaunced that his ſon was drowned in the Sea. Such like calamitie can fortune giue. *Balbus* and his ſonne.

Arruntius ſtoutly hardely perſwade his ſonne, that would not lie without him, to ſaue himſelfe, becauſe he was but yong. His mother ſent him afore to the gates, and then returned to burye hir husbande being killed, and when ſhe heard ſhortely after, that hir ſonne was deade on the ſea, with hunger, ſhe killed hirſelfe. *Arruntius* and his ſonne. His wife.

These be examples of good and euill children.

There were .ij. brethren condemned, called *Ligarij*, which being hidde, fel aſleepe, til one of them being found of his ſeruants, was killed, and the other making eſcape, and hearing of his brothers death, threwe himſelfe from the bridge into the riuer, whom e, when fyſhermen had ſaued, as one that fell by chance and not of purpoſe, he ſtroue a great while with them, that they ſhoulde not ſaue him, and threwe himſelfe vnder the water: but they being ſtronger than he, bringing him vppe ſafe, he ſaide, you haue not ſaued me, but putte youre ſelues in daunger with me, that am a condemned man: yet they hauing pittie of him, ſaued him, til the ſouldiors that kepte the bridge ſaw it, and ran down to cut off his heade. *Ligarij* two brethren.

Of two other brethren, one threw himſelfe int the riuer, his ſeruaunt ſeekyng his body fiue dayes after, whiche when he had founde, and knewe it was he, he cut off his head for the reward. The other brother being hid in a lakes, an other ſeruaunte did betraye him. Two brethren.

The Souldioures refused to gyue it, but with their weapond and Speares, pulled vp his body, and cutte off his head in suche case as it was.

Two brethren. Another vnderstanding that his brother was proscribed, and not knowing that hymselfe was so to, ranne and cryed, kyll me before hym. The Captayne knowyng the truth of the condemnation, thou makest a resonable requeste (quoth he) for thou wast condemned before hym, and so dyd eyther kylled them both.

And these be examples of brethren.

A good vvife hath euill lucke. *Liparius* beyng hydde at hys wyfe, made one onely mayde priuie to it, and beyng betrayed of her, she followed him that bare away hir husbandes head, crying, I must haue the like punishmente, because I haue hydde hym: and when none of the Souldyoures wolde kyll hyr, nor accuse hir, she went to betray hir selfe to the Princes, and because they did not regarde hyr for pitie, she destroyed hir selfe with hunger. And hyr thus I thoughte good to note in thys place, because beyng willing to saue hir husbande and coulde not, she kylled hyr selfe with hunger: but they that had good lucke for their good loue to theyr husbandes, I wyll wrighte among them that saued theyr husbandes.

An euill vvife. Other there were that wickedly dyd betray theyr husbandes, and of them one that was married to *Septimius*, whyche was corrupted in loue of a friende of *Antonyes*, who beyng desirous of hys harlot, to be made his wife, caused hym to speake to *Antony* to haue hir, and forthwith was *Septimius* condemned, which thing he learning of his wife, and ignorant of his euill at home, fledde to hir, and she seeming to be carefull to kepe him, shutte the dores, and hydde hym tyll the strikers came, and in one daye he was kylled, and she married.

Salassius. *Salassius* fledde, and beyng wythout hope, in the nyghte returned to the Cittie, to abyde tyll the sharpenesse of the time myghte ceasse. He came to his house that was solde, and onely his housekeper, (who was sold with the house) knew him, who brought hym to hys lodge, and promised to kepe hym, and hydde him to his power. He badde him call his wife from the other part of the

house,

house, she auoydering, she durst not come, leauing her mayde myghte suspect somewhat by myghte, sayde, she wou de be with hym in the morning. When day was come, she called y strikers. The Porter ranne to the house to call his mistresse, bycause he thought she tarried to long.

Salassus beeyng afrayde of his Porters long absence, was in doubte of deceyte, and wente vp to the toppe of the house, from the whyche, when he sawe, not hys Porter, but hys wyfe bryngyng the strikers, he cast hymselfe to the grounde. Euill wyfe.

Fuluius fledde to a woman seruaunte, whome fyrste he kepte, after made hir free, and gaue a dowrie to marrie hir: she hauing receyued these benefytes, for iclousie of another woman whome he had married, betrayed hym. *Fuluius* betrayd.

These examples may be for euill wiues.

Statius the *Samnite*, that in the fellowes warre had done many things for the *Samnites*, and for the excellēcie of his feates, blond, and riches, beeing chosen into the Romaine Senate, and nowe foure score yeares of age, was condemned for his riches: he opened his house to the people, and suffered his seruauntes to take what they wouldē, and something he threwe out, till it was voyde, then he set it on fyre, and shut it, and burned in it, and the fire did consume many other places of the Citie. *Statius.*

Capito for the most part, keeping his doores open, killed al them that entred to come in, one after another, at length oppressed with the multitude, he alone, hauing killed many dyed. *Capito.*

Vitulinus gathered a greate number of men aboute *Reggio*, of such as were condemned, and other fledde with them, and from the eyghteene Cities that were giuē in pray to the Souldioures, which were greeuously offended. *Vitulinus* hauing these, killed ȳ ordinarie bands that were sent to seeke them, till a greater army was sent, and then he gaue not ouer, but went into *Sicelie* to *Pompey*, who held that Iland, and receyued such as fledde vnto hym, where he did serue very valiantly, til after many fightes he was ouercome: yet hauing sent his sonne, and all the condemned men with him to *Messina*, when hee sawe the shippes to be arriued, he fell on his enimies, and was cut in peeces. *Vitulinus* Reggio in the ende of *Italy*, next *Sicelie*. *Messina*, the chiefe porte Towne of *Cicelie*, neexte *Italy*.

Naso. *Naso*, being betrayed of a seruant, whome he loued and hadde made free, toke a swoorde from one of the souldioures, and onely killing the traytour, offered himselfe to the strikers. A seruante that loued hys Mayster, kepte him safe in an hill, and went to the sea, to hyre him a boate. After his retourne, perceiuing hys Mayster to bee killed, he cried aloude vnto him, hauing yet a little life, staye a while, O Mayster (quoth he) and sodainlye stroke the Capitayne and killed hym: then commyng agayne to hys Mayster killed himselfe, saying: Mayster thou haste receiued comfort.

Lucius. *Lucius* gaue his golde to two of his moste faithfull seruants, whome he had made free, and went to the sea, where they fleeing from him, hee retourned, and not caring for hys life, offered

Labienus. hymselfe to the quellers. *Labienus*, who in *Sylla's* tyme had taken and killed manye that were then proscribed, mighte well be reproued, if he had not suffered the like valiantly. He went out of his house, sate downe in his chaire, and tarried for the killers.

Cestius. *Cestius* in the Countrey was hidde of hys good seruauntes, the Souldiours euer running aboute in armoure with naked swordes: he coulde not abide the continuaunce of the feare, but badde his seruauntes make a fyre, and if anye manne did aske them, saye *Cestius* was kylled and there burned. When they

Apponius. hadde made the fyre readye, he leapte into it. *Apponius* hiding hymselfe sorelye, coulde not abide the euill diet, but offered himselfe to the swoorde.

Another willinglye offered himselfe openlye, and because the strikers tarryed, hee choaked hymselfe in the middeste of them.

Lucius. *Lucius* father in lawe to *Sisinius*, then Consull, fledde vnto the Sea the tediousnesse whereof not able to abide, he leapte into the water.

Sisinius. *Sisinius* fleeing awaye, and crying that hee was not condemned, but followed of them, to be betrayed for hys money, they brought him to the house, and hauing hym reade hys own name whyche when they hadde done, they dispatched him.

Aemilius. *Aemilius* not knowing he was condemned, seeing the follow-

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another, asked ỳ Captayne who was condemned: the Captaine lokyng him in the face, sayde, Thou and he, and so killed them bothe.

Cilo and *Decius* cõming out of the Senate house, and knowing they were cõdemned, and their names in the booke, no man folowyng them, they fledde vnlaweley to the gates, and their rumyngly, ewrayed themselues to the Captaynes. *Icilius* that fauoured *Brutus* & *Cassius*, and *Octauius Cæsar*, being present with his armie at the assemblie, and other giuyng voyce secretely to their condemnation, onely he openly gaue to the absolution, and hidde himselfe with great minde and trust of libertie, and when he saw a dead body caried forth, he wente among them that bare the bere. The warders at the gate perceyuing there were more men than were wonte to beare a corpse, hauing no regarde of the bearers, searched the bere, thinking there had bene no dead mã in it, wherfore the bearers being angry with *Icilius*, because he was none of their cõpany, the strikers knew him and killed him. *Cille and Decius.* *Icilius.*

Varus beyng betrayde of his frée made man, fledde, and went from hill to hill, till he came to the fenne of *Minturne*, in the whiche he toke his rest. The *Minturnians* searching ỳ fenne for a theefe, the toppes of the rédes wauering betwrayed *Varus*, who being taken, he cõfessed he was a felon, vpon the whiche he was condemned and ledde away, and when he should haue bene racked with the other offendors, abhorring that vile maner, he sayde: *Varus.* *Minturnes vvhere Marius vvas hidde.*

You of *Minturne*, I warne you, neither to racke me nor kill me, hauing bene a Consull of *Rome*, and condemned now of the Princes, whiche is more to my honour: for if I can not flée, it shal be better for me to suffer with mine equals. They not beleuing him, and distrusting his tale, the Captayne came, and cut of his head, leauing his bodie with them.

Certen that toke *Largus* in the countrie, not séekyng him but an other, hauing pitie to kill him whom they sought not, gaue him leaue to flée into the woodde, and he beyng folowed of other, ranne backe agayne to the first, to whom he sayde: kyll *Largus.*

yau me, who may haue the reward, deseruyng it for hauing pitie of me. So dying, he requited them with lyke humanitie.

Rufus. An house.

Rufus hauyng a very fayre house nighe to *Fuluia Antonies* wife, which she woulde once haue bought, and he then denied hyr, nowe offeryng it in gifte, was yet condemned, whose head when it was brought to *Antonie*, he sayde it appertayned not to hym, but sente it to hys wyfe: she commaunded it to be hanged vp at the house, in steede of the common place.

A Vineyarde.

An other had a fayre shadowed Vineyarde, and a goodly caue in it, deepe and large, for the whiche peraduenture he was condemned. It was hys chaunce to refreshe himselfe in the Caue. When the questers came yet a farre of, his seruant put hym in the secrete place of the denne, and put on hys maisters garment, sayeng to be he, and in feare, and had lyke inough to haue bene killed, if one of hys felowes had not bewrayed hys craft. The Mayster beyng killed, the people toke it grieuously before the Princes, and ceased not till the bewrayer was hanged, and he that woulde haue saued his Mayster, made free.

A good seruant rewarded, and an euill punished.

Arterius.

Arterius beyng bid, hys seruaunt betrayed, and being made free, had all the substaunce from his mayster[illegible] chyldren, and vsed them with despite. They with silence folowed hym in euery place weeping. The people detesting this iniurie, caused that the three men made him that was nowe so rich, to be bonde againe to the chyldren of the condemned father.

An euill seruant well serued.

And thus much touching men.

Orphanes.

The poore Orphanes also had diuerse fortune at thys time: of the whiche, one goyng to his scholemaster, was killed, with his leader that embraced the childe and would not let him goe.

Atilius.

Atilius, hauyng on nowe his robe of perfect yeares, went (as the maner was) with a company of his friends to the temples to sacrifice: Sodenly, being knowen to be condemned, his friends and his seruants forsoke him. He being alone, and left, of all the company, went to his mother, who durst not receyue him for feare: and he not entending to proue any other after his mother, fledde into an hill, where being driuen with hunger to

go

go into the playne, mette with a theefe, that vsed to robbe in the wayes, for him by force was made to folow that worke. The childe brought vp in daynteuelle, and not able to abide that payne, ranne into the high way in his purple robe to the Souldiours, to bewray himselfe, of whom he was killed.

A childe bewrayeth himselfe.

After these were done, *Lepidus* triumphed of *Iberia*, and pronounded a decree after this maner:

The triumph of *Lepidus*. *Iberia*, *Spayne*.

Decree of *Lepidus* at his triumphe.

For good fortune be it inspired to all men and women, that this present day do make holy and festfull: He that shall not seeme so to do, be he among the condemned men.

He made his triumphe to the Temples, all sortes folowing him with pleasant shewe and grieued minde.

The goodes of the attaynted men were set to sale to their neighbours, but there were fewe that would buy any of them. Some were ashamed to encrease their euill fortune, e thought it woulde not alwayes so continue, nor sure for them to lette their golde and siluer be seene, nor their possessions, now without daunger, by hauing more to put all in perill. Onely some of a boldnesse came forth, and because they onely bought, they had it for little: but where the three menne hoped this woulde haue sufficed, and had yet nede of much more, they declared it openly, and condemned a thousand. iiij. C. women, which were thought most riche, e these must nedes be punished to beare the charge of their warre, euery one as muche as shoulde please the three men. A paine was appointed to them that hid any thing, or did undervalue themselues: and to the declarers of the same, a reward propounded, both for free and bonde. The women fought to sue to the Princes by such women as were in moste estimation with them. Of *Cæsars* sister, nor of *Antonies* mother, they were not reiect. But *Fuluia*, *Antonies* wife, shut hir doores vpon them, which despight-taking grieuously, they came into the common place, and approching to the seate of the Princes, the people and the Souldiours standing about them, *Hortensia* beyng appointed, spake thus: As it was seemely for vs silly women, we haue sued to your wiues, and hauyng suffered of *Fuluia*, that was vnseemely, we be come from hir into the common place.

Goodes set to sale.

VVomen of *Rome* condēned.

Fuluia reiecteth the vvomē that sued to hir. She vvas *Antonies* vvyfe and cause of muche stryfe, and vvith sorovv ended hir lyfe.

Oration of *Hortensia*.

You,

You haue taken from vs our Fathers, our Husbandes, our Brethren and children, pretending that they haue done you iniurie, and after you haue spoyled them of all togither, you doe oppresse vs, to the rebuke and disgrace of the kinde and condition of womens nature. If we haue done you iniurie, as you say our husbandes haue done, then prosecribe vs as you did the. But if we women, haue made none of you enimie, nor taken none of your houses, nor corrupted none of your armies, nor leade against you any other, nor letted you to take what office & honour you would, why be we partakers of the punishment, that were no workers of the iniurie? why are we enforced, that haue not dealt at all, neyther with office, honour, armie, nor common wealth, whiche by you, is now brought to suche calamitie? If you say, bycause of the warre: when had we no warre? or when did women cause the warre, whome, nature among al men hath released from the same. Our Mothers once beyonde their nature, did further it, when the Citie and the whole state was in extreme daunger by the violence of them of *Carthage*. And then willingly they did contribute, not of their lande, their houses, their dowries or possessions, without the whiche the free can not liue, but only of their Iewels and Ornamentes, not for any punishment, neither by information nor accusation, nor of force nor violence, but what they themselues would. What feare haue any of you now, eyther of your rule, of your countrie. If the warre of the *French*, or of the *Parthians*, be at hande, you shall finde vs no worse, than our Mothers for the safetie of our countrie. As for Ciuill warre, neyther haue we moued, neyther haue conferred with you, one agaynst an other. We haue not dealt, neyther with *Cæsar* nor *Pompey*: *Marius* nor *Cinna* did neuer compell vs, no not *Sylla* that was a tyranne to his countrie. You say you will reforme the common wealth.

The Matrones of *Rome* did giue their Iewels to help the Citie.

When *Hortensia* had sayde thus muche, the three men were grieued, that women (men beyng silent) shoulde be so bolde to make open Oration, and examine the doings of Princes, and that they should not giue their monie, bicause men went to warre.

warre. Wherefore they commaunded the Sergeantes to putte them from the barre, till a greate noyse being made without of the people, the Sergeants ceassed: and the Princes sayde, they would deferre the matter till the morning. *Hesterna put to silence.*

The next day they condemned foure hundred women, in stead of a thousande foure hundred, in the valuation of their goodes. Then it was decréed, that euery man that had more than tenne Milions, as well Citizen, Straunger, freemade man, religious, as all sortes, sparing none, and that with the like feare of punishment, and the like penalties, they should giue the fiftith parte of their goodes, as an interest to them, and pay a yearely tribute for the warre. And as these by commaundement were put vpon the *Romaines*, so the armye with contempt did worse: for where the Princes in these doings had their only trust in them, they craued of them house, land, possession, and whole substance of the confiscated persons. Some required to be adopted children to those men. Some deuised other shiftes: for they killed them that were not condemned, and chalenged their houses that were not accused: in so muche, as the Princes commaunded one of the Consuls to make correction of things done, otherwise than was commaunded. But he being afrayde to touch the Souldioures, least he should prouoke them against him, put to deathe a fewe Seruantes, that wente abroade in Souldioures manner. And these were the chiefe (to the ende) of the calamities of the condemned men. Howe, what (contrary to all hope,) hapned to some, to their saftie of the suddayne, and to honor at length, it shall delighte me to wright, and be a pleasure for other to beare, that for no aduersitie they should giue ouer hope. A Milion is heere tenne thousand. The Italian, and *P. Candidus* text, is not true heere. A decree touching men. Rage of Souldioures. Hope not to be giuen quer.

They that could escape, fledde to *Brutus* and *Cassius*, and to *Cornificius* in *Libya*, who toke the peoples part. *Brutus. Cassius. Cornificius.*

Many wente into *Sicilie*, an Ile nigh *Italie*, where *Pompey* receyued them very gladly, for he shewed moste notable care for the afflicted sorte, sending cryers abroade to call all sortes to him, and to them that coulde saue any, whyther they were free or bonde, he propounded rewards double, so muche as the killers had. Boates and Shippes of burthen did méete them that *Pompey.* Noblenesse of yong *Pompey.*

sayled, and Galleys bëeyng full at euery shore, shewed tokens to them that went amisse, and saued all that they mette. He receyuing them that came, gaue them raymente and liuing forthwyth. The worthy sorte he vsed in hys army or his nauie: and when the three men and he shoulde make a truce, he woulde neuer graunte to it, tyll they that were come to hym, shoulde be comprised in it. So was he moste profitable to hys afflicted Countrey, and wanne greate glory to hymselfe, not inferioure to that hée hadde of hys father. Others, bëeyng otherwise fledde or hydden tyll the truce, some in fieldes, some in graues, and some in the Citie, lyued with sharpe paynes. There were loues incredible shewed of Women to theyr Husbandes due, and of chyldren towarde theyr fathers, and of Seruauntes, against nature, to their maisters: the which as they be moste notable, I will declare.

Paulus saued.

Paulus, brother to *Lepidus*, (the Captaynes hauyng reuerence vnto hym, as a brother of a Prince) with theyr leaue sayled to *Brutus*, and after to *Mileto*, at the whiche place, peace not yet bëeyng made, hé obteyned returne, and was called home, but woulde not.

Miletus a citie in the endes of *Ionia* and *Caria*.

Lucius.

Lucius, Uncle to *Antonie*, *Antonyes* mother kepte hym not hydde, bëeyng hyr brother, the Captaynes for the moste parte honouryng hyr as the mother of a chiefe ruler, but after, they vsing violence, she came forthe into the common place, and to *Antony* that sate wyth the other Princes, she sayde:

A good sister.

"I confesse (O Prince) that I haue receyued *Lucius*, that I haue hym yet, and will keepe hym, till thou kill vs both together, for the lyke payne is appoynted to the receyuers.

Antonies words to his mother.

He reproued hir, as a good sister, but as an vnkynde mother, for that shée ought not to saue *Lucius*, but shoulde haue stopped hym, when he iudged hyr Sonne an enimie, neuertheleſſe, he caused *Plancus* the Consull, to decrée hys reuocation.

Messala.

Messala a noble yong man, fledde to *Brutus*. The three men fearing his wisedome, wrote thus:

Sines

Since the friendes of *Messala* bothe affyrme vnto vs, that hée was not a medler when *Caius Cæsar* was kylled, we put hym out of the proscribed number. But he dyd not accepte the pardon, but when *Brutus* and *Cassius* were kylled aboute *Thrace*, the armye whyche remayned greate, hauing shyppes, money, and good hope, woulde haue hadde *Messala* to bée theyr Captayne, who refused it, and persuaded them to gyue place to aduerse fortune, and to ioyne wyth *Antony*. Wherefore hée was in greate credite with *Antonie*, and agreed wyth hym, tyll hée reproued hym for hys wanton dealing wyth *Cleopatra*, and then he wente to *Cæsar*, who made hym Consull in *Antonyes* place, when hée was agayne declared an enimie, after hée hadde foughte agaynste *Antonie* in the battell by Sea at *Actio*.

A letter of the three men.

Messala.

Actio, a toreland of *Epyrus*.

Cæsar sente hym agaynste the Frenche that reuolted, and graunted hym to triumph for the victorie.

Cæsar sente.

Bibulus also was accepted to *Antony*, with *Messala*, and was an Admirall for *Antony*, and wente agaynste *Cæsar* when they warred together, and beyng Presidente of *Syria* vnder *Antony*, there he dyed.

Bibulus.

Acilius fledde from the Citie secretely, and beeyng betrayed of hys Seruaunte to the Souldyoures, hée persuaded them in hope of muche money, to sende some of them to his wyfe, wyth a token whyche he toke them. She brought vnto them all hyr store, saying, she dyd delyuer all vnto them, as though they woulde performe theyr promise: but yet shée knewe not whether they woulde or no, but she was not deceyued of thys good liking, for they hyred a shippe for *Acilius*, and sente him into *Sicelie*.

Acilius and his good vvife.

Lentulus, beeyng desired of hys wyfe to flée wyth hym, and diligentlye attendyng on hym, he, for that hée woulde not putte hyr to the daunger, fledde secretely into *Sicelie*, where beeyng made a Lieutenaunte of *Pompey*, hée sente hyr worde howe hée was escaped, and in office. She hearyng where hyr Husbande was, secretely lefte hyr mother, who had good eye

Lentulus and his good vvife.

vpon hir, and with two Seruauntes with greate payne and wante, she as a slaue went, till she came to *Messina* from *Reggio* aboute nyghte, and easilie learning where the Lieutenantes Tente was, she founde *Lentulus*, not as a Lieutenant, but with a poore bedde layde vppon the grounde, and simple dyet, for desire of hir.

Apuleius and his good vvife.

Apuleius wife threatned she would bewray hym, if he fledde alone, wherefore againste his will he toke hir with him, and it was his happe in that fleeing, not to be suspect, going openly with his wife, his men, and his maides.

Antius and his good vvife.

Antius his wife, wrapped hir husbande in a couering, and by that meane sent him with the Carriers to the Sea, from whence he fledde into *Sicelie*.

Reginus and his good vvife.

Reginus wife, put hir husband in the night into a filthy sincke, into the which the Souldioures would not go in the day, for the sauoure.

The next night she cladde him like a Colyer, and gaue him an Asse to carie his coles, and she followed a little after in a litter: which when the warders sawe, suspecting some man to be in the litter, searched it: whereof *Reginus* being afraide, ranne backe, and as a straunger, prayed a souldioure to be good to the women. He angerly answering him as a Colier, knew him notwithstanding, (for he hadde serued vnder him once in *Syria*,) and sayde, goe boldly (O Captayne) for so it becommeth me yet to call thee.

Scoponius.

Scoponius wife obteyned him of *Antony*, and beyng till that time of good fame, did now heale one euill fortune with another.

Geta a good sonne.

Geta his sonne made a fire in the open parte of his house, to burie his father that seemed to be dead, whome he had hidde in a house in the Countrey newe made, where the olde man disguising hymselfe, layde a parchment before hys eyes, and after the agreement was made, he toke away the parchment, but founde his eye out for lacke of vse.

Eye lost for lacke of vse.

Oppius a good sonne.

Oppius sonne, minding to tarrie with his olde feeble father, bare him on his backe, till he was past the gates, and the rest of the way, partly leading him, and partly bearing him, he brought hym safe to *Cicelie*, no man suspecting, or troubling the manner of it:

it: As they wyght that *Aeneas* was reuerenced of his enimies, when he bare his Father *Anchises*. The people of *Rome* commendyng the young manne, cauſed that afterwarde he was made Chamberlayne of the Citie. And bycauſe hée coulde not beare the charges of his office, for that hys goodes were confiſcate, the artificers freely gaue hym to ſupply the ſame. And the people that behelde hys ſhewes, did euery man caſte ſo muche money into the game place, as they made him riche. *Aeneas. Anchiſes.* Kindneſſe of Commons.

Arianus cauſed to be grauen on his Sepulchre by hys Teſtament thus: Him, that lieth here, his ſonne (that was not proſcribed) did hide, being condemned, and ſteyng with him, ſaued his life. *Arianus* his good Sonne. An Epitaph.

Metellus the Father and the Sonne, the Father was a Captayne vnder *Antonie* at *Actio*, where he was taken pryſoner, and vnknowen: his Sonne ſerued *Caſar*, and was a Capitaine at the ſame fielde. When *Caſar* did gyue ſentence vppon the captiues at *Samo*, the yong man was preſente: The olde manne being brought forth all forlorne with long heare, miſerie and wante, and all tranſformed by the ſame, when in order of the captiues, he was called of the crier, hys Sonne lepte from hys ſeate, and embraced his Father, (whome he ſcarſly knew) with teares, and when he had ceaſed from ſorowe, hée ſayde to *Caſar*: This hath bene thine enimie O *Caſar*, and I thy friende, him thou muſte puniſhe, and me rewarde: I deſire thée to ſaue my Father for mée, or lette me die for hym. Euery man takyng pittie, *Caſar* commaunded *Metellus* to be ſaued, though he were hys very enimie, and afore deſyryng many gyftes, to be drawne from *Antonie*. *Metellus* father and ſonne. *Samo* an Ile ouer agaynſt Albo. A good Sonne.

The ſeruauntes of *Marcius* with good loue and Fortune, all the tyme of the proſcription, dyd kéepe hym within hys houſe, till feare ſet aſide, *Marcius* came out of his houſe, as from baniſhment. *Marcius* and his good ſeruaunts.

Hirtius wyth hys menne fleéyng the Cittie, wente aboute *Italie*, deliuered pryſoners, and gathered them togither that fledde, and toke townes, a few at the firſte, after moe in num-

ber till he had a ſufficient armie, and ouercame a parte of the *Bruttians*, from whence ſendyng his army, he ſayled with them al to *Pompey*.

Bruttij in Calabria.

Reſtio and a good ſeruaunt.

Reſtio, that thoughte he ſtedde alone, a Seruaunte followed hym ſecretelye, beeyng broughte vppe of hym, and afterwarde well vſed, but after, for euill conditions, brandyed.

When *Reſtio* reſted in a Fenne, and did ſée this Seruaunte ſo nighe hym, he was afrayde: to whome the Seruaunte ſayde, that hée did not ſo much remember his preſent brandes, as hée dyd his former benefites: and ſo cauſed hym to repoſe in a caue, and prouided meate for hym, as well as hée coulde: and after that the Caue was ſuſpected, and Souldyours drewe nighe to *Reſtio* where hée was, the Seruaunte perceyuyng the matter, followed and killed an olde man that paſſed by, and cutte off hys heade: the Souldiours beyng angrye, and commyng aboute to take the killer, hée ſayde, I haue kylled my Mayſter *Reſtio*, that gaue mée theſe brandes. They toke the heade, to haue the reward, and caryed it in vayne into the Citie. The Seruaunt comforted hys Mayſter and ſayled with hym into *Sicelie*.

Appion and a good ſeruant.

Appion reſtyng in a ſtable, the Souldiours ſought hym: his ſeruaunt put on his garment, and lay vppon his bedde and willingly receyued death for hys Mayſter, he ſittyng by him in the forme of a ſeruaunt.

Memmius and a good ſeruaunt.

Memmius houſe was ſoughte of the Souldiours, one of whoſe Seruauntes wente into a litter, hys fellowes bearyng hym as he hadde bene theyr Maiſter, and beeyng taken, he was contente to die for his Maiſter, who fledde into *Sicelie*.

Iunius and a good ſeruaunt.

Iunius hadde a free made manne, *Phileman*, who hadde a fayre houſe, where hée kepte hys Mayſter in a vaughte, in whiche they are wonte to laye Harneſſe, Money, or Writinges, and fedde hym in the nyghte, tyll the Peace was made.

And

An other free made man, kéepyng the Sepulchre of hys Maſter, did alſo preſerue his Maiſters Sonne in the ſame graue, together with his Father.

Lucretius wanderyng with two faythfull ſeruauntes, for lacke of meate, returned to hys wyfe, beyng borne in a litter of hys ſeruauntes, into the Citie, as a ſicke man: when it happened that one of the ſeruaunts had broken hys legge, hée wente on with the other, tyll hée came to the gates, where hys Father afore beyng proſcrybed of *Sylla*, was taken. The Souldiours commyng aboute hym, hée was muche afrayde for the lucke of the place, wherefore hée fledde with a ſeruaunte, and was hydde of hym in a graue, and chaunſing that robbers of Sepulchers dyd ſearche graues, the ſeruaunt offered hymſelfe to bée ſpoyled of the robbers, whyles the maiſter fledde to the gates, and tarried tyll hys ſeruaunt came to hym, whoſe garmentes hée put on, and wente to hys wyfe, vnder whoſe care beyng kepte, hée was hidde betweene two beames, till hée was pardoned, by meanes made for him of ſome, to the three menne. And after peace was made, he had the office of a Conſull. *Lucretius.*

Sergius was hydde of *Antonie* hymſelfe, tyll hée hadde perſwaded *Plancus* the Conſull to proclayme hys reuocation agayne. In the diſſention of *Cæſar* and *Antonie*, when *Antonie* was declared enimye of the Senate, hée onely openly gaue voyce for hys acquitall. *Sergius.*

And thus theſe were ſaued.

Pomponius decked hymſelfe lyke a Prætor, and hys ſeruants, lyke the Sergeaunts, and ſo went thorough the Citties with his maces and Officers rounde aboute hym, that hée ſhould not bée knowne: and at the gates hée toke publyque coaches, and wente thorough *Italie*, euery manne receyuyng hym, and ſendyng to hym as a Prætor appoynted of the three menne, to make truce with *Pompey*, to whome alſo hée came in a publike Galley. *Pomponius.*

Apuleius and *Aruntius* counterfaiting themſelues to be Capitaynes, *Apuleius. Aruntius.*

pitaynes, and their seruauntes Souldiours, ranne to the gates as Capitaynes, and pursued others, and by the way, they deliuered prysoners, and receyued suche as came to them: so as eyther of them had a sufficient bande, with Ensignes and armour, and shewe of an army. And chancing that by diuerse wayes they went toward the Sea, they bothe camped in one hil, with great feare lokyng one to another.

In the morning, not hauyng clére sight, and thinkyng that eyther of them had bene sente to destroy the other, they fought it out very fiercely, tyll they knewe the truthe. Then repentyng that déede, they threw away their weapós, and wayled that fortune shoulde be so contrarie to them, and toke shippe, the one saylyng to *Brutus*, the other to *Pompey*. And he went on with *Pompey*: and the other vnder *Brutus* was president of *Bythinia*, and when *Brutus* was dead, deliuered it to *Antonie*, and was saued.

Ventidius good seruauntes.

A seruaunt of *Ventidius*, when he was firste condemned, put him in letters, as though he woulde haue deliuered hym to the killers: in the night he perswaded hys felowes, and cladde them lyke Souldiours, and his mayster lyke a Capitaine, and wente out lyke a bande appoynted, and brought his mayster out of the Citie, passing through *Italy* into *Sicelie*, many tymes méeting other Capitaynes that sought *Ventidius*.

Another hidde hys mayster in a Sepulchre, and when hée coulde not abyde the fearfulnesse of lanke in the Sepulchre, hée hidde him in an homely house, nygbe the whiche a Souldiour dwellyng, he coulde not abyde that feare neyther: Wherefore turnyng from feare to extréeme boldenesse, he shaued hys head, and played the schoolemayster in *Rome* till the truce.

Volutius.

Volutius being *Aedile*, was condemned. He hauyng friendship with a Priest of *Isis*, borowed a stole and a vesture downe to the foote, and put on a dogges heade, and in that maner of furious seruice, passed safe to *Pompey*.

The priestes of *Isis* vvere clad vvith a garment that had a dogs head.

Caleni. in *Campania*.

Sittius.

The *Calenians* dyd kéepe *Sittius* the Citizen, that had liberally spent of his substance vpon them, & with weapons warded him, rebuking his seruants, & kéeping the soldiours frō the walles, till

the

the furye beeyng paſte, they ſent to the three men for him, and obtayned that *Sittius* excluded from the reſt of *Italy*, ſhould remaine in his countrey. So *Sittius* is the firſte and onelye man, that as a ſtraunger, was an outlawe in his owne countrey. A banished man in his countrey.

Varro a Philoſopher, and a writer of Hiſtories, hauing done good ſeruice in the warres, and in place of a Lieutenaunt, and therefore peraduenture as an enimie to the Monarchie, was condemned. His friends beeyng deſirous to receiue him, and contending for hym, *Calenus* obtayned hym, and kept him at his Vineyarde, whither *Antony* came ſometyme to walke, and yet neuer a one within, did bewraye *Varro*, neyther of hys owne ſeruaunts, or of *Calenus*. *Varro*. It is ſaide, that *Antony* pardoned *Varro* with theſe wordes, *Viuat Varro vir doctiſſimus*.

Virginius an eloquent man, taughte his ſeruauntes, that if they kylled him for a little money, and that with danger, they ſhoulde get hate, and at length be in great feare: but if they ſaued him, they ſhould win ſure glory, good hope, and hereafter money muche more abundant and certaine. Wherefore they fled with him, as with their fellowe ſeruaunte, and in the way beeing knowne, they fought with the ſouldiours: and he being taken of them, tolde them alſo, that they woulde not kill hym for anye malice, but for onelye hope of money, which they ſhoulde haue more iuſtlye and plentifullye, if they would go with hym to the ſea, where (quoth he) my wife hathe a ſhippe with mony. They being perſuaded, brought hym to the ſea: his wife, as ſhee was appointed, came to the ſea, and bycauſe hir huſbande tarryed, thinking he had bin gone to *Pompey*, ſhe went hir way, leauing a ſeruãt on ſhore to ſhewe him ſo. Whẽ *Virginius* was come, the ſeruant ranne vnto him, and ſhewed him where his ſhippe ſayled, what his Maiſtreſſe ſaid of the money, and that he was left behinde to tell him. The ſouldiours perceiuing al to be true, *Virginius* deſired them to ſtaye, til he might call his wife backe, or goe with him to hir for their mony. They toke a boate, and with great labour rowed him into *Sicelie*, where receyuing their promiſe, they woulde not goe from him, but tarryed with him till the ende. *Virginius*.

A certaine Marriner receyued *Rebulus* into a ſhippe, to goe *Rebulus*,

into *Sicelie*, and required his mony, which if he had not, he would accuse him, that he didde, as *Themistocles* did, when he fledde, that is, threatned he would accuse him, for receyuing him for mony: wherefore, the Mariner was afrayde, and broughte him vnto *Pompey*.

Themistocles.

Murcus.

Murcus being a Lieutenante vnder *Brutus*, was condemned, and when *Brutus* was ouercome, he was taken, and made himselfe as a seruant, whome *Barbula* bought, and perceyuing him to be apte, made him chiefe of his fellowes, and gaue him money to beestowe: and when he sawe him still more wise and diligent than the common nature of seruantes, he put him in hope, that if he were one of the proscribed men, he woulde saue him, if he woulde confesse it. He denying it earnestly, and declaring his stocke, his name, and former maysters, he caried him to *Rome*, thinking, if he had bene a condemned man, he woulde haue refused to goe. But he followed chearefully, and being at the gates of the Consuls house, a friend of *Barbulas* that sawe *Murcus* in seruile maner wayting vpon him, did secretly tell him in his eare. He (by *Agrippa*) obteined of *Cæsar*, that *Murcus* was pardoned, and remained friende to *Cæsar*. Not long after, it happened that he was a Captaine in the warre againste *Antonie*, at *Actio*, and *Barbula* was a Capitayne of *Antonies*, where fortune came about to bothe alike. For, when *Antonie* was ouerthrowen, he was taken, and counterfeyted to be a seruant, whome *Murcus* bought as ignorant. But shewing all to *Cæsar*, he obteyned his pardon, and so requited his former benefit. To these fortune was like on both sides, and so continued: for they were officers togither in one dignitie at *Rome*.

Tarbulas.

Barbula.

Equall fortune.

Balbinus.

Lepidus deposed.

Mecænas.

Balbinus fleeing, and returning with *Pompey*, and being made Consult, it hapned that *Lepidus* of so great a Prince being made a priuate man by *Cæsar*, came to this necessitie, ỹ when *Mecenas* did accuse *Lepidus* his sonne of conspiracie againste *Cæsar*, and also accused the mother, as consenting to hir sonne, and *Lepidus* himselfe, as a weake man, he despised: the sonne he sent to *Cæsar*, to *Actio*: for the mother, bicause she was a woman, and not to be caryed, he required suretie to be putte before the Consull. But when

when no man would be his suretie, *Lepidus* wayted many times at *Balbinus* doores, and comming where he sate in Iudgemente, and being ofte repulsed of the officers, at length (with much ado) he spake thus:

The accusers do confesse mine innocencie, affirming, that I am neyther consenting to my wife nor my sonne. I diode not proscribe thée, when I was one of the Proscribers. Haue respect vnto the chaunces of the worlde: and to me, that attende vpon thée, giue this grace, that eyther my wife may goe to *Cæsar* vpon my suretie, or I be bounde to goe with hyr. *Lepidus* sute for his wife.

Whiles *Lepidus* spake this, *Balbinus* considering the mutation, deliuered the wife of his bonde.

Yong *Cicero* was sent of his father into *Grecia*, foreseeing what would come. From *Greece* he went to *Brutus*, & after *Brutus* death, to *Pompey*, & with both was honoured with the place of a Lieutenaunt. And after them, *Cæsar*, to cleere himself of *Ciceros* iniurie, made him straight the Bishop, and not long after, Consul, and President of *Syria*. And whē *Cæsar* ouercame *Antony* at *Actio*, he was yet Consul, and *Cæsar* wrote to him of it, which Letters he readde to the people of *Rome*, and sate in that seate of Iustice, where his fathers head was put. *Cicero* the son. The Bishops of old *Rome* were Magistrates & Iudges of religion.

Appius diuided his substance among his seruants, and sayled with them into *Sicelie*. They watching for his mony, a storme rysing, put him into a boate, that they might saple with the more safetie: but it chaunced, that he in the boate was saued beyonde all hope, and they drowned with they' shippe. *Appius.*

Publius, a treasurer of *Brutus*, and of the familie of *Antony*, was requested to forsake *Brutus*, which because he would not do, he was proscribed: yet he returned, and was a friende to *Cæsar*, and when *Cæsar* came to him, he woulde shewe him *Brutus* picture, for the which he was praysed of *Cæsar*. *Publius.*

These things, beyonde hope, happening to the proscribed men, both in daunger and safetie, many moe being omitted, I thought chiefe to be declared.

When matters had thus passed in *Rome*, all the places about, for these troubles, were ful of enimies, & great warres fell out:

In *Libya* of *Cornificius* againſt *Sextius*: in *Syria* of *Caſſius* againſt *Dolobella*: in *Sicilia* of *Pompey*, where great affliction was among the Citties for this captiuitie. I will ouerpaſſe the leſſe: the greateſt, that appeared more worthie than the reſt, in *Laodicea*, *Tharſus*, *Rhodes*, *Patareans*, and *Xantheans*, and euery of them, which from the beginning in order I haue gathered to write, were theſe. The Romaines call that parte yet olde *Libya*, which they wanne of the *Carthaginenſes*: that, whiche King *Iuba* helde, and was after gotten by *Cæſar*, they call Newe *Libya*, and may bee of *Numidia*.

Olde *Libya*.

Nevve *Libya*.

Sextius being preſident of Newe *Libya* vnder *Cæſar*, commaunded *Cornificius* to giue place in the olde, as thoughe all *Libya* was *Cæſars* by lot.

Sextius.

Cornificius.

When the three men made their diuiſion, he ſayd, he knew no ſuche diuiſion made of the three men among themſelues, nor woulde deliuer the Prouince, which he had receiued of the Senate, but onelye to them againe. And for this cauſe they made warr one againſt another.

Cornificius had an armye well appointed and great in number: *Sextius* had lighte harnelled, and fewer, by the whiche comming abroade, hee cauſed men to reuolte from *Cornificius*, and gaue repulſe to *Ventidius*, a Captaine of *Cornificius*, comming vpon him luſtily, and beſieged him.

Lelius an other Captayne of *Cornificius*, went abrode, and wan *Cirta* and other places from *Sextius*, and they all ſent to *Arabion* the king, and to them that were called *Sittians*, to take part with them in the warre, which were ſo called for thys cauſe. *Sittius* in *Rome*, not abiding ſentence in his own quarrell, fled, and gathering an army, came frō *Italy* and *Spaine*, into *Libya*, and toke a part among the *Libyan* Kings that warred togither, and with whom he ioyned and gotte the victorie, he was called a *Sittian*, becauſe his army did very valiantly.

Cirta a Cittie of *Numidia*, vvhere *Iugurth* kylled *Adherbal*.

Arabion.

Sittius.

Sittians.

When *Caius Cæſar* did perſecute *Pompeys* friends, he did fyghte for him in *Libya*, and ouerthrewe *Sabura*, *Iubas* Lieutenant, a famous man: For whiche cauſe *Sittius* was rewarded of *Cæſar*, with king *Manaſſes* land, not al, but the beſt part of it. *Manaſſes* was

Manaſſa.

Manaſſes.

was this *Arabions* father, and confederate with *Iuba*: His lande *Cæsar* gaue to *Sittius* and to *Bocchus* king of the *Mauſians*, one part whereof *Sittius* diuided for the people vnder him.

Arabion fledde into *Iberia* to *Pompeis* children, and when *Caius Cæsar* was killed, he returned againe to *Libya*, and euer ſending ſome of his *Libyans* to the yonger *Pompey* into *Iberia*, and receyuing expert ſouldiours from thence, he toke hys lande from *Bocchus*, and diſpatched *Sittius* by craft: and being ſtill friend to the *Pompeyans*, and perceyuing their fortune to be full of infelicitie without hope, he agréede with *Sittius*, and ſoone by hym was reconciled to *Cæſar*. The *Sittians* alſo for his fathers beneuolence wyth *Cæſar*, ioyned wyth hym.

Seſtius being nowe emboldned, came from the ſiege to the fight, where *Ventidius* was ſlayne, and the army fledde without a guyde, whome he chaſed and killed, and toke many of them.

Lelius hearing of this, leuied the ſiege at *Cirta*, and wente to *Cornificius*.

Seſtius being hauty with this feat, went to *Cornificius* at *Vtica*, and encamped againſt him, hauing much people. And *Cornificius* ſending *Lelius* with horſmen to take a view, *Seſtius* ſent *Arabion* with his horſe againſt *Lelius*, at the face: & he with horſe better appointed, came vpon him on the ſide, and diſordred hym, ſo that *Lelius*, thoughe not inferior, yet fearing his retire ſhoulde haue bene ſhutte, toke an hill that was betwéene both, where *Arabion*, as hée was directed, kylled manye, and compaſſed the reſte.

Cornificius ſeeing this, came forthe wyth hys whole power, to helpe *Lelius*. *Seſtius* ſette vpon him on the back, with ſodayne charge, whome *Cornificius* endeuoured to repell with great trauaile. *Arabion* in the meane time créeping with his mē through the ſtony places, came ſecretly ouer mountaines vpon *Cornificius* campe.

Roſcius, that was keéper of the campe, being diſtreſſed, offered hys throate to be cutte of a Page. *Roſtius* kylled.

Cornificius wearie of the fyght, went to *Lelius* to the mountaine, not knowing what was done at his Campe, when *Arabions* *Cornificius* killed

rabions horsemen came vpon him, and killed him. *Lælius* seeing al this vpon the hill, kylled himselfe. When the Captaines were deade, the armies fled seuerally, and suche of the proscribed men as were with *Cornificius*, some fledde into *Sicelie*, and some whither they could. *Sextius* rewarded *Arabion* and the *Sittians* with goodly gifts, and the Cities he pardoned, to obey *Cæsar*.

Lælius kylleth hymselfe.

This was the ende of the warre in *Libya*, betwixte *Cornificius* and *Lælius*, very shorte, if a man consider the feates done wyth so great speede.

Brutus & Cassius.

With *Brutus* and *Cassius*, in comparison to these, little was done, and that was this: when *Caius Cæsar* was killed, the murderers toke the Capitoll, and when oblíuion of al thinges was decreed, they came down.

The people at the funerall of *Cæsar*, being moued wyth pitie, ranne aboute to seeke the quellers, and they driuing them backe from the toppes of the houses, went to the prouinces that *Cæsar* had appointed. *Cassius* and *Brutus* beyng yet Pretors in the Citie, were assigned also of *Cæsar* to prouinces, *Cassius* to *Siria*, and *Brutus* to *Macedonia*. And bycause they coulde not goe to their prouinces before their time, nor abide the hate of the Citie, they wente away, being yet in office: and the Senate, in consideration of them, appointed them Purueioures for prouision, that in that meane time, they shoulde not be thought to flée away.

Brutus & Cassius.

They beyng gone, *Syria* & *Macedonia* were apointed by decree to *Antony* and *Dolobella*, being then Consuls. The Senate, beeing very muche grieued, gaue them in steade thereof *Creta* & *Cirene*, whiche they not regarding, in shorte tyme gathered much money and men, and entred *Syria* and *Macedonia*. And thus they wrought.

When *Dolobella* hadde kylled *Trebonius* in *Asia*, and *Antonie* hadde ouercome *Decimus* in *Celtica*, the Senate being offended, did decree *Antonie* and *Dolobella* to be enimies, and restored *Brutus* and *Cassius* to their former prouinces, and added to *Brutus Illyria*, commaunding al other that were rulers of the Romaine dominion, as well of prouinces as armies, to obey *Brutus* and

Illyria added to *Brutus*.

Cassius.

Cassius. After this, *Cassius* preuented *Dolabella* entring into *Syria*, & vsed the tokens of that office, and gathered twelue legions, that for the moste parte, hadde serued, and bin trained vnder *Caius Cæsar*, one of the whiche, *Cæsar* hadde lefte in *Syria*, to goe to the war against the *Parthians*. The charge of this, had *Cecilius Bassus*, but the dignitie, *Sextus Iulius* hadde, a yong man and *Cæsars* kinsman, who being lasciuious, and suffering the legion to fall to riot, *Bassus* reproued him: wherefore he fell out with *Bassus*, and called hym rascall, and after waxing more disobedient, *Bassus* commaunded hym to be broughte of the Sergeants, whereof a tumulte growing, and *Bassus* beyng in daunger to be killed: the armye, not abiding that disorder, killed *Iulius*: of the whiche repenting them by and by, and fearing *Cæsars* displeasure, they agréed togither, that vnlesse they had forgiuenesse, they woulde fyght til death, and to this they compelled *Bassus*: & getting an other legion, they trained them, with the which they valiātly ouercame *Sextius Murcus*, sente againste them with three legions from *Cæsar*. To *Murcus*, came in aide *Minutius Crispus* from *Bythinia*, with three other legions, and besieged *Bassius* with fiue legions. *Cassius* comming in relefe of *Bassius*, receiued hys armye freely by and by, and after, *Minutius* and *Murcus*, deliuering to hym their legions for goodwill, they obeyed him in all thinges as ỳ Senate cōmaūded. *Albinus* being sent of *Dolabella*, brought oute of *Aegipt* foure legions of the remnaunt of *Pompeius* and *Crassus* discomfiture, which of *Cæsar* were left vñ *Cleopatra*. *Cassius* set vpon him in *Palestina* (knowing nothing of these chaunces) so sodainely, that he compelled him to deliuer his armye, being afraide with foure legions to fyght againste eight. Thus *Cassius* (beyond al expectation) was Lord of twelue legions, and manye of the *Parthian* archers on horsebacke came to serue *Cassius*, hée being knowen among them, when he was an officer in *Crassus* campe. *Dolabella* remained about *Ionia*, dispatching *Trebonius*, and putting tributes vpon the Cities, and by *Lucius Figulus* hyring nauies of the *Rhodes*, the *Lycians*, *Pamphagonians*, and *Celicians*, which, whē they were ready, he determined to go into *Syria* himselfe by land with two legions, & *Figulus* by sea. And hearing

Bassus & *Sextus Iulius*

Murcus.

Minutius.

Trebonius.

L. Figulus.

ring of *Cassius* army, he tourned hys iorney to *Laodicea*, a Citie friendly to hym, ioyning to *Cherronesus*, and fitte for al furniture, as well for passage by Sea, as defence by lande. In the which place, he might prouide all thinges plentifullye from the Sea, and when he would, without feare safe from the lande.

Cherronesus, Morea.

Which *Cassius* seeing, and fearing that *Dolobella* should escape him, hauing gotten a place called *Isthmus*, almoste an Iland, not two furlongs ouer, he tok all the stones and tymber of the cotages, boroughs and sepulchres, to make a peere for ships. He sent to *Phœnitia*, *Lycia* and the *Rhodes*, and being reiected of all, but the *Sidonians*, yet he went againste *Dolobella*, and bothe of them hauing lotte numbers of shyps, *Dolobella* toke fiue, with al the men. *Cassius* sent againe to them that had despised hym, and to *Cleopatra* Quéene of *Aegipt*, and to *Serapion* Generall in *Cypres* for hir. The *Tyrians*, the *Aradians*, and *Serapion*, without any intelligence from *Cleopatra*, sent him as many ships as they hadde. The Quéene made excuse to *Cassius*, by hunger & pestilēce, wherwith *Aegipt* was oppressed: and for the familiarity with the former *Cæsar*, shee fauoured *Dolobella*, and with this determination, she sente hym four legions by *Albinus*, and another sufficient company, by sea (because of the winde) stayed.

Isthmus a narrowe land betweene twoo seas.

Aradini be of the Ile of *Aradus*, & it is one of the Cities of *Phœnitia* that maketh *Tripolis*, *Tyrus* and *Sidon* be the other.

Excuses of *Cleopatra*.

The *Rhodians* and the *Lycians* said, they would helpe neither *Brutus* nor *Cassius* in ciuill warres, and that they had giuen ships of passage to *Dolobella*, but not entred with him into any societie of warre. *Cassius* being prepared againe, with such as he had presently, encountred with *Dolobella* twice, and at the firste, they fought it oute with like fortune: but after *Dolobella* was too weake by Sea. Then *Cassius*, with a rampire, so beat the walles of the Cittie, that they were lyke to fade, and when he coulde not corrupte *Marsus*, that was chiefe of the watch by night, he warne the Captaines of the bands, that warded by the day. And *Marsus* resting by daye, the gates were opened, and he entred in diuers parts with his army.

Marsus.

Laodicea yeon.

Dolobella killed.

The Citie being taken, *Dolobella* had one of his Guard cutte off his heade and carrie it to *Cassius*, to saue his owne, whiche he did, and after killed himselfe. *Marsus* also did ridde his own life.

Cassius

Cassius hauyng gotten the Citie, sware the armie of *Dolobella* to himselfe. All the *Laodiceans* sacred and publyke things he spoyled, the chiefe of the Citie he punished, the other he oppressed with grieuous payments, and brought the Citie to extreme miserie. From *Laodicea* hee wente towarde *Aegypt*, vnderstandyng that *Cleopatra* dyd sayle with a greate nauie to *Cæsar* and *Antonie*, thynkyng hee myghte stoppe hir voyage, and be reuenged of hyr, vnderstandyng that *Aegipt* was in greate distresse for famine, hauyng no greate army of straungers, the Souldiours beyng gone with *Albinius*. Beyng in this hope and determination, *Brutus* in haste aduertised hym, that *Cæsar* & *Antonie* dyd passe the *Ionian* Sea. *Cassius* vnwillyngly, lefte the enterpryse of *Aegipt*, and sente away the *Parthian* Archers on horsebacke, wyth their rewardes, and messengers to theyr king for further ayde: whiche commyng when all was done, ranged *Syria*, and all the nighe nations to *Ionia*, and departed. *Cassius* lefte hys Nephewe in *Syria* with one legion: the horsemenne hee sente afore to *Cappadocia*. They suddenly sette vppon *Ariobarzanes* the kyng, as one that before meante to deceyue *Cassius*, and brought all his money and riches to *Cassius*. The *Tharsias* beyng at debate, the one parte honoured, *Cassius* comyng firste, the other *Dolobella* after him: and both of them did it, by the shew of the Cities authoritie: and embracing both, as the turne serued, either side (in such a chãgeable citie) vsed other extremely. When *Cassius* had ouercome *Dolobella*, he commaunded them to paye a thousand and fiue hundred Talentes: they not knowing what to doe, and beyng with despight requyred of the Souldiours thereunto, were compelled to sell all their priuate Iewels, and holy things in common, and other whiche they had for their triumphes and sacrifices, whiche not suffising, the Magistrates solde their free people. The firste was the Virgines and their men children, after their women and olde men pitifully, and then theyr youngmen, whereof many killed themselues. Beyng in this case, *Cassius* came from *Syria*, and stayed it for pitties sake, & released them of the rest of the Tribute. Thus *Tharsus* and *Laodicea* were punished. *Cassius* and *Brutus* consultyng to-

Laodicea spoyled

Ariobarzanes distressed.

Tharsus at diuisõ

A citie in *Cilicia* at the floudde *Cydno*.

The calamitie of *Tharsus*.

Cassius shewyth some pitie.

gyther

Counsell betvvene *Brutus* and *Cassius*.

gither, it seemed best to *Brutus* to remoue the armie from thence into *Macedonia* for greater consideration. Bycause it was sayde, they? enimies had fourty legions, and that eyght of them were past the *Ionian* sea. *Cassius* thought the multitude of the enimie not to be passed of, bycause in tyme their number shoulde be their destruction for wante: and therefore that they shoulde sette vpon the *Rodians* and *Licians*, friends to their enimies, and hauing nauies, least they should come vpon their backes, when they had agreed, they deuided their armies. *Brutus* went against the *Licians*, & *Cassius* agaynst the *Rodians*, for hee was brought vp there, & learned the Greeke tongue. And bicause they were very strong vpon the Sea, he prepared & exercised hys owne ships at *Guido*. The wise men of the *Rodes* were afrayd to come to fight with the *Romanes*, but the people was lusty, recounting their former feats against other maner of men than these. Their shippes also they gathered of the beste, of the whiche were. xxxiij. when they had done so, they sente some to *Mindo* to *Cassius*, requesting him he woulde not reiect the *Rhodes*, a Citie that euer did reuenge such as contemned them, nor the couentions betwene the *Rhodians* and the *Romanes*, that one shoulde not beare armes against the other: and if he did alleage any thyng for societie of warre, that they woulde vnderstande of the Senate of *Rome*, and they commaunding it, they sayde they would do it. Thus much they sayde. He answeared, that for the rest, warre must iudge in steede of wordes, & where the league cõmaunded they should not leaue armes one against another, the *Rhodians* did conspire with *Dolobella*, and ayded him against *Cassius*. But where it cõmaundeth that one should help another, and now that *Cassius* requireth it, they vse a shifte by the *Romane* Senate, which is scatered, and at this present destroyed by the Tyrannes that be in the Citie, which should be punished, and so should the *Rhodians*, taking their partes, onelesse they did as he commaunded them. Thus sayde *Cassius*. Whē this was knowne at *Rhodes*, the auncient men were the more afrayd. The people were persuaded by one *Alexãder* & *Manasses*, remembring vnto them that *Mithridates* came against the with many moe ships, & before him *Demetrius*. Therfore they made

Mindo, nowe Capo Crio.

The *Rhodes*, an Iland in the sea that is called Carpathio, the which in greatnesse, is next *Lesbus* and *Cyprus*.

Alexan-

Alexander their chief officer called *Prytanes*, & *Manasses* their Admiral. Neuertheleſſe, they ſent *Archelaus* embaſſadour to *Caſſius*, who was his ſcholemaſter in the Greeke, to intreate him familiarly: and when he had taken him by the hande, he ſpake to him as to hys acquayntance:

Prytanes was in *Athens* the chiefe Citie of *Asia*.

Thou that art a louer of the Greeke language, do not diſturbe a Greeke citie, nor the *Rhodes* (being a louer of libertie) nor deface the *Dorian* dignitie, neuer yet blemiſhed ſince it firſte began: nor forget ỳ goodly hiſtorie, which thou didſt learne at *Rhodes* and *Rome*. At *Rhodes*, howe muche the Citizens of the ſame haue euer ſtode to their defence, againſt nations & kings, and ſuch as were thought inuincible, as *Demetrius* & *Mithridates*, for their libertie, for ỳ whiche thou ſayſt thou trauayleſt. In *Rome* what we haue done for you, as wel againſt other as *Antiochus* the great: there be pillers ſet vp of you as monumẽts of vs. [illegible]thus much may be ſayd to you, O *Romanes*, of our natiõ, of our [illegible]thineſſe, of our ſtate, neuer yet in ſeruitude, of our ſocietie & choyſe of you. But in thée now (*Caſſius*) a certaine great reuerẽce, I ſay, remayneth toward this citie, thy nurſe, thy ſcole, thy Philiſtian & houſe, wher thou didſt dwell, & to my ſcole, & my ſelf, & to other things wherein I toke paynes. Now you well requite al this vpõ my countrie, ỳ it be not forced to make warre with thée that was nourished & brought vp in it, nor put vs to ỳ neceſſitie of one of two things, either that ỳ *Rhodians* ſhal all be deſtroyed, or *Caſſius* ouercome. I aduiſe thée further, beſide ỳ I haue prayed thée, that haſt tahẽ in hand this feate, for ỳ cõmon welth of *Rome*, ỳ thou always make the Gods the guydes in ſo great a cauſe. You *Romanes* did call the Gods to witneſſe, when by *Caius Caſar*, ye made ſolẽne league wt vs, and by othe cõfirmed the ſame & gaue vs your right hands, which enimies performe, & ſhal not frends and felowes do it: Reſtraine now for Gods cauſe, & for the glory among men, ſeing nothing is more barbarous than breach of league, which make the offendours to ſeeme vnfaithfull both to friend & foe. Whẽ the old man had thus ſayd, he did not let *Caſſius* hand go, but he wept & wiped his eyes with it, that with that manner he might moue *Caſſius*, who for reuerẽce was abaſhed, & võ ſome paſſiõ ſayd thus:

Archelaus ſcholemaſter to *Caſſius*.

Caſſius to Achelous.

‘ If thou diddeſt not perſuade the *Rodians* to doe me any iniu-
‘ rie, then thy ſelfe haſt done it: but if thou diddeſt exhort and ad-
‘ uiſe them, & couldeſt not perſuade them, then I do reuenge thee.
‘ I haue bene iniured euidently: firſte, bycauſe I aſking helpe of
‘ them, that nouriſhed and taught me, am contemned and deſpi-
‘ ſed: then, bycauſe they preferred *Dolobella*, (whome they ney-
‘ ther taught nor brought vp) before me: and that that is the more
‘ haynous, not onely before me, but *Brutus* and other noble men,
‘ whome you knowe well to be fledde from Tirannie, and to be
‘ ready to fight for libertie of our countrie. You the *Rodianes* lo-
‘ uers of libertie, preferred *Dolobella* before vs, he ſeekyng to take
‘ the ſame from other: and vs (whome now you ought to fauour,)
‘ you pretend, you will not deale with ciuill warre. It were ciuill,
‘ if we did couet vnlawfull power: but now opē warre is made of
‘ peoples rule, and [illegible] Tirannes ſtate: and you that haue popular
‘ gouernment, do forſake the ſame: and of them that do labour for
‘ their lawes, and beare good will to the *Romanes*, and be condem-
‘ ned to death without iudgement, that be proſcribed & confiſcate,
‘ you haue no pitie at all. But you anſweare, you will underſtand
‘ the Senates minde, which is now deſtroyed and can not helpe it
‘ ſelf. For ye knew the Senate had decreed to *Brutus* and me, that
‘ al the inhabitants betweene *Ionia* and the Eaſt, ſhould obey our
‘ cōmaundements. Thou makeſt a rehearſal what you haue done
‘ for vs at our wāts, for with good will you haue receyued reward
‘ againe. But you forget, that you denie help to vs, that ſuffer in-
‘ iurie, for the ſauing of our liberty, whom you ought if there had
‘ bene no friendſhip betwixt vs, but would now haue begon it, to
‘ haue ayded the cōmon cauſe of *Rome*, few beyng of the *Dorean* li-
‘ bertie. Ye bring forth alſo leagues (lacking other matter) that
‘ *Caius Caeſar* the firſt author of Tirannie did make with you, and
‘ ſay, that the *Romanes* and *Rodians* ſhould help one an other in their
‘ neceſſities. Helpe you then nowe the *Romanes* that in greateſt
‘ cauſe be in moſte perill. *Caſſius* a *Romane* borne, and a preſident
‘ of the *Romanes*, dothe chalenge that league, according to the
‘ decree of the Senate: in the whiche it did commaunde, that
‘ all the dwellers beyonde *Ionia*, ſhoulde obey vs. *Brutus* dothe

require

require the same, and *Pompey*, keeping the Sea for the Senates safetie. To decrees, we ioyne prayers for all them that be fleede from the Senate to me, to *Brutus* and to *Pompey*. It is the peoples publike decree, that the *Rhodianes* should help the *Romanes*, euery one as they haue neede. If we be neyther officers nor *Romanes*, but you take vs to be fugitiues, straungers, and condemned (as they name vs that haue proscribed vs) and that you haue nothing to do with vs, but with *Romanes* (& *Rhodianes*) and their leagues, then may we make warre with you as straungers, and free from confederacie, excepte you obey vs in all that we require. Thus *Cassius*, as it were dallying with *Archelaus*, sent him away. *Alexander* and *Manasses*, Captaynes of the *Rhodianes*, with their three and thirtie Shippes, sayled against *Cassius* to *Myndo*, to preuent him in the sea, hauing hope lightly to ouercome him, because they made that voyage into *Caria* against *Mithridates*, when they had happy ende of the warre: and vsing rowing for a shew, they sayled the first day to *Guido*, and the nexte, set vppon the *Cassianes*, whereat they marueiling, did encounter with them, shewing noble strength on both sydes. The *Rhodian* shippes were light, and gaue a suddayne onset on their enimies, and retired againe, and fetched what course they would. The *Romaines* were heauie, and abode by it, and when they ioyned with them, ouerlayde them like a fight on lande. *Cassius* with the multitude of his shippes did so beset the enimie, that they could not compasse, nor retire at their pleasure, but onely afore hande giue a charge, and retire againe: and that commoditie was taken away by the streightnesse of the place. For their comming vpon the *Romanes* great shippes with their sharpe stemmes, dyd no good, because the *Romanes* stode vnmouable against their light vessels. In the ende, three of the *Rhodianes*, with all the men in them, were taken, two were broken and sonke, the rest fore beaten, fledde to the *Rhodes*.

Guido a Citie like an Ilande in *Caria*.

Battayle by Sea betweene the *Romanes* & the *Rhodianes*.

The *Romaines* resorted to *Myndo*, and repaired their vessels that were bruised.

Myndus, a sea coast towne of *Caria*.

This was the ende of the fight by Sea, betweene the *Romanes* and the *Rhodianes*, which *Cassius* beheld from a Mountayne.

Lorenna is in Caria.

When he had repayred his Nauye, he sayled to *Lorenna*, a Castell of the *Rhodians*, and his footemen he committed to *Phanius* and *Lentulus*, to bee transported in greate Shippes. He sayled with fourescore vessels, whyche was a terrible sighte to the *Rhodians*. Being arriued at *Rhodes*, he stirred not, neyther with hys Nauye nor hys footemen, thinking they woulde haue yelded: but they came fiercely forthe to the fyghte, and hauing lost two Shyppes, they shutte themselues within the Portes of the Cittie, and toke armoure, and resisted the footemen that *Phanius* hadde sette a shore, and also *Cassius* that approched the walles next the Sea, not vnlitte for that sight: which he foreseeyng, had broughte Turrets with him, which he set vp, and assayled the Cittie both by sea and land, which being vnprouided for so suddayne a matter, must needes eyther by force or famine be ouerthrowen. The wise men of the Cittie, to auoide that daunger, hadde some talke with *Phanius* and *Lentulus*. In the meane time, *Cassius* was gote into the Cittie with the choyce of his army, vsing no force at hys entrie, whiche some thought to be by them that pitied the famishing of their Cittie.

Rhodes taken.

Cassius, hauing the Cittie in captiuitie, sate downe in ỹ Iudgemente seate, and pitched his speare in it, in token it was thrall, and badde them not to feare. He commaunded his armye vppon payne of death, not to make any spoyle. He called .50. *Rhodians* by name, whome he punished with death. Fiue and twenty ỹ would not appeare, he banished. He toke all the money that was gote of siluer, holy or publike, and appoynted a daye to euery mans bring in his priuate substance. He proclaymed deathe to them that hidde any thing. To the accuser, he proclaimed a third part, and to the bonde, libertie. Many at the beginning hidde their things, hoping the spoyle woulde haue no suche ende: but when they sawe men were bewrayed, they brought forth all for feare. Some was hidden in the ground, some in filthy pittes, and some in graues, out of the which more was brought, than at the first.

The hard dealing of *Cassius* vvith the *Rhodians*.

Spoyle of the *Rhodes*.

Thys was ỹ captiuitie of the *Rhodes*, to the rule of the which, *Lucius Varus* was left.

Cassius being encouraged with the speedy taking of this Cittie,

and

and abundance of money, commaunded the other nations of *Asia* to pay the tenne yeares tribute, whiche they did accordingly.

It was then reported, that *Cleopatra*, with great preparation of army and nauye, would sayle to *Octauian* and *Antony*, both for the friendship of the former *Cæsar*, and for feare of *Cassius*, who sente *Murcus* with his best Legionarie men and archers, with fourescore armed shippes, to *Peloponesus*, and staying at *Tenaro*, meant by preuention, to get the spoyle of all. *Pelloponesso.*

Cleopatra.

Morea.

Tenarum, a promontorie of *Laconica*, vvhere *Hercules* tooke his vvay to Hell.

The things that *Brutus* did in *Licia*, were not great: but thus they beganne.

Brutus.

Lycia a Countrey of little *Asia*, betvveene *Pamphilia* and *Caria*.

When he had the army of *Apuleius*, and gathered of the tributes of *Asia* fiftéene thousand talentes, he sayled into *Bœotia*, where he did receyue a decrée from the Senate, that he shoulde vse the same, and gouerne *Macedonia*: whyche beeyng knowen, he toke to hym thrée Legions from *Illyria*, the whyche *Vatinius*, then Lieutenante of *Illyria*, delyuered vnto hym. Another Legion he had of *Antonyes* brother in *Macedonia*, to the whyche, ioyning foure more, he was Lorde of eyghte Legions, the greater parte of the whyche, hadde serued vnder *Caius Cæsar*. Hée hadde also greate numbers of Horsemen, & archers, and other shotte. The *Macedonians* hée armed after the Italian manner. In gatheryng thus hys army and treasure, he had this goodnéss from *Thracia*.

Polemocratia, a Princes wife, and slayne of his foes, came to *Brutus* for the care of hyr sonne, and committed hym to *Brutus* handes wyth hyr Husbandes treasure. He delinered the chylde to be trayned of the *Ciceronians*, tyll he shoulde be sette in his fathers kingdome. He founde in the Treasure greate masses of golde and syluer, whyche he caused to be coyned, to make money.

Treasure, and a Princes childe delinered to *Brutus*.

Ciricus, an Ile in *Propontis*, vvith a Citie of that name.

When *Cassius* was come vnto *Brutus*, they consulted vppon theyr businesse, and determined to beginne the warre vppon the *Licians* and *Xanthians*.

The seege of *Xanthus* a Citie in *Lycia*, vvhiche shevved greate manlinesse before agaynste *Harpagus* Lieutenant to *Cyrus*.

And to beginne with the *Zanthians*, they of the Citie cutte off their suburbes, that *Brutus* should not vse the, nor haue cómodity

of any thing there, they compaſſed their Citie with a ditche, and vpon it made their defence. The ditche was fiftie foote deepe, and the breadth proportionate accordingly. Vpon it they ſtode, and threw their dartes & arrowes vpō the *Romanes*, diuided as with a cloud vnpaſſable. *Brutus* gote many Pioners, & couered thē with leather, to ouerthrow the ditche. He parted the army for ỹ night and the dayes labour, neuer ceaſſing, but as in a matter of great ſpæde, vſed the ſouldioures, to cōtend who ſhould do beſt. And though at the beginning it ſeemed he went about a tedious and fruteleſſe worke, yet in the end, he brought it to paſſe very quickly, contrary to the *Zanthians* opinion, whiche thoughte it woulde haue bin many monethes in doing, or not done at all. But nowe they are ſhutte vp, and driuen within their gates, with a greate change. He gaue daily aſſaultes at the gates, euer changing his men. They reſiſted, and put freſhe and ſounde men in the place of the weary and wounded, ſo long as their fortes helde: but when they were beaten downe, and all broken, *Brutus* thinking what woulde followe, commaunded his ſouldioures to retire from the gates.

Brutus beateth downe the Trench.

The *Zanthians* thinking that to bee done by negligence, iſſued out in the nighte with lightes to burne the *Romanes* engines, who being encountred of the *Romanes* that laye for them, retired to the gates, the keepers whereof, fearing the enimie ſhould enter alſo, ſhutte them out, whereof did followe a greate ſlaughter before the gates. Not long after, the *Romanes* going backe againe, the Citizens came out, and fired the engines: and bycauſe of the former loſſe, the gates were opened to them, at whoſe going in, two thouſand *Romanes* thruſt in with them, and more followed: at the which entrie, the gates fell downe, eyther ſuddaynely, or of purpoſe, the matter failing that held them vp. The *Romanes* were eyther killed, or ſhut in. The gates could not be opened, nor without ſome engine be remoued. The *Zanthians* threw vpon them in the ſtreetes from aboue. They hauing neyther bowe nor arrowes, gote into a ſtraight place, called *Sarpedone*, that they ſhould not vtterly be beſette aboute. The *Romanes* that were without, were carefull for them within,

The *Zanthianes* killed at theyr gates.

The *Romanes* in danger.

within, and *Brutus* ranne among them, to ſée that all help might be aſſayed. At the gates barred with yron, they could not get in, their ſcales and Towers being burned. Wherefore ſome made ſtalyng ladders preſently, and wente vp vppon timber, as vpon ladders: ſome tyed forkes to ropes, and threwe them to faſten on the wall, and climbed vp by coardes. The *Oenandians* theyr neyghboures, and enimies, and confederate with *Brutus*, gate vp ouer the rocky places, whiche when the *Romanes* ſaw, they followed with great labour, whereby many fell, and ſome that gote ouer, went to opē the gates, and layd timber ſo thicke, that they might come ouer: whiche they did. And being now many, they brake the gate, not being very ſtrōg, both they within and without helping to it: and the Souldiours entred in verye boldly, both at the broken gate, and ouer the wall, vpon the way made with timber, ſo as there was thrūſting in on euery ſide. The *Zanthianes* with greate ſhoutes ſet vpon the *Romaines* that were in *Sarpedono*. The *Romaines* at the gates, carefull for them both within and without, vſed all violence to make way, and as caried with a furie, they bare all downe afore them, making ſuche haſt and noyſe, as they might know within it, God working a change for them. And this was at the ſetting of the Sunne.

Oenandia is a Citie of *Caldea*, a little region of *Lycia*.

The *Romaines* ſaued in *Sarpedono* a holy place cloſed in the Citie.

The Citie being thus taken, the *Zanthians* wente into theyr houſes, and burned their moſt precious things, and wilfully offered their throtes to be cutte. The lamentation was ſo greate, that *Brutus* fearing the ſpoyle, called his Souldiours backe by a Trumpet: and when he knewe what was done, he pitied the ſtate of them for their liberties ſake, and ſent a truce vnto them. They repelling them that brought it, and bringing all they had, to ſtackes that they hadde made in their houſes, ſet the ſame on fire, and burned themſelues therewith.

The taking of *Zanthus*.

Brutus ſaued all the ſacred things, and only toke the Seruants of the *Xanthians*, and an hundred and fifty women frée and without husband. Thus three times the *Zanthians* periſhed for their libertie, being beſéged of *Arpalus*, Lieutenant of *Cyrus* the great. They killed themſelues rather thā they would be ſlaues, and the Citie was by him lefte to be their graue. And they ſay,

The oft ſacking of *Zanthus*.

they ſuffered the like of *Alexander*, *Philips* ſonne, and coulde not abyde to obey *Alexander*, though he were a Lord of ſo many landes.

Patarea a Citie in *Licia*, where *Apollo* gaue anſwveres the ſixth Monethes of Winter.

Brutus wente from *Xantho* to *Patarea*, a Citie (for affayres of the Sea) like vnto it: and bringing his army about the citie, he commaunded them to be obediente, vnleſſe they woulde ſuffer as the *Xanthians* had done. Some of the *Xanthians* were come vnto them, bewayling theyr miſfortune, and counſelling them to ſée better to themſelues. The *Patareanes* aunſwering nothing to the *Xanthians*, ſpent the reſt of the day in conſultation. Daye béeyng come, and *Brutus* approchyng, they cryed frō the walles, that they woulde obey hym in anye thyng he would, and opened theyr gates. He entred, neyther killing nor ſpoyling any man: only theyr golde and ſiluer that was the Cities, he gathered together, commaundyng euery mā to bryng in hys priuate goodes, vpon thoſe paynes that *Caſſius* had ſette vpon the *Rhodians*. And they dyd ſo.

Patarea yeelded.

A Seruaunt dyd accuſe hys maiſter for hydyng of money, and ſhewed a Capitayne that was ſente, where the golde was. All béeyng carryed away, the maiſter held his peace, but hys mother (wylling to ſaue hyr ſonne) cryed, that ſhe hadde hydde the money. The Seruaunte (not required to ſpeake,) affirmed ſhe ſayde not true, and that he hadde hidde it: whereat *Brutus* pitying the yong man in ſilence, and the mother in paſſion, ſente them away vnhurte, with the money they brought, and hanged the Seruante, that woulde haue betrayed hys maiſter.

Iuſtice of *Brutus*.

Andriaca the name of a Towne in diuers regions heere of *Licia*. *Myra* a Citie of *Lycia*.

Lentulus at this time being ſent to *Andriaca*, a notable porte for the Nauies of the *Myreans*, brake the cheyne of the Port, and went into the Citie. They obeyed hys commaundementes, and deliuered him their money, whych he carryed to *Brutus*. The *Lycians* ſente to *Brutus*, that they woulde obey hym, and ayde hym to theyr power. He putte a tribute vpon them, and gaue the frée men of the *Xanthians* to that Citie. He commaunded the Nauie of *Lycia*, to ſayle wyth the reſt to *Abido*, from whence he led his footemen, & abode *Caſſius* cōming frō *Ionia*, to goe together

Abydus is in *Aſia*.

to

to *Sestus*.

Sestus in *Europa*, diuided by the narrovv Sea called *Hellespõt*.

Murcus saiyng aboute *Peloponeso*, vnderstode that *Cleopatra* had a wracke by tempest aboute *Libya*, and that hir scattered fleuye was blowen to *Laconica*, and that she was so sicke, as vneth she coulde gette home agayne. And that he shoulde not seme to bryng out so greate a companye in vayne, he sayled towarde *Brunduse*, and toke the Ile nerte the Port, and kepte the rest of the enimies army, and theyr victuals, from *Macedonia*.

Laconia, a region of *Peloponesus*, sometime called *Hecctompoli*, of the C. cities that vvere conteyned in it.

Antonie came agaynste hym with those fewe long Shippes that he hadde, and at the nygh places annoyed hym wyth the Towers he hadde made. He sente hys armye by partes in greate Shyppes, obseruyng the wynde from the lande, that they shoulde not bee intercepte of *Murcus*: and beyng in some doubte, he called for *Cæsar*, that was in the coast of *Sicelie*, to matche with *Sextus Pompey*. Whyche matters wente after this sorte:

Antony against *Murcus*.

Pompey was the yonger sonne of *Pompey* the greate, beeing not accompted of *Cæsar* for hys youth like to atchieue any matter, and remayned in *Spayne*. He, in companye wyth a fewe theues, roued on the Sea, and was not knowen to be *Pompeys* sonne.

Pompey the yonger.

The number of the Rouers increasing, and hauing a good bande, he confessed he was *Pompeys* chylde. Wherefore all the remnant of hys fathers and brothers armye resorted to him, as to a familiar Captayne.

Arabion beeyng dispeopled in *Libya*, came vnto hym (as wee haue sayde) and hee hauyng thys multitude, hys actes were esteemed greater than as of a Pyrate, and *Pompeys* name sounded ouer all *Spayne*, full of people, so as the officers of *Cæsar* durst not meddle wyth hym: whyche when *Cæsar* hearde, he sente *Carina* wyth a greater armye to ouerthrowe *Pompey*. But he beeyng armed for the lyghte attemptes, suddaynely sette vpon hym, and troubled hym, and toke Cities both small and greate, for the whyche cause *Cæsar* sente *Asinius Pollio* to succede *Carina*, and to warre with *Pompey*, whyche at the

Arabion ioyneth vvith *Pompey*.

time that *Cæsar* was killed, did trie their power: after the which *Pompey* was reuoked of the Senate, and then he went to *Massalia*, to heare what was done, who being chosen Admirall as his father, he gathered all the Shippes he could get togither, and kept the Seas, but would not come to *Rome*. And when the three mens power began, he sayled into *Sicelie*, and beseeged the Captayne *Bythinicus*, that woulde not receyue him, till *Hirtius* and *Fanius* (condemned by proscription, and fledde from *Rome*,) caused that place to be giuen to *Pompey*. Thus *Pompey* was Lord of *Sicelie*, hauing a Nauie and Iland nigh to *Italy*, and a great army, both of them he had before, and also of them that fledde from *Rome*, both bond and free, and such as the Cities of *Italie* sent him, that were giuen in pray to the Souldioures: for these did detest in their hearts, the conquest of the three men, and as much as they could, secretly wrote against them. And as many as might get out of the Countrey, being nowe no more of their Countrey, fledde to *Pompey*, being at hande, and most accepted to the *Romaines* of that time. There came also to him Seamen from *Libya* and *Iberia*, skylfull in the water: in so muche, as *Pompey* was full of Captaynes, Shippes, Souldioures and money. Of the whyche when *Cæsar* vnderstoode, he sente *Saluidienus* with a Nauy, thinking it to be an easie matter to put *Pompey* from the Sea, and he passed through *Italy* to help *Saluidienus* from *Reggio*.

Saluidienus.

Octauius passeth to helpe *Saluidienus*.

Scylisqui a Towne in the end of *Calabria*. *Scylla* and *Caribdis*.

Pompey came againste *Saluidienus* with a greate nauie, and making the fyghte hard at the shallowes of the Ile aboute *Scyleion*, *Pompeys* Shippes were lighter, and exceeded in the promptnesse and experience of the skilfull Seamen. The *Romanes* were heauyer and greater, and the more vnfitte, as the manner of the shallow Sea is to whirle aboute, that the billowes breake on eyther side the water. *Pompeys* were the lesse troubled, for custome to the surgies, but *Saluidienus* Shippes could neyther stand firme for lacke of that experience, nor able to vse their oares, nor hauing fitte sternes for to turne at will, were sore troubled. Wherfore towarde the Sunne sette, *Saluidienus* first withdrew, and *Pompey* also did the like. The losse of shippes was equall. The other that were bruised and broken,

The fight by Sea, betweene *Saluidienus* and *Pompey*.

Saluidi-

Saluidienus repayred, lying at the port of that narow sea *Balaron*. *Balaron.*

Cæsar came and gaue greate fayth to the *Reggians* and *Ipponeans*, that they should be exempt from them that were gyuen in victorie, for he feared them most, bycause they were so nigh that narow cut. But when *Antony* sente for hym in haste, he sayled to him to *Brunduse*, hauyng on his leste hand *Sicelie*, entendyng then not to matche with *Pompey*. *Murcus* (when *Cæsar* came,) that hée shoulde not be inclosed of *Antony* and him, wente a little from *Brunduse*, waytyng by the way the great shippes that carried the armie to *Macedonia*, whiche were wayted of the Galleys, the winde being great, euen as they coulde wish. They sayled away chærefully without any néede of any Galleys, whereat *Murcus* was grieued, and wayted for their returne empty. But they (bothe then and after) caried ouer the army with full sayle, till all the army with *Cæsar* and *Antony* were passed. *Murcus* being thus hindred by fortune (as he thought,) taried for other passages, and preparations of new Souldiours from *Italy*, to hinder (as much as he coulde) the prouisions and the army leste: and to him *Domitius Oenobarbus*, one of *Cassius* Capitaynes, came, as to a seruice of great moment, with fifty shippes, one other legion, and Archers, that *Cæsars* army, not hable to be victualed otherwise sufficiently, but from *Italie*, it might as (he thought) be stopped from thence. Thus they with one hundreth and twentie galleys, and more shippes of burden, with a great army did scoure those seas. *Reggio* is the furdest Citie in *Italy* nexte *Sicelie*. *Ippona* vvas a citie sometime called *Vibona*, and *Vibon Valentia*, nowe there is but a little towne called *Biboua*. The army passeth.

Ceditius and *Norbanus*, whome *Cæsar* and *Antony* sente with fiue legions into *Macedonia*, and from thence to *Thracia*, went aboue the hilles a hundred and. xl. myles, tyll they came beyonde *Philip*, and toke the streyghts of *Torpido* and *Salapian*, the beginnyng of *Rascopolinus* lande, and the onely knowen way betwene *Europe* and *Asia*, and that was a let to *Cassius* army goyng from *Ceston* to *Abydus*. *Antony* & *Cæsar*. *Philippi* first called *Dathes*. *Torpido* and *Salapia*, straighes in *Thracia*.

Rascopolis and *Rascus* were brethren, of the bloud of the *Thracian* kings, and being Princes of one region, they differed in opinion, *Rascus* fauoryng *Antony*, and *Rascopolis Cassius*, eyther of them hauyng three thousand horse. *Cassius* Capitaynes, askyng of the *Rascopolis* and *Rascus* brethren diuided.

way *Nascopolis* sayde. The shorte and playne way goeth from hence to *Maronea*, and leadeth to the streights of *Salamina*, beyng possessed by y enimie, & is not to be passed. There is another way thrice so muche aboute, and harde to passe, where the enimie can not goe for lacke of victuall, from whence they might goe to *Thracia* and *Macedonia*. When they hearde thys, they wente by *Aeno* and *Maronea* to *Lysimachia* and *Cardia*, that receyue the straycht of *Cherronesus* as two gates: and the nexte day, they came to the gulfe of *Mellana*, where they mustered their men. They had nineteene legions of armed mē. *Brutus* tenne, and *Cassius* nine, none full, but with two thousande at the moste to be filled: so as they had about fourescore thousande. The horsemen of *Brutus* were foure thousand *Celtians* and *Lucitanians*, two thousande *Parthenians*, *Thessalians*, *Thracians* and *Illirians*: *Cassius*, of *Iberians* and *Celtians*, had two thousande, of *Arabians*, *Medians* and *Parthians*, Archers on horsebacke, foure thousande. The kings and Princes of the *Galatians* in *Asia* were their confederates, and folowed them with a greate hoste of footemen, and horsemen aboue fiue thousande. This great armie of *Brutus* and *Cassius*, was set in order at the gulfe of *Melane*, with the whiche they proceeded to the warre, appoyntyng other menne for other necessities. They purged the army by Sacrifice accordyng to the manner, and fulfilled promises made for money, giuyng liberally to winne mennes hartes, as they might well, hauyng suche plenty of richesse, bycause there were many that had serued vnder *Caius Cæsar*. And that none shoulde make any stirre at the sight or name of newe *Cæsar*. it was thought méete to speake to the army. There was a greate seate, in the which sate none but Senatours and Pretors. The rest, as wel *Romanes* as straungers, stode about below: glad they were to see one another, as they that were stronger than they supposed. Boldnesse and great hope grew at the sight of the army, whiche thing increaseth the good wil of Souldiours to their Captaine, & hope that is cōmon, getteth beneuolence. The noyse that hereof was made, did cease by the trumpets and criers: and *Cassius*, bicause he was elder thā *Brutus*, came a little forth, and thus sayde to the army:

Maronea, citie of *Cicionians*.
Salamina, ouer agaynst *Attica*.
Aeno, where *Polydorus* was buried.
Maronea, of *Ciconia*
Lysimachia, Exasmili.
Cardia, Citie.
Melane, the cost.
Lucitanians.
The muster of *Brutus* and *Cassius* army.
Liberalitie of *Brutus* and *Cassius*.

This

This contention, O Souldiour felowes, as it is common to vs all, and therfore causeth vs to trust one an other: so is it conuenient, that we do performe to you, all that we haue promised, the whiche is the greatest trust, that wee will fulfill whatsoeuer we promise you hereafter. The hope consisteth in the vertue of you that be Souldiours, and in vs whom you see aboute this seate, so many, and so great men of the Senate: and also, in the plentyfull furniture of all thynges whiche you see, of victuall, of armure, of money, and of Shippes, of confederates of Nations, and Kynges, that of necessitie, they by reason muste bee ready, to be willyng and agree, whome the prouision and common cause hath ioyned togyther. Whereof the two men our enimies do calumniate vs, you know throughly, and for that do you serue with vs willyngly. Therefore nowe it is fitte to declare, the cause, whiche shall chiefly shew, that wee haue the beste, and moste iuste pretence of this warre. We, that haue made *Cæsar* great, by folowyng hym and leading you in the warres, did continue his friendes to the ende, so as it shall not appeare, that he was entrapte of vs for any enimity. In maters of peace, he is to be blamed, not of vs his friendes, in the which we haue bene honored, but by lawes, and order of the common wealth, whereof now no law, no rule of the best, nor peoples power remayneth: all the which our fathers framed, when they expelled the kings, and by othe confirmed, neuer after to receyue other: to the which othe, their posteritie, of the same minde, consenting, and puttyng from them the execrations thereof, they could not longer endure, to see one man, though he were a friende and beneficiall, that did conuert to himselfe the publique treasure, the armies, the elections of officers frō the people, the gouernments of nations from the Senate. Yet he was a law in steede of lawes, and a Lord in steede of the people, and a Prince in all respectes in steade of the Senate. The whiche peraduenture you doe not perfitely know, but only consider his valiantnesse in the warre. But now you may easily learne it, by ẏ things only that touched your selues. You the people, in the warre, do obey your Generalles as your Lords. The same condition you receyue of vs againe in peace,

The Oration of *Cassius*.

the

'the Senate prouidyng, that you be not deceyued, your selues be-
'ing Iudges and lawmakers, accordyng to your companies and
'societies, creatyng Consulles, Tribunes and Prætors, and by
'your voyces iudging ỳ greatest things, punishing or preferring
'them, as they thought you worthie punishment or preferment.
'This retribution (O Citizens,) hath broughty our authoritie to
The authority of the people. 'highe felicitie: for you haue preferred the worthy, and they be-
'ing preferred, haue rendred like thanke to you. For this worthi-
Scipio made Consul before his time. 'nesse you made *Scipio* Consull, when you testified for him in the
'matters of *Libya*, and made, whome you woulde, Tribunes of
'euery age, of your selues, as was fitte for your causes. What
'nede I to rehearse many things that you already knowe,
'but that, since *Cæsar* bare rule, you coulde create, neyther Con-
'sull, Prætor, Tribune or Officer, nor coulde testifie for any
'mans vertue, nor receyue mutuall testification for your selues.
'And to speake of the chiefe, no man gaue you thankes for any
'office, for authoritie, for iustice or correction. And that that
'was moste to be lamented of all other, you could not helpe your
'Tribunes, when villanie was done them, that you shoulde not
'retayne your power continual, and make it sure and inuiolable:
'but your selfe see them, that ought to haue bene vntouched, and
'their authoritie inuiolate, and their ornaments sacred, to be con-
'demned without any iudgement, by the commaundement of one
'onely, because they seemed to be grieued with them that woulde
'haue declared him a kyng, the whiche the Senate toke moste
'grieuously for your sake. For, the Tribuneship is yours, not the
'Senates. Yet yée could not plainly allude that man, or bring him
'to iudgement, because of hys mightie armies, whiche belonging
'to the publique state, he chalenged for hys priuate pleasure: the
'whiche entendyng to be reuenged of the reste of his Tyrannie,
'conjured against his body. The sentence did necessarily pro-
'céede from the belfe, the feate was done of a fewe. So soone as
'it was done, the Senate decreed it a common agréement, and
'that openly, that the rewardes for killyng Tirannes might be
'put in vre. *Antony* saying that, vnder a pretence of tumulte,
'and we not thinkyng our selues worthy reward to the Citie,

rather

rather than by it, to helpe our countrey, this was stayed, because they would not any contumely should be shewed to *Cæsar*, but only a releasement of his Tyrannie, euery man detræyng a forgetfulnesse, as a thing of moste suretie, that no matter shoulde bee made of the murder. *Antony* by litle and litle withdrawing the people from vs, the Senate gaue vs great offices of prouinces and armies, commaunding all the lande betweene *Ionia* & *Syria* to obey vs: whether punishing as offendours, or honoring vs, with solemne purple, with maces and Sergeants: by the whiche reason, they called *Pompey* from banishment, beyng a yong man, and not acquaynted with the thing, but onely because he was Sonne to *Pompey* the great, who trauayled for the peoples rule: and because he was secretely in *Spaine* to auoyde tyrannie, they restored him to the value of his fathers goodes, by the common treasure, and made him ruler of the sea, that he might haue some authoritie, beyng of the peoples faction. What other acte or token of the Senate do yée require, than that all this was done by their sentence: onelie it be not inough to confesse it by worde, but to do it & say it, and togither with their sayings to rewarde you with great gifts, because whē they say it, they can performe it. Now you know how men be hādled: they be proscribed without iudgement, & their goodes be publicate, they be killed without sentence in their houses, in theyr porches, in the Temples: of Souldiours, of seruants, of their enimies: drawen from their priuie houses, and pursued in euery place. Where ẏ law permitteth a man that will, to flée into the common place, where neuer no enimies head was brought, but only armour & shippe stems, now the heds of Consuls, of Prætors, of Tribunes, of Questors and of Gentlemen be brought, and a reward appointed for the euill. This is an insurrection moste cruell that euer was against all sortes, a sodaine slaughter of men, and a straunge hate of women, children, freemade men, and seruaunts: so farre and to suche a change is our citie turned. The authors of all this mischiefe, be the three men, whiche afore other, haue proscribed their brethren, their uncles, and swearyng one an other. Our Citie (memie say) was taken of the wilde & barbarous, yet the *Celtes* cut off no

heads, nor died villany vñ the they toke, nor prohibited any man to hyde himself, or flee ẏ warre: neither did we euer vse any cittie so, which we haue takē by force, neither haue we persuaded other to do, ẏ now, not a priuate citie, but the chief of al, doth suffer, of them that affirme they do reforme and direct the common wealth. What like thing did *Tarquinius*, whom, for ẏ iniurie done to one woman, & that procēding of loue, & being a king they banished, and for this only act, could neuer abide a kingdome. And whiles these thre (O citizens) do thus, they terme vs seditious, & say they wil reuēge *Cæsar*. They do proscribe thē ẏ were not present whē he was killed, of ẏ which, here be many whō you se, being cōdēned for their riches or houses, or for fauoring ẏ peoples gouernmēt. By ẏ which reason, *Pōpey* also was proscribed vñ vs, beyng far of, in *Iberia*, when we did ẏ deede, bicause he is detēted of a father ẏ loued the peoples state, & for ẏ he was called home of ẏ Senate, & made admirall of ẏ sea, be is of these thre men cōdēned to death. Did wee cōspire against *Cæsar*, whome they haue condēned in a paymēt? What did an .10000. of the people, whō they haue cōdemned to pay, vpō payne, & accusations, & proscribed thē onlesse they do it, where of they ought to be free? And they ẏ withal they haue done, cā not yet performe theyr promise to their Souldiours, we that haue done no wrong haue performed our promise to you, & reserue ta do more, when time shoulde serue. Thus God hath shewed his helpe to vs doing iustly, and with God, you haue now to consider men, whō you se here your Citizens, whō you haue seene your Pretors, your Cōsuls many tunes with prayse, now you se thē fleyng to you, as to well doers, & louers of the people, taking our part, & wishing wel to the rest ẏ we shal take in hand. Wee iust rewardes be propounded of vs to ẏ preseruers of thē, than theirs ẏ would destroy thē. They care not for vs that killed *C. Cæsar*, ẏ would haue ruled alone, & others, that were with vs, which remain in despite of his tirānie, & take not the rule to thēselues, but leaue it to ẏ people according to the country lawes. This war is not takē of like cause. They make it for power & tirannie, whiche they haue shewed in their proclamatiō: we make it for no such matter, but only ẏ our cōtrey

they being set frée: we may liue priuatly vnder ỹ lawes in order, al good men, & the Goddes chiefly do iudge our cause. The best hope to him ỹ maketh warre, is his iust cause. Let it not trouble vs, though we haue serued vnder *Cæsar*, for we serued not vnder him, but vnder our coûtrie. The gifts that were giuen, were not *Cæsars*, but ỹ coûtries & publique, neither is this ỹ armie of *Brutus* or *Cassius*, but ỹ *Romanes*, we being your felow soldiours & *Romane* captaynes. Whiche if they ỹ make warre against vs would vnderstãd, euery mã might safely lay downe his armure, & render all the armies to ỹ citie, & make choyse of such as might be profitable to it, which we only desire. But seing they wil not chose this, for ỹ wicked tyrãnie they haue shewed, let vs, (O warre felows) go to it with sure hope, to serue, as frée, the *Romane* Senate & people for their libertie. Then euery mã cried, let vs go, let vs go, & we desire to marche out of hande. *Cassius* being glad of this forwardnesse, caused siléce to be made againe, & thus sayd: All the Gods ỹ be Lords of warre, requite (O war felows) your faith & promptnesse. Now then vnderstand what prouisiõ we that be your Captaines haue made, as men ỹ be fauoured of the Gods, & how farre we exceede our enimies in number & goodnesse. We haue armed legions equall with them: we haue fortified our places with good garde, as wel as they: in horsmen & nauies, we do passe them: in aliance of kings & princes, & nations from *Asia*, we surmount thẽ. They come vpõ vs only on ỹ face, we go vpon them on the backe also. For we haue *Pompey* in *Sicelie*, & *Murcus* in *Ionia*. *Norbanus* also lieth wt a great nauie & two legions, to stoppe their passage by sea: all places behinde vs be voyde of enimies both by land & sea. As for mony, whiche some call ỹ strength of warre, they want, neither can performe their promise to their old soldiours, nor exact so much of ỹ condẽned men as they supposed, because none of their frends is willing to buy ỹ places, which they haue put to sale: otherwise they can get nothing: for *Italy* is wasted with sedition, tributes & condẽnations. We with great care haue got present plẽty, wherewith we may gratifie you againe, and muche more collected of the nations behynde vs, to bée broughte vnto vs. And victuall, the greatest wante to mighty

Money the strength of warre.

armies, they haue none, but onely from *Macedonia* a mount-
taine countrie, and *Theſſalia* a ſtraight region, whiche with great
toyle, they muſte conuey by lande. For if any thyng be brought
them from *Affrica*, *Lucania*, or *Iapigia*, *Pompeius*, *Murcus* and *Domi-*
tius ſhall ſhutte them vp. We bothe haue and ſhall haue from
the Sea, the Ilandes and all places of the continent, euery day
without any difficultie, betweene *Thracia* and the ſtoude *Eu-*
phrates, and that without daunger, no enimy beyng at our backe:
wherefore, it is in our power to doe our feate wyth ſpeede, or to
doe at leyſure, to conſume our enimies with hunger. Thys
haue you, (O felow Souldiours) by mans prouiſion, the reſte
ſhall anſweare in order, thorough you, and the Gods. We haue
gyuen you for former matter, all that we promyſed you, requi-
tyng your fayth with multitude of gyfts, the greater labour we
will worthily recompence accordyng to the determination of
the Goddes. And nowe, to them that ſhall chéerefully goe in
this feate, for thys aſſembly & exhortatiõs ſake, we wil giue now
euen from thys ſeate, to a Souldiour a thouſande fiue hundreth
Drammes of *Italie*, to a Capitayne of a bande fiue tymes ſo
muche, and to a Tribune, accordyng to the proportion. When
hée had ſayde thus, and encamped his army, with worke, worde,
and gyftes, hée diſmiſſed the multitude. They remayned prai-
ſing *Brutus* and hym very muche, and promyſed to doe for them
all that ſhoulde bée conuenient. They gaue then the gyftes
out of hande, and other beſide theſe, to the beſte ſorte, for many
conſiderations. And as they receyued, they ſente them forth in
bandes, to *Doriſco*, and they folowed, not long after. At thys
tyme two Eagles ſate vpon the two ſiluer Egles in the ſtan-
derde, beatyng at them, or as ſome ſay, coueryng them, and tar-
ried ſtill, and were fedde with publique prouiſion appoynted
from the Generalles, and the night before the day of the bat-
tell, they flewe away.

Lucania, parte of *Abruzzo*. *Lapigia*, *Apulia*.

Doriſco, a playne in *Thracia* by the wyhich *Xerxes* did number his greate army.

A token of two Egles.

In two dayes cõmyng to the gulfe of *Melana*, they went to *Oeno*, and from *Oeno* to *Doriſco*, and other places, to the mounte *Serrio*, which ſtretchyng to the ſea, they kepte ſtil by lande. They commaunded *Tullius Cymbrus* with a nauie and one legion, and certayne

Serrio hyll at the forelande.

Tullius Cymbrus.

certayne Archers, to goe by that coast, which before had bin deserte, although the land was good, the *Thracians* neyther vsing the Sea, nor for feare, receyuing them that came from the contrary coast. The *Grecians* and the *Calcidonians* kéeping that shore, and vsing the sea, flourished in Merchaundise and tyllage, the *Thracians* agreeyng with them for the receypt of their Mountaynes, til *Philip*, *Amyntas* sonne, did ouercome the *Chalcidonians* & others, so as nothing is to be séene of the passengers, but onely a little Chappell.

This desert place, *Tullius* quickly passed ouer, so as for *Brutus* company, he espyed a fitte place, and measured it for the Campe, kéeping that same course with his Shippes, in so much as *Norbanus* lefte the streight of the *Saporians*, as vnprofitable to bée kept, which things happened as they desired: for at the sighte of these Shippes, *Norbanus* was troubled at *Saporia*, and called *Cedicius* from *Turpilio* to come to him in hast, and he did so. The streightes of *Turpilio* being left, *Brutus* men went on the deseyte appearing, *Norbanus* and *Cedicius* toke *Sapeio* manfully, so as *Brutus* people could not passe: wherfore they were afrayde, least they must now goe aboute, as they shoulde haue done at the begynning, and to passe euery place deserte, not hauing time conuenient for it, bycause of the Mountaines, and the season of the yeare.

Saporia, a citie at the floud *Nestus*.

Turpilio.

Sapeio.

Standing in this stay, *Rascipolis* sayde vnto them, there was a way by a compasse to the Mountayne of the *Saporians* of three dayes iourney, neuer gone of men before, for the sharp Rockes, want of water, and thicknesse of wodde: therefore if they would goe it, they must carrie water, and passe a streight way, yet passable: and this iourney for the solitarinesse, the very birdes could not discouer. The fourth day they should haue the floud *Arpessa*, running into the floud *Ermon*, from whence in one day going to *Philipi*, they might sette on their enimies of the suddayne, whome they might so ouercome, bycause they had none other shift. The Souldiours being taughte thys way for lacke of other, and in hope to take their enimies at the aduantage, a part was sente with *Lucius Bibulus*, appoynting *Rascipolis* to guide the waye. With greate payne and labour they wente on, and made it

Roscopolis.

Sapei, people at the floude *Nestus*.

Solitary vvay.

Arpessa, *Hebrus*, flouds in *Thracia*.

yet with courage and good hearte the rather, bycause some that were sent afore, returned, and sayde, they sawe a floude a farre off.

The hard passage of the *Romanes.*

The fourth daye, being tyred with the sharpenesse of the iourney, and troubled with thyrst, their water beeing spente, whiche they brought for three dayes, bycause it was sayde there was no water, they beganne to feare, least they were deceyued, not that they dyd not beleeue them that sayde they sawe the floude, but bycause they thoughte they were ledde a wrong way, and therefore beganne to exclayme and crye: and when *Rascopolis* came to them to encourage them, they reuiled him, and threw stones at hym. *Bibulus* humbly besought them, that they woulde patiently abyde the rest of the iourney.

The discourage of the *Romanes.* The rage of them.

A little before nyghte, the floude was séene of the formost, and streyght an ssirie was made as reason was, with greate gladnesse, whyche beeyng receyued of them that followed, it came to the hyndermost.

Brutus and *Cassius* understandyng this, ledde the rest of their armie thys harde way, but the crie was so greate, as it was hearde of the enimies, whereby they coulde not preuente them, for *Rascus*, brother to *Rascopolis*, hearyng the crie, suspected it was the enimie, and marueiled so greate an armye coulde passe so harde a iourney, voyde of water, whyche scarcely was passable to the wylde beastes, for the vyghnesse of the woddes: and he streyghte tolde *Norbanus* of it, who fledde from the streyghtes to *Amphipolis*.

A ioyfull crye discouereth the enimie.

Amphipolis a Citie, that is betvveene *Thracia* and *Macedonia.*

Thus both these *Thracian* brethren holpe their armyes, the one in leadyng an vnknowen way, the other in descryeng what was done. So *Brutus* Souldyours with marueilous boldnesse, came to *Philippi*, whyther also arriued *Tullius*, so as all the army mette.

Tullius Cymber.
Philippi.
Daso.
Crenida.
Χρηνιδες.

Thys Citie *Philippi* was called before *Daso*, and after *Crenida*, bycause many fountaynes which in *Greeke* are called *Crenis*, do flowe from the fountaynes.

King *Philip* builded, and named this Citie.

This place very fytte for the *Thracians*, *Philip* walled about, and called it of hys name *Philippi*.

This

This Citie is builded vpō an hygh hyll, the greatneſſe where-of compryſed the breadth of the ſame.

On the North ſide it hathe woodes and hylles, by the whyche *Raſcopolis* brought *Brutus* and *Caſſius* army.

On the South ſide is a Fenne, and beyonde that, a Sea, where from the Eaſt, the ſtreyghtes of *Saperi* and *Torpiles* bee ſeene, from the Weaſt a large fielde, as farre as *Marcina* and *Drabiſco*, and the flouds *Strymone*, three hundred and fifty furlonges about, very plentifull and fayre (where they ſaye) it chanced a mayde was raviſhed as ſhe gathered flowres. There is the flouds *Zygaſtes*, in the whych (as they report) a God brake his Charlot as he paſſed ouer, whereof the flouds had the name. The playne bendeth downeward, ſo as it is a receypte to them that marche from aboue from *Philippi*, againſte them that ſette from *Amphipolin*.

Saperi, and *Torpilos*, ſtreightes *Marcino* and *Drabiſco*.

Strimonco a flouds dividing *Macedonia* from *Thracia*.

Proſerpina vvas the mayde.

Zygaſtes.

The God vvas *Pluto*.

There is another hyll at *Philippi*, not greate, whoune they call *Dioniſia*, in the which be mynes of golde, called vntouchable. And goyng from *Philippi* a myle and more, there be two other hylles, ſtanding two mile from *Philippi* and more aſunder. In theſe dyd they encampe, *Caſſius* towarde the South, and *Brutus* towarde the North: not myndyng to followe *Norbanus*, becauſe they heardē that *Antony* was at hand, *Ceſar* remaining at *Epidamnum* for ſickneſſe.

Dionyſio.

Ἀσυλα, places holy and inuiolable.

The place of their Campes.

Epidamnum, Durazzo.

Ceſar ſicke.

The fielde was knowen to bee fayre for a battayle, and the hylles for a Campe; and aboute it on the one ſyde Fennes and waters to *Strymon*, and on the other ſide, ſtreightes, deſertes, and vnpaſſed pathes. In the middeſt of the hylles a myle ouer, was the wap betweene *Aſia* and *Europe*, as a gate. Whys place they fortifyed with trenche to trenche, leauing a gate in the middeſt, that it ſeemed but one dumpe. Where was a floude nygh, whyche ſome call *Ganga*, and ſome *Gangites*. And behynde that, the Sea, by the whyche they hadde theyr prouiſion, with paſſage and entrie.

Gangites.

Thaſius, an Ile nigh *Thracia*.

Neas, an Iſlaude and a Citie, vvhere they ſay *Philoctetus* vvas bitten of a Serpent, and dyed,

They had made *Thaſius* the ſtorehouſe of their prouiſion, being iij. mile off, e wyth their Gallyes, had paſſage to *Neas*, a Citie ſi-

mile

myle from them, and they ioyning in this place, trayned they a Army.

Antony. *Antony* came on with great hast, intending to get *Amphipolis* for the stay of the warre, which finding possessed of *Norbanus*, he was glad, and there he lefte the furniture for the warre, wyth one Legion, which *Pinarius* ledde. He wente on boldly, and Camped in the fielde, but a myle from his enimies, and streighte was seene the want and abundance of both armies. The one was aboue in frutefull ground, the other beneath in a bottome. They had wodde from the Mountaynes, these, from the Fenne. They had their water from the Riuer, these from the poles and pittes which they digged for the time. They hadde their victuals from *Thase*, a fewe furlongs from them, these from *Amphipoli*, aboue fiftie myles off. It seemed that *Antony* was driuen thus to do, bycause there was no more good grounde, and the playne being hollowe, in the whych, by reason of the ouerflowyng of the floud sometime, he found the water both swéete and sufficiente, by making welles and pittes.

Antonies Camp.

Thase, an Ile and a Citie, ouer against the floud *Nessus*.

Antonies Camp.

Thys boldnesse, although it proceéded of necessitie, yet it astonished his enimies, that so nygh and so some he was encamped with suche a contempte: wherefore they made manye Trenches, and fortifyed every place with walles and rampyers.

Cassius séeyng *Antonyes* furie so greate, entrenched that was left to the Fenne, being omitted for the streightenesse, so that no parte was vndefenced, but a syde of *Brutus*, whyche was hylie.

Cassius hadde the Fenne and the Sea, all the rest béeyng taken in with Trenches, ditches, and gates. Thus they both were placed. Onely wyth their Horsemen, sometime they skirmished.

When all things were prouided, and *Cæsar* come, yet not able to fighte, for he came in a litter to hys armye, hys Captaynes sette themselues in order to fyghte, and *Brutus* dyd the lyke from the higher place, easie to be séene, and yet intended not to come downe, but to waste theyr Enimie wyth wante,

eyther

either of them had nineteene legions of armed footemen. But they that were with *Brutus*, were the fewer in number, & they that were with *Cæsar* were the more. Of *Thracia* horse mē, there were with *Cæsar* and *Antonie* aboue thirtene thousand: with *Brutus* and *Cassius* twenty thousand: so as for multitude of men, for boldenesse and vertue of Captaines, for armoure and furniture of Souldioures, there was most goodly shew on both sides. Yet they did nothing many daies, bycause *Brutus* woulde not strike the battell, but consume them with stopping of victuall from their enimies. They hadde al *Asia* to serue them, and the nighe places to bring them all thing by the sea: but the enimie hadde little, neither sufficient nor certain. For from *Aegipt* they could receiue nothing, bicause of the dearth that had wasted the cōtrey: nor frō *Spaine* nor *Affrica*, bycause of *Pompey*: nor frō *Italy*, bycause of *Murcus* & *Domitius*: and *Macedonia* & *Thessalia*, could not by a greate deale supplie their want, whiche places, they onely had for their succor. And that was the cause why *Brutus* refused battaile. *Antonie* fearing this, determined in any wise to giue the battel, & if it were possible, to make the Fen passable, that he might come vpon the backe of the enimy, and take their victuall that came from chase.

The number of both armies.

VVante at *Antonies* and *Cæsars* campe.

Therfore on a tyme, bringing his men forth in order of battaile, with banner displayde, he appointed a parte of his armye bothe by night and daye, to make a straighte pathe in the same, cutting downe the reedes, and laying tymber and stones of either side, so as they shoulde not sinke. The foundation whereof he pyled and made strong with marueilous silence. The thicknesse of the reeds toke away the sight of the worke. And when they had wrought tenne dayes, he sent certaine bandes the direct way, and the space lefte betweene, he toke and made many Towers. *Cassius* marueilling at the deuise and pollicie, and intending to defeate the Castells made of *Antony*, entrenched all the residue of the Fenne, beginning from the campe to the sea, pauing and making bridges and ditches vpon the sure ground, taking in also the waye that *Antony* hadde made, that neyther they that were there could go abroad, nor he helpe them though

Antonies polliey & painefulnesse.

Antony maketh a vvay in the Fenne.

he woulde. *Antony* perceyuing this about midde day, in a rage and furie, brought his whole army, being otherwise appointed, and turned them vppon the fortification of *Cassius*, betweene the Campe and the Fenne, bringing engins and scales, as though he woulde charge vppon his Campe. In doing this betweene both armies with great boldnesse, *Brutus* Souldiours were grieued, thinking it a shame for them to let them so escape, and wythoute commandement, sauing of one Capitaine, they sette vppon theyr flocke. *Brutus* menne hauyng thus begonne the matter, gaue a charge vppon *Cæsars* army, that was in a readinesse, and putte them from their place, and toke their Campe, whiche was common to *Cæsar* and *Antony*. *Cæsar* hymselfe was absent, shifting off that day, for a dreame he hadde, as he writeth in his booke of Remembraunces. *Antony* seeing the fight to be begunne, was gladde he had brought the enimie to it, yet he thoughte not good to turne into the playne, leaste he shoulde disturbe his battaile. Therefore to doe the rest wyth that fiercenesse he beganne, in running manner he marched and mounted vp, for all the resistaunce that was made, and by very vehement force, beat backe the battaile of *Cassius*, keepyng the order that was appointed them, they being astonished at thys feate done beyonde all reason. When *Antony* hadde thus broken them, he brake down the ouerthwart trenth with violence, filling the ditche, and flinging downe the rampires, and all the rest to the gate, where he distressed the warders, and entred for all the weapons that were throwne vppon him. Some passed ouer the broken walles, some ouer the dead bodyes, and al was done so fiercelye and so sodainelye, as they that came oute of the Fenne to helpe them, were driuen backe againe, of them that had gotte the wall, wyth the lyke vehemencie: and they only that were with *Antony*, entred into *Cassius* Campe, the other stil fighting without. The campe was thought to be strōg, therefore fewe kept it, whiche was the cause why it was the more easily taken. The soldiors of *Cassius* being thus put to the worse, and knowing that their campe was taken, fled verye confusedly: the matter was equal on both sids: for *Brutus* ouercame

Cæsar abſent for a dreame.

The furie of *Antony*.

The fight at *Philippi*.

Antony taketh the Campe of *Cassius*.

Cæsar

Cæsars battell, and lodged in his campe. *Antony* ouerthrew *Cassius*, with a maruellous boldenesse and spoyled his campe. The slaughter was confused, for by the greatnesse of ỹ playne, & raysing of the dusse, one knewe not another, till sometimes they asked, and then called them to their due places. Some returned loaden with gere, like Carters rather than soldiors, which some threw away & toke from them. There was no reioycing one with another, bicause it was not wel knowne what was done: so there was much confusion. On *Cassius* syde, numbring slaues & al sorts, was slaine, viij. M. of *Cæsars*, twise so many. When *Cassius* was put from his campe, & could no more get to it, he went to the hill of *Phillippi*, and beheld what was done. But hee neyther coulde well see nor heare, for the dusse and noyse: onelye hee sawe hys owne Campe spoyled. Wherfore hys commaunded *Pindarus* hys page, to kyl hym with his owne sworde. *Pindarus* stayde at the matter, and in the meane tyme a messenger came and tolde, that *Brutus* had ouercome *Cæsar*, and possessed his Campe. To the whiche *Cassius* saide, tell him we are ouerthrowne, and all the victorye is his. Then he turned to *Pindare*, and sayde: why dosse not thou ridde me of thys dishonor? and so offering hys throate, *Pindarus* cutte it.

Cæsars Campe taken by *Brutus*.

The slaughter.

Cassius commaunded *Pindarus* to kyll hym.

Thus they saye *Cassius* died. Some tel after this sort, that a bande of *Brutus* horsemen, came to bring him the good newes. He thought they had bene his enemies, and sente *Titinius* to knowe the truth. The horsemen receiuing him with great ioy as a frend made a loude noyse. *Cassius* fearing he had fallen in his enimies hands, said thus: we haue suffered to see our friend taken of oure enimies, and wt in with *Pindarus*, and that he was neuer seen after, so as some thinke that *Pindarus* did it not. This was the ende of *Cassius* life, it chaunsing so, that the day of this foughten battel was the daye of his birth. *Titinius* killed him selfe for his long tarriance.

Some thinke *Cassius* kylled himselfe vvyth the dagger ỹt he killed *Cæsar*.

Cassius is kylled on his byrth day.

Brutus bewayling the death of *Cassius*, as a rare *Romaine*, & such a one as the like was not to be founde for vertue & valiantnesse, called him happye, that hee was ridde of cares and troubles, the whych would bring him to the like ende. He committed his bo-

Brutus lamenteth the death of *Cassius*.

ny secretly to be buryed, that the army shoulde not be discouraged at the sighte of it, and withoute meate or slepe remayned all that night in setting *Cassius* men in frame. Day being come, the enimies were in order againe to fight, that they should not seeme to haue the worse. *Brutus* percyued their intente, and sayde: Lette vs arme also and make a shewe likewise, that wee are not inferiour. Which when he had done, theenemie retired. Then he sayde pleasantly to his friendes: They seemed to prouoke vs, as the weaker, but they wil not putte the matter to tryall.

Cæsar and *Antony* haue a losse by sea, the same daye that the fielde vvas at *Philippi*.

The same day that the field was fought at *Philippi*, an other very great feate was done in *Ionio*. *Domitius Caluinus* did leade in great shyps. ij. legiõs to *Cæsar*, that had name of Martial, being so called for the honor of their valiantnesse. He led also a bãd for his guarde, of two thousande men, and foure troupes of horse, & other numbers gathered together, with a fewe Galleyes.

A fight on the sea.

Martiall legats.

Murcus and *Ostobarbus* mette them, with one hundred and thirtie long Shippes. A fewe of the former Hulkes fledde by good sayling. The other, by the sodayne ceassing of the winde, in a sea calme and still, were caught, being by very fortune giuen to the enimies, who without feare bowged and brake them, not hauing any helpe of their fewe Galleyes, being compalled of so many.

Great and diuers was the trauaile of them that were in perill, linking themselues togither with their Cables, and with weapons & courage putting themselues in order, ỹ the enimie should not vse them, though they ouercame them. *Murcus* threw darts of fire, which did quickly burne the byndings, & the ships seuered asunder, to auoid the fyre. The galleys were ready to binder them euery way, wherewith the souldiours beyng grieued, and especially the Martialls, that beyng better in valiantnesse, shoulde perishe for lacke of fyghting, some kylled themselues with the fire, some leapte into the enimies galleys, and kylled some, and were killed themselues: the shyppes halfe burned, wet their way, carying men, some consumed with fyre, some with wãt & thirst. Some with ỹ Cables or plancks were carried

Losse by sea to *Antony* & *Cæsar*.

to

to ỹ rockes, or desert shoars: & some were saued, beyond al reason: some continuing fiue dayes, by eating pitche off the cables and sayles, helde out, till they were driuen to lande by the bylows. There were many that gaue themselues to their enimies being ouercome with calamitie. Fyij. of their Galleyes yelded, whose souldiers *Murcus* toke to him. *Caluinus* the General came fiue dayes after to *Brunduse*, with one shippe, being thoughte to haue bene lost. *Caluinus.*

This happe was in *Ionio*, the same day that the fielde was at *Philippi*, whether you wil call it a shipwrack, or a shipfight. The which euils cõcurring together, being after known, caused the greater feare. *Brutus* called his army together, & sayd thus: There is nothing (O fellowe souldiers) in yesterdayes fight, but that maketh you superiour to your enimies. You gaue the charge chéerfully, when no warning was giuen you: the fourth legion, so renowned to them, in whome their battaile had their confidence, you ouerthrew vtterly: their army you droue to their campe: their campe you first toke, and after spoyled, in so much as you haue farre ouercome the losse you had in the last batail. And where you might haue made an ende of all your trauayle, you chose rather to fall to spoyle, than to followe your enimies that were ouercome: for many of you running before them, set vpon their spoile. And in this one, they haue but the one of our campes, but we haue all that they had, so as the recompence of the losse is double. And hauing this aduantage in the fight, how much otherwise we do excéde, you may learne of the captiues: for their want of victual: for the striuing for it: for the difficult bringing of it: and for the euident getting of so little. For from *Sicelie*, *Sardinia*, *Libya*, and *Iberia*, they can haue none for *Pompeius*, *Murcus*, and *Oenobarbus*, they keping those seas with two hundreth and three score shippes. *Macedonia* they haue consumed: now only they haue from *Thessalia*, which how long can it serue them? Therefore when you se them offer to fight, then thinke they chiefely be forced by hunger, and doe chose death rather by their handes. Let vs contrary wise foresee, that hunger may fight for vs, that we may take them the feebler and more consu- Oration of *Brutus*.

ned, when it shal be fit. Let not vs be carried with affection be-
fore due time: nor thinke slowneſſe, or quicknesse to be experi-
ence: nor haue dure eie vppon the sea backewarde, which mini-
streth to vs suche foode and seruice, when we see that victorie is
ours without daunger, if you will abide, and not distrusse: that
thoughe they come forth and prouoke vs, not stronger than we,
as the worke yesterday shewed, but for auoyding further feare,
that all the courage, which I desire you to keepe, you may shew
forth, when I shal require you at once, and the perfect rewards
of victorie, when the gods shall haue giuen their sentence of vs,
by our perfect deeds, I will giue vnto you. And now for yester-
dayes vertue, I giue to euery souldiour, a thousand drammes,
and to your Capitaines, as the proportion requireth.

Thus he said, & straight diuided the gifte to euery legion, &
some say, he promised to giue the *Macedonia* & *Thessalia* in spoile.
Cæsar and *Antony* seeing that *Brutus* would vnwillingly come
to the fight, called their people, and *Antony* said thus: Yester-
dayes worke, (O Men) I perceiue our enimies in words do di-
uide, as they that chased some of vs, and spoiled a campe, where
indeede they confesse al was yours: for I affirme vnto you, that
neither ỳ nexte day, nor yet, willingly wil they come to ỳ fight,
which is a most certain surety of yesterdaies feare & losse, as in ỳ
maner of contentions, of force, they that are the weaker, go out
of the place. They dydde not gather so greate an armye
that they mighte inhabite the Deserte of *Thracia*, by ma-
king of their walles, but they made all that defence, for feare
of your comming vppon them: and now minding to keepe in, for
yesterdaies ouerthrow, when the elder, and the more expert of
the Captaines for very desperation, kylled himselfe, whiche is
the greatest declaration of their miserie. Therefore when you
shall prouoke them, and they not answere, nor come from their
hilles, but truste in their holdes, in steede of their handes, then
you (O Romaine men) enforce them againe, as ye forced them
yesterday, thinking it shame to giue place as fearfull, and pro-
uoked to refraine, and to be holden the worse men for their kee-
ping in. For we come not hither to liue in the playne, nor if we

Antonies Orati-on.

tarried,

tarryed, it woulde suffise vs, but the spédy attemptes are to bée ginen in warre of the wise, that we may the longer continue in peace. The tymes and the trauaile we muste forese, of whom, you cannot complayne, for yesterdayes assaulte and attempte. When you are required, then shewe your vertue to your capitaines, be not grieued with yesterdayes spoile, for riches is not in that we haue, but in that we got by conquest, for that we lost yesterday. For it remaineth safe with our enimie, the which and their own, they must yéld vs, when we ouercome them: & if we wil go forth to get that, then must we set forth to the fight. Yesterday we toke again of theirs sufficiétly, & happily more sufficient of our owne, for they haue brought togither all that they haue by violence spoiled oute of *Asia*; and you comming as from your Countrey, haue lefte at home the moste precious things, and onelye broughte necessaries. And if you hadde awe thyng of estimation, you compted it your Generalls, all the whyche, we be ready to giue you, for thys victorye, and for the recompence of this losse. For your sake we will giue rewards of victorie, to euerye Souldioure fyue thousand drams, to a Capitaine of a bande fyue tymes so muche, and to a Tribune double so muche as a Captaine.

When *Antony* had thus sayde, he sette them in order to fight, but the enimie woulde not come forwarde. *Antony* being grieued, still set them in battaile ray.

Brutus hadde his army in good order, and néeded not come to the fyght, for he had taken al the wayes for prouision of things nédefull.

There was an hill very nighe to *Cassius* Campe, harde for the enimie to take, bycause the nighnesse made it in danger of the archers. *Cassius* had entrenched it, that no man should from that place giue any bold attempt vnlooked for: which being abandoned of *Brutus*, *Cæsars* souldiors in the night with.iiij. legions toke it, carying with them many hurdles & hides to resist ỹ shot. Whē they had the hil, they led other.v. legions halfe a myle and more towarde the sea, and to the firste foure, they added two legions more, to take by that deuise all things euen to the sea: & if there

Cæsars men take an hill.

were

were any way bolde the ſeas, as by the Fennes, or other mean, they might diſtreſſe it, and take the victual from their enimie. *Brutus* made deuiſes againſt them, ſetting vp other forts againſt their Camps. *Cæſars* ſouldiors alſo ſet vp a new worke. Nowe was ỳ famine cuidēt, & increaſed euery day in greatneſſe & fear, for they could no longer haue ſufficient brought thē frō *Theſſalia*, & frō ỳ ſea there was no hope, ỳ enimies being lords of ỳ ſhips: and the late loſſe in *Ionio* beyng tolde to them bothe, they were the more afraide, the winter being at hande, and they lying in a Fenny plaine. Deliberation had for theſe things, they ſent a legion armed into *Achia*, to prouide them neceſſarye victualls, and to ſende it them with all ſpēde: but not able to auoide the preſent perill, nor make any other deuice, nor in the reſte of the campe, to doe anye more to offend the enimie, they came forth with ſhowts, and called *Brutus* to the fight, ſcoffing and raging at him, and doubting whither this refraining from fight, were like a man beſieged, rather than a man bereaught his wit. This was knowne to him from the beginning, and he bpleued it the rather, bycauſe of their want, and their loſſe in *Ionio*, perceyuing his enimies had one miſchiefe of another: And he determined, as a man beſieged, or any other way to auoide the battell, rather than to come to hands with men dryuen by hunger and deſperation of all things, hauing their onely hope in their hands. But his army, for lacke of conſideration, did not thinke ſo, but were grieued, that as weomen within, they were ſhut vp with ydleneſſe and feare. Their captains alſo were not content, and blamed *Brutus* opinion, thinking with that courage of the ſouldiors, the ſooner to ouerthrowe their enimie. The cauſe hereof proceeded, that *Brutus* was ſo courteous and milde to all men, and vnlyke to *Cæſar*, that was ſeuere and imperious in all thynges, ſo as his commaundements were kept without any reſiſtance of the ſouldiours, not aſking queſtions, nor reaſoning what he woulde haue done: but *Brutus* woulde doe nothing without the opinion of the Captaines, thorowe his gentle nature. At length hys armye by companies and rowles began openly to aſke.

Famine in the campe of *Cæſar* and *Antonie*.

Achaia the north region of *Peloponeſo*.

Antonie prouoketh *Brutus* to fight.

Curteſie in a Captaine is hindrance.

What meaneth oure Generals, wherein haue we offended

of

of late when we did ouercome, when we did chace, when we di-
stressed our enimies, or when we toke their Campe.

Brutus suffered this of purpose, and dyd not call them to anye assemblie, least he shoulde be forced vnsemely of the rude multitude, chiefly of the hyred sorte, whose manner euer is lyke vnto vnstable seruauntes, to hope in the change of maisters, and to set their safetie in the contrary faction. The Captaynes also being angrie, and wishing him now not to doubt, the armye bé-ing in this forwardnesse, would do some notable feate, and if a-ny thing hapt amisse in the fighte, they myghte returne to their Campe, and defende themselues with their wall. *Brutus* beareth of purpose.

Brutus was muche grœued with the Captaynes, and fearyng they woulde putte hym to the daunger, by fyghte dealyng with the army, whereas he withoute doubte or sharpe fortune, was sure of victorie not daungerous, he consented to hys and al their destruction, thus reprouing them:

Like *Pompey* the greate he we forced to fyghte, not commaun-ding as a Captayne, but rather obeying as a Souldyoure. *Brutus* ouerru-led like *Pompey*.

And I thynke he spake no more, to hyde that he most feared, least the armye that sometyme serued *Cæsar*, woulde take occa-sion to revolte, whyche at the beginning, both *Cassius* and he fea-red, so as they gaue none occasion to them of any offence.

This *Brutus* was brought vnwillingly to sette hys men in or-der before the Trenche, wylling them not to marche farre from the hyll, that they myghte haue their retyre (if néde were) nigh, and bé the surer, and the more easie to marche agaynste their e-nimies agayne.

Of both sides there was greate preparation of all thinges, and a greate desire of the feate, with a boldnesse of necessitie, the one for feare of hunger, the other of iust reuerence, compelling the Captayne to come forthe, that they shoulde not be worse than their promise, nor weaker than their wordes, and bé thoughte rather guilty of payne for their rashnesse, than worthye of prayse for their good counsell. *Brutus* goyng among them on horsebacke, shewed a seuere countenance, and exhorted them in fewe wordes as the tyme woulde serue.

The oration of Brutus.

'You would nedes fight, you would nedes force me, otherwise 'hauyng the victory, do not deceyue, neyther me, nor your selues 'of thys hope. You haue an hyll to fyghte with you, and at youre 'backe all is youres. Youre enimies be in doubtfull case, beyng 'betweene you and famine.

Hauyng sayde thus, he rode aboute, and encouraged all the bandes, and wyth cry they receyuing hym, to hys greate prayse.

Cæsar and *Antony* goyng aboute theyrs, offered theyr fyghte handes to them that were nexte, and seuerally exhorted them, and dyd not hyde theyr hunger, that they myghte stirre them to the more presente boldnesse.

Cæsar and *Antony* to their people.

'We haue founde (O men) our enimies. We haue them as 'wee desired out of theyr Trenche. Lette none of you be afrayd 'to gyue the charge, nor gyue place when you be sette vpon, nor 'lette hym rather chose, famine and dolorous destruction, that 'can not bee auoyded, than oure enimies teeth and bodyes, 'whyche to youre boldnesse, weapons, and trauayle, they will ea'sily gyue. The presente case requireth spedinesse. You maye 'deferre nothyng tyll to morrowe, but thys daye must determine 'all thynges, eyther wyth perfite victorie, or valiant death. If 'you haue victory, you shall wynne in one daye victuall and Mo'ney, Shyppes, and Campes, and rewardes of victory of vs. 'Thys wee must remember, that when we gyue the charge vpon 'them, wee doe fyxte purpose in the myddest of theyr force and 'forwardnesse, to shutte them from theyr Campe, and to dryue 'them to the playne from the hylles, that the warre be not to be 'begunne agayne, nor that oure enimies dryue vs not to idle'nesse agayne, whyche for theyr tayntenesse haue no hope in 'fyghte, but put all theyr trust in retrayning from battell.

Cæsar and *Antonius* after thys sorte exhorted theyr Souldyoures, and euery man hadde a respect to appeare worthye Souldyoures for suche Captaynes: and they were the more fyxted to auoyde the waute, for the suddayne losse in the *Ionian* Sea, and chose rather wyth payne and dope (if nede were) to dryue

the vttermoſt, than to be conſumed wyth an euill, that can not be auoyded.

The matter ſtandyng thus, and euery one moued againſte hym that was nert, the anger of both ſides encreaſed very much, and they were filled with boldneſſe inceſſable. And nowe they dyd not remember that they were Citizens togyther, but as enimies by nature and bloude, they threatned one another: ſo ſuddaynely hadde rage and furie in them quenched nature and reaſon. They propheryed alyke of both ſydes, that that daye in that feate, ſhould iudge all the Romaine cauſes. And the iudgemente was gyuen in deede. The day beyng ſpente in preparation tyll the ninth houre, two Eagles falling betweene both Campes, foughte togyther, at the which was great silence: that Eagle flying that was toward *Brutus*, whereat a ſhrill crye was made of the enimies. Both broughte forthe theyr ſtanderdes. The marche was fierce and vehement. They little needed arrowes, ſtones, or dartes, after the manner of warre, for they bednoug other comming on, than the order of battell, wherein they were broughte vp: and they buckled wyth naked ſwordes, and layde on of eyther ſyde, to put one another from theyr ray, the one for theyr ſaletie, rather than for victorie, the other, for victory and comforte of theyr Captayne, whome they had promiſed to fighte.

Nature and Countrey forgotten.

Two Eagles. A token before the fight.

The vehemencie of Souldioures.

The ſlaughter and the fightes were great.

The bodyes were beene away, and other were put in theyr places to ſerue the former rankes.

The Captayne rydyng about, and beholding euery where, encouraged them to be valiante. They comforted them that tokе paynes, to continue ſtill their labour. Thoſe that ſhrunke they changed, that their boldneſſe that were in the fronte myght be continued. At length the Souldyoures of *Cæſar*, eyther for feare of famine, or for *Cæſars* felicitie (for *Brutus* men were not to be blamed) ouercame the battell of their enimies, and putte them backe, as an heape of an heauie maſſe, yet they towned againe into theyr place ſlowly and wyth order: but

but when their ray was broken, they went away faster, and the second and third bande turned wyth them, and disordredly thrusting one vpon another, were broken of themselues, and of theyr enimies, that withoute stay pursued them, tyll they fledde euidently. And *Cæsars* Souldyoures then remembryng theyr promise chiefly, fiercely followyng them, gaue an assaulte vppon theyr Campe very daungerously, and on euery side so sette vppon them, that they compelled them to flée, whereof some wente towarde the Sea, and the hylles by the floude *Zygate*.

Brutus men distressed.

Thys alteration béeyng made, the Generalles diuided the rest of the laboure. *Cæsar*, to kéepe them that fledde from theyr Campe, and to holde the Campe hymselfe: *Antony*, to followe the fléers, and to ouerthrowe the remainers, to assaulte their other Campes, and wyth euident violence, to putte all to ruyne. And fearing that the Captaynes myghte escape hym, and gather another armye, he sente hys Horsemen to the wayes and issues of the fielde, to stoppe them that fledde. Some wente from hyll to hyll (*Rascius* the Captayne béeyng theyr guyde, by cause of hys experience in the way) and passed by the trenches and rocky places, chacing them that fledde, and keepyng other from fléeyng. Some followed *Brutus* hymselfe. When *Lucinius* sawe them so fast running after hym, he stayde, and as though he had bin *Brutus*, prayed them he myghte be ledde to *Antonie*, and not to *Cæsar*, by the whiche he was the rather thoughte to be *Brutus*, in anoydyng hys vnplacable enimie.

Lucinius acte for to saue *Brutus*.

Antony vnderstandyng hée was brought to hym, went towarde hym in good order, considering the fortune, the wayr thynesse and vertue of the man, and howe he myght vse hym. Béeyng at hande, *Lucius* méetyng wyth hym verye boldly, sayde: *Brutus* is not taken, neyther shall vertue euer be taken of vice. I deceyuing these men, thus am before thée.

Boldnesse of *Lucius*.

At the whiche worde the Horsemen béeyng ashamed, *Antony* to comfort them sayde:

'You haue hunted none euill game, but better than you thynke, so muche is a Friende better than an Enimie,

and

and committed *Lucinius* to wayte vpon one of his friends, and after vsed hym as hys assured. *Brutus* fledde to the mountaynes with a conuenient multitude, that in the night he might returne to hys campe or take hys way by the sea. But when he hearde all passages were kepte, hee continued with all his people in armes. And they say hee loked vp to the starres, saying: O *Iupiter* thou knowest who is the cause of these euils, meaning *Antonie*, which (they say) *Antonie* after in his priuate perils did confesse, saying: That where he might haue ruled with *Brutus* & *Cassius*, he was now a slaue to *Octauio*. That night *Antonie* continued in armes, that he might haue *Brutus*, making a trench of dead bodies and of the baggage brought together. *Cæsar* labouring till midnight, withdrew himselfe for sickneſſe, committyng the charge of the army to *Norbanus*.

Brutus vvordes, meanyng by *Antonie*, vvhom he sayde should once be punished for it.

Antonies repentance.

A trenche of dead bodies.

Brutus perceiuing what wayte his enimies made for him, and hauing no more but foure legions, wherewith he was wel warned, desired the chiefe of his host, whiche now were ashamed and repented of their act, to sende to see, how they might make way to passe the straynes, and to recouer their owne that was kept in the abandoned tentes. They being vnwilling, and now considering more than they did, and that God was agaynſt them, tolde their Generall they had giuen him euill counsell, and they hauing tried fortune so oft, woulde not now put any more hope in their matter. Then *Brutus* sayde to his friendes: I am no longer profitable to my Countrey. Hee called one of his moſte trusty friendes, named *Strato* of *Epire*, and wylled hym to kyll hym out of hande, who entreatyng hym to take better aduice, called one of hys seruauntes, and sayde: O *Brutus*, in thy laſte commaundement thou shalte not wante, neyther thy friende nor thy seruaunt. And hauyng thus sayde, hee thruſte hys swoorde into *Brutus* syde, neyther resistyng nor helpyng.

Brutus men gyueth ouer.

Strato.

Brutus beyng perſuaded to flee, sayde: yea, but vvith hands not vvith feete.

The death of *Brutus*, vvherin is vvas seene that vertue vvas ouercome of *Fortune*. he saying, O vertue vnhappy, in vvordes onely, vvise, &c.

One onely fault of *Brutus* and *Cassius*.

Thus *Cassius* and *Brutus* died, moſte noble and worthy *Romanes*, and but for one facte, euer followed vertue. Whome *Caius Cæsar* of enimies takyng *Pompeyus* part, hath made frendes, and of friendes, vsed them as his chyldren: and the Senate had them euer in greate regarde, and pitied their chaunce, and for

The worthinesse of *Brutus* and *Cassius*.

their two lyues, decreed an acte of oblyuion of all thynges: and when they fledde, lente them to promises, that they shoulde not leme to de: not omittyng yet the honour of *Cæsar*, nor forgettyng hys feates of whose vertue and fortune they maruelled, beyng anue, and when he was dead, buryed him with publique expence, and declared hys workes to bee immortall, appointed offices & promises for y most part by his assignement, not altered any thyng better than *Cæsar* had determined.

The estimation of *Brutus* and *Cassius* brought calumniation.

But the care and regard for these men, brought them into a suspition of false acculation: they were honored of al men. And of the rest of the vanyshed men they were thought most honorable, though *Pompey* were at hande, whose cause was not comparable, and they farre off, and voyde of reconciliation, needyng many things, scarsly hauing two legions. They gathered after twentie legions, and as many thousand horsemen, and about two hundred long shippes, with other sufficient furniture, and money moste plentifull, of the tributyng and vnwillyng nations and Cities that they ouercame, and their enimies of the contrary faction. They hadde the rule of all the Realmes from *Macedonia* to *Euphrates*, and whome soeuer they ouercame, they brought them to their societie, and made them moste trusty: they vsed Kings and Princes, and the *Parthians*, although their enimies, in matters of small accompt: but when they came to greate thynges, they coulde not abide them, because they woulde not accustome a barbarous and hostile nation among the *Romanes*. And moste marueil of all it is, that their army beyng the moste parte of *Cæsar Cæsars* and beloued of his kindrede, for good will and affection, they coulde turne to the contrary parte to him, being killers of him, and warre with them against *Cæsars* Sonne, and more faythfull to their foo to *Antony*, fellow in rule and enterprise with *Octauian*. For none of them lette *Brutus* or *Cassius* when they were ouercome.

The pardone in the vse of barbarous princes.

The Souldiours trayned vnder *Cæsar*, vvere truly to *Brutus*.

The Souldiours more trusty to *Brutus* and *Cassius* than to *Antony*.

But *Antonie*, at *Brundusc* they forsoke before the triall. The pretence of paynes bothe vnder *Pompey* and nowe, was not for themselues, but for the name of the peoples gouernment, honer glorious, but not commodious. For bothe of them when they

they saiue they coulde bee no longer profitable to their countrey, dispatched themselues alike. In their seuerall considerations *Cassius* was immutable, as they that in the combattes will neuer gyue ouer, onely hauyng regarde to the daunger. But *Brutus* in euery place was full of affabilitie and gentlenesse, and not ignorauant of Philosophy. Yet by these men the acte agaynst *Cæsar* was done, contrary in all thyng, beyng no simple worke, nor in no small matter, for it was agaynst their frœnde, contrary to reason, and agaynst their well doer, vnthankfully, whome hee had saued in the warre, and agaynst the chiefe ruler, iniustly in the Senate house, and agaynst an holy man, hauyng on an holy vesture, and suche an officer, as neuer was the lyke, so profitable to all meune and to his countrie and Empire. The whiche God did punishe in them, and many times gaue tokens of it. For, when *Cassius* was purgyng his hoste, the Sergeant put on the crowne the wrong way, and hys golden consecrate vesture of victory fell to the grounde, many greate byrdes sitting vpon the campe, made no noise, and swarmes of Bees were continually aboute him.

Maners of *Cassius*.

Maners of *Brutus*.

Theyr faulte against *Cæsar*.

The vvorthynesse of *Cæsar*. God punished the death of *Cæsar* in *Brutus* and *Cassius*.

Tokens to *Cassius*.

Brutus (they say) celebratyng hys birthe day in *Sardis* vpon the sea, hoyng nothyng merry about it, without occasion, did caste forth this verse.

Tokens to *Brutus*.

But mine euil destenie and *Cæsar* sonne doth destroy.

The vvordes of *Patroclus* vsed by *Brutus*.

Going with his army betweene *Asia* and *Europe*, and watchyng in the night, when lights failed, a fearefull shape appeared to hym. Whome he boldly askyng, what man or God he was, the vision answered, I am *Brutus* thyne euill lucke, and at *Philippes* I will appeare againe vnto thee. And then say he saiue hym there before the laste fight, and when the armie hoyste out of the campe an *Ethiopian* mette them, whome as an euill token they killed.

The bad Angel of *Brutus*.

In these things also was a diuine worke. That *Cassius* in victorie yet indifferent, gaue ouer all hope without any cause; and *Brutus*, beyng from hys good determination of retrayning fighte, fallyng into the handes of them that were forced by famine, hymselfe hauyng plentyfull foode and shippes at commandement,

VVork of god. *Cassius* despayreth to sone. *Brutus* is ouerruled.

maundement, and was rather ouercome of hys familiers, than of hys enimies: and where they had fought many fieldes, they neuer had no hurte. Bothe of them were killers of themselues, as they were of *Cæsar*.

The body of *Brutus*.

Seruilia mother of *Brutus*.

Thus *Cassius* and *Brutus* were punished. *Brutus* body beyng founde, *Antonie* cladde it with a purple pall, and when he had vsed it with fire, he sente the relikes to hys mother *Seruilia*, *Brutus* army when they hearde he was dead, sente messengers to *Cæsar* and *Antony*, who were pardoned, and diuided into their armies, beyng aboute.xviij.M. They yelded also that kepte the fortes and Tentes, all the whiche were gyuen to *Cæsars* & *Antonies* Souldiours to be spoyled.

Brutus tentes & fortes gyuen to spoyle.

Of the Noble men that were with *Brutus*, some were slayn in the battayle, some offered themselues freely to the Generals: some of purpose continued the fighte to be kylled: as *Lucius Cassius* a brothers Sonne of *Cassius*, and *Cato* his Sonne, who fal ling many times among their enimies, and being forsaken, toke of hys beauperie, that he might be knowne, or notably kylled, or bothe.

L. *Cassius*. *Cato* his sonne.

Labeo knowne for his wisedome, father of that *Labeo* that now is renoumed for his knowledge in the lawes, made a graue in his tente, bigge inough for his body, & takyng order for al things with his seruaunts, he signified to his wife and children what he would haue done, and toke the letters to his seruaunts to carry, and taking him by the right hande whom he loued best, and tur nyng him as the *Romane* maner was, made him free, and beyng turned he toke him his swoorde & offred his throte, & so to him, his Tent was his graue.

Labeo.

A tente for a graue.

Rascus the *Thracian* that brought many throughe the mountaynes, deliuered a reward, and had it, to saue his brother *Rascipolis*: whereby it may be perceyued, that at the beginning these *Thracians* were not at variance. But bicause two great armies at debate shoulde passe their countries, they diuided the certentie of fortune, that he that wanne, might saue him that lost. *Portia*, *Brutus* his wife, & sister to *Cato* the yonger, when she heard that they both were dead, being diligently kept of his seruants, toke the fire from the harth, and swalowed the coles.

Policie of brethren.

Portia Brutus wife.

The

The other noble men fledde to *Thase*: some sayled awaye, some gaue themselues with the rest of the army to *Messala*, *Cornificio*, and *Lucio Bibulo*, men of like authoritie, that they might take counsell for themselues to doe for all the rest. Many gaue themselues to *Antony* as he sayled towarde *Thase*, and all the mony, armoure and plenty of victual, and any other preparation whiche was great. *Messala*, *Cornificio* and *Bibulo* remnant of thy armye.

Thus *Cæsar* and *Antony*, by singular boldenesse, gotte suche a victorye at two fight sa sore, as none had done before them for no suche, nor so great an army of Romaines, euer came to handes before: not gathered of common Citizens, but of the beste Gentlemen: not ignorant of fighting, but long practised of themselues, not of straunge or barbarous nation, but of all one language, and one arte of war, of one strength and exercise, hard to be matched therefore among themselues: none euer shed more boldenesse or fiercenesse in fight, a token of that, the number of beste men, being equall in both the fightes, and no fewer of theirs that did ouercome. *Cæsars* and *Antonies* souldiours, did fulfill their Captaines will, in one day and one worke, changing extreame danger of famine, and feare of death, into victuall abundant, into safetie liuable, & into victory notable. It followed of that fight, that the wise Romaines did propheste. For the common wealth was eftsone iudged by that feate, and was lyke to haue come to the popular state againe. And there was no vse of ciuile suche troubles among themselues, but in the variaunce betweene *Cæsar* and *Antony*, whiche was the laste among the Romains. The thinges that in the meane tyme were done vnder *Pompey*, after *Brutus*, by them that of *Cassius* and *Brutus* friends fledde hither and thither, reteining the remnaunt of so great preparation, neither dare they haue with suche boldenesse, nor with suche forces of men, of Citties, or of Captaynes in their prouinces, for they haue nobilitie, no fame, nor no glory, as *Brutus* and *Cassius* haue. The mightinesse of the armies. The fight shewed what would become of Rome.

The ende of the fourth booke of Ciuill Dissentions.

¶ The fifte Booke of *Appian* of Alexandria, of the Ciuill Dissentions of the Romaines.

Antony in loue with *Cleopatra*.

After the deathe of *Brutus* and *Cassius*, *Octauian* went into *Italy*, and *Antony* into *Aegipt*, where *Cleopatra* meetyng with him, ouercame him at the firste sight. The which loue, brought them to destruction, and *Aegipt* to vtter ruine. Wherof *Egipt* also shal be a part of this volume, but not so great, as it can giue it ỹ title, bicause many of the ciuill battailes are intermedled with it. For after *Cassius* and *Brutus*, there were lyke Ciuill Dissentions, but wythoute a Generall, that commaunded all as they did, but some leading armies here, and some there, till *Sextus Pompey*, the seconde son of *Pompey* the Greate, being lefte of that faction, was sette vp of *Brutus* friends. *Lepidus* being nowe putte from his dignitie, al the authoritie rested in *Antony* and *Octauian*, the whiche things fell out after this sorte.

Sextus Pompey.

Lepidus deprined

Cassius surnamed of *Parma*, when *Brutus* and *Cassius* went to battaile, was lefte of them in *Asia*, with an army and a nauy, to gather mony. When *Cassius* was deade, he hauing no such hope in *Brutus*, toke thirtie of the *Rhodian* ships, which he thought to be sufficient, and burned the rest (the holy ones only excepted) that they should not rebel: and with these and his owne shippes he departed.

Cassius of *Parma*.

Clodius being sent thither of *Brutus* with thirteye shippes, and fyndyng the *Rhodians* reuolted (for he in *Brutus* was also deade) toke away the garrison of three thousande souldiours, and sayled to this *Cassius*. *Torulus* did ioyne with them, hauing many other shippes and mony, which he had gathered at *Rhodes* before they reuolted. To this nauy, as to a thing of power, resorted, all they that had offices in *Asia*, and made legions and souldiours

Clodius

Torulus.

for

the sea, as well as they could of seruants and people, of the countries & Ilands. There came to them *Cicero* that was son to *Tullius Cicero*, and diuerse noble Citizens that were fled from *Thasse*, and by and by there was a great army, with a sufficient nauy of good Captaines, taking with them *Lepidus* also, with an other hand, which he kept for *Brutus* at *Creta*. And with these forces they sailed to *Mutreus* and *Oenobarbus* into the gulfe of *Ionia*, where dividing themselues, part went into *Sicelie* to *Sextius Pompey*, and part remained with *Oenobarbus*, for priuate faction: and thus of the remnants of *Brutus* and *Cassius*, a newe armye was made.

Cicero the yonger.

Thassus an Iland in the *Aegian* sea.

Mureus

Aenobarbus.

Octauian and *Antonie* sacrificed for the victorie at *Philippi*, and gaue thankes to their souldiors. And to performe their promise, *Octauian* went into *Italy*, to distribute lande to the souldiors, which he did chuse for his health. And *Antony* wēt among the nations beyond the seas, and gathered mony for his souldiours, and diuided betweene them, the lands by *Lepidus* had. Frāce beyonde the Alpes, *Octauian* woulde haue free, according to the determination of the decrée of his vncle *Caesar*.

Octauian goeth into *Italy*.

Antony goeth beyond the sea.

Lepidus was accused to fauour *Pompeys* part, which if it were founde false, *Octauian*, determined to giue hym other Prouinces. They licenced the old souldiors except eight thousand, which desiring to serue still, they diuided betweene thē, & of them apointed bandes for their bodies. To these there were added eleuen legions that wente from *Brutus*, and xiiij. thousande horse, of the whiche *Antony* toke for hys iorney fiue legions and tenne thousande horse, *Octauian* had foure thousande horse, and fiue legions, and for those that *Antony* had, he shoulde receiue of *Antonies* out of *Calenus*, whiche he lefte in *Italy*, and so sayled to the *Ionian* sea. Whē *Antony* was come to *Ephesus*, he made solemne sacrifices to the Gods, and forgaue the souldiors of *Cassius*, that were in Sanctuarie, and asked pardon, *Petronius* being except, & as many as had conspired *Caesars* death, & *Quintus* that betraied *Dolobella* to *Cassius* at *Laodicea*: & to the *Grecians* and other nations that inhabit about *Pergamo* in *Asia*, in a great assembly of Ambassadors that came for peace, he spake in this wise:

Lepidus accused.

Ephesus, nowe *Fulgoso*, a cittye of *Ionia*, where was the goodly Temple buylded of Amazōs.

Antony pardoneth.

Pergama a cittie in *Asia*, not far from the floude *Caicie*.

Troy was called by this name.

Laodicea, a citie in *Asia*, whose citizen *Zeno*, *Antonie* and *Augustus* made a king.

Antony to the Grecians.

You men of *Grecia*, your kyng *Attalus*, by testament bequeathed you vnto vs, whome you founde more beneficiall vnto you, than *Attalus* was, for we forgaue you the Tributes that you payd to *Attalus*, till we had nede of Tributes, by cause of them that troubled our peare. Then we lette Tributes vpon you, not accordyng to euery mans value, that we myght erect it without your perill, but required you to pay a portion yearely, that we myght bee partakers of youre yearely fruites, and to ease youre losse in harde tymes. And when the Publicanes (trauersyng more than they ought) did you iniurie, *Cæsar* forgaue you their vnde

Cæsars benefites to the Grecians.

parte of youre Tributes, and forbadde that iniurie to be done to you hereafter, for he committed to you the gathering of the Tributes of youre Countrey people. And our good Citizens call such a man as he was, a Tyrant: and you haue giuen them many money that were killers of the man, that most deserued of you, and that against vs, that reuenged hys quarrell. But forasmuch as Fortune, fauouring the iust cause, hath decreed, not as you would, but as right was, if you had continued in armes as their fellowes, you had bin punishable, but bycause we doe easily beleeue, that you did it by compulsion, we forgiue you the greater punishment: only we haue nede of your money, your land, & Cities, to pay our armyes, whiche be eyghte and twenty Legions, which wt their appertenaces maketh 170. thousand, beside horsemen, & other remnant of the common sort. Of this multitude you may wel coniecture, what charge we be at. *Octauius* is gone into *Italy*, to diuide lands and Cities vnto them, and as I myght say, to bid *Italy* be packing. But y you should not leaue your Cities & Countrey houses, your temples and religions, and youre auncyters monuments, we onely require your money, and not all, for y you could not beare, but a meane part, which when you heare, I thinke you wil goe contented away. As much as you gaue our enimies in two yeares (whiche was ten yeares tribute) so much wil we require, sauing y it must be paid in one yeare, bycause nenellitie so craueth. You may acknowledge thankes, & confesse that you are not punished as you haue deserued. Thus he spake to please y souldiors, to whom they promised rewards at their meeting at *Modena*, & then they were 43. legions, so many of the were

consu-

assumed. He had not fully ended his tale, when the Grecians, sate vp & ground, so many demonstrations accusing the cruelties of Brutus & Cassius, that they were rather worthy pardō than punishment.

Tributes put vpon the Grecians by Antony.

They would gladlye giue to their friends, but they were bereft al, of their enimies, to whom they had giuen not only their mouies, but when that failed, their iewels and ornaments, which they copned of themselues. At length, with much ado, they obtayned to paye nine yeares Tribute in two yeares.

As he went about the prouinces, Lucius brother to Cassius, and other fearing themselues, when they hadde harde of his mercye shewed at Ephesus, they came and submitted themselues to him, and he pardoned them, except such as were priuie to the conspiracie, for to them he was intreatable. He did comfort the cities y were grieuously oppressed, and gaue priuileges to the Lycians, and exhorted the Xanthians to restore their Cities. He gaue to the Rodians, Andrus, Tenus, Naxus and Myndus, which shortly after he toke from them, bycause of their sharpe gouernement.

Lucius Cassius is pardoned of Antony.

Priuileges giue to the Lycians, & Xanthians exhorted to restore their cities.

Ilands giuen to the Rhodians called Cyclades nigh to Euboea.

He graunted the Tarsenians and Laodiceans libertie, and made free al the Citizens of Tarsus, that had bin taken with priuiledge: he receiued the Athenienses very gently, & gaue the Ilands, Aegina, Icon, Ceam, Sciathus & Peparetus. Then going through Phrygia, Mysia, Gallogratia, Cappadocia, Cilicia, Celosyria, Palestina, Iturea, and other prouinces of Syria, he put great Tributs vpon the. He toke vp matters of controuersie of princes and Cities, euen as hee wold himself. And wher the controuersie for Cappadocia was betweene Sisinna and Ariarathes, he preferred Sisinna for Glaphyra his fayre mothers sake. In Syria he deliuered the townes of Tirannes. In Cilicia he accused Cleopatra, bycause she did not helpe Cesar in his wars. She did not so much excuse hir selfe, as boaste that she had sent foure legions to Dolobella, at the beginning of y warre, hauing prepared a Nauy, was letted by tempestes, and by the chaunce of Dolobella that was soner ouercome than she loked for: and that notwithstanding, Cassius twice threatning hyr, she contemned him, and Murcus also, and with a riche Nauy, sayled into the Ionian sea, & there beside other losses, fel sicke. Wherfore she returned no more to the sea, after the victorie was won.

Ilands giuen to the Athenienses. Aegina, sometime Aenone vvhere children vvel brought vp proued euill.

Gallogrecia is in Asia the lesse the people be called Gallacs.

Celestina, that part of Syria that is next Arabia.

Iturea, is the playne of the countrey.

Antony partiall, Sinna preferred of affection.

Cleopatra accused.

Cleopatra excuseth hir selfe.

Kk iij. Then

When *Antonie* being caughte in minde with the sight of hir, he began to loue hir, like a yong man, though he were fourty yeres of age, his nature (as it seemeth) euer being pliant to that thing: and before, he hadde a minde to hir, when he was a Captaine of horsemen at *Alexandria*, vnder *Gabinius*.

Antony in loue.

Now leauing his wonted diligence, hée did all things as *Cleopatra* woulde haue him, without respecte of God or mannes lawe. In so much, as he sente Souldiours to kill *Arsinoe* hir sister, that was fledde into the Temple of *Diana*, crying for mercy: and commaunded the *Tyrians* to deliuer *Serapion*, Captaine of *Cypres*, to *Cleopatra*, being fledde for saftie to *Tyrus*. Likewise he commaunded the *Arcadians* to doe with another fugitiue, bicause he toke vppon him the person of *Ptolomeus*, *Cleopatras* brother, being ouercome in *Nilus* of *Cæsar*, and neuer seene after. He also commaunded *Megabyses* a Priestes of *Diana* of *Ephesus*, to be deliuered, bicause he receiued *Arsinoe* as a Quéene: but when the *Ephesians* made sute to *Cleopatra* for him, he let him goe: so sone was he changed. This affection was the beginning of his troubles, and ende of his life. When *Cleopatra* was gone home, he sent his horsemen to spoyle the *Palmirians*, a Cittie not farre from *Euphrates*, a lighte offence beeing obiected to them, for a fashion, bicause dwelling in the confines of the *Romanes*, and the *Parthians*, they seemed to bee of doubtful faith, for they were merchants, and brought and fetched the wares of *India* and *Persida*, to the *Romanes*: but in very déede it was to enrich his horsemen. And when the *Palmirians* had vnderstanding of it, they conueyed away their goods, and garded them with Archers, wherin they excelled. The horsemen finding the Cittie voyde, went away emptie and vnhurtfull. Of thys occasion the warres of *Parthia* seemed to ryse, many of the tyrannes of the countreye of *Syria* resorting to them. For this countrey (till *Antiochus* the good, and his sonne) was vnder Kings, successoures of *Seleucus*: but being brought into the forme of a prouince, they had *Scaurus* their Président, to whome the Senate sent other successours, and among them, *Gabinius*, which made warre vpon the *Alexandrians*. *Crassus* succéeded *Gabinius*, which was after slayne of the *Parthians*.

Antony made cruel by *Cleopatra*.

Tyrus, sometime an Ilande after ioyned to the land by *Alexander*.

The king of *Aegipt* deade & neuer founde.

The lightnesse of *Antony*.

The state of *Syria*.

Scaurus. *Gabinius*. *Crassus*.

Parthians. But after the death of *Cæsar*, and sedition rysing, euery Citie was holden by an vsurper, the *Parthians* helping them. And nowe hadde they entred *Syria*, (*Crassus* being deade) one alluring another: from whence *Antonie* droue them away, and made them flée to the *Parthians*. Which being done, he put tributes vpon the people, and did not pacifie the prouince after the commotion of the *Palmirians*, but diuided his armye into wintering places. He went to *Cleopatra* into *Egipt*, of whome being princely receyued, he taried the Winter with hir, lyke a priuate man in another mans kingdome, eyther to shewe, that the rule pertayned not to him: or to be the more fitte to frequent the feastful dayes of the Winter. And leauing all cares of a Captaine, he put on a *Greekes* robe, and such a garment, as the *Athenienses* and *Egiptians* Priestes do vse. And he resorted onely to temples, scooles, and assemblies of Philosophers, keping company with the *Grecians* that obeyed *Cleopatra*, for whose cause hée had (as hée sayde) made that voyage.

Antony priuate.

Cæsar Octauian in the meane time fell sicke in his iourney to *Rome*, and verie dangerously at *Brundusie*, where it was sayd, he was deade. Being recouered, he entred the Citie, and deliuered *Antonies* letters to his Captaines, who strayght commaunded *Celenus* to deliuer two legions to *Octauian*, and wrote into *Africa* to *Sextius*, to deliuer that prouince: both the which were done. Then discharging *Lepidus* of his suspition, he committed *Africa* to his gouernement, and solde such goods of the condemned men, as were not yet bought. Going about to place his Souldiors in their dwellings, and to diuide their landes, he founde greate troubles: For, the Souldiors required euery best Citie in *Italy*, as they were chosen before the warre. Contrary, those Cities required, that all *Italy* might be contributarie to this diuision, & the places of dwelling might be apointed by lot. The souldiors also required the value of the lands, because there was no common pay. Both olde and yong women, and children, assembled togither in the Temples and publique places, lamenting and complaining, that they of all Nations of *Italy*, should be putte from their houses and landes, as prisoners in the warre. The people

Octauian sicke.

Diuision of *Italy* to the souldiors.

people wepte for these miseries, and most of all, when they remembred that it was not done for the common wealth, but for the priuate lust of a fewe, the whiche had ouerthrowne the common weale, and now gaue their Soldiours rewardes, that they by that gifte, should be ready to serue their turnes, and still keepe downe the common state. *Cæsar* appeased the Cities, and shewed the cause of necessitie, and that all was not sufficient. And he sayth truth, for the neyghbours were oppressed of the soldiours, goyng beyond their boundes, & catching more than was giuen them, & taking euer the best. Neyther were they frayed by *Cæsars* rebukes, nor cõtented with new gifts, for they did now litle force of the princes, who had neede of their helpe, to hold vp their ambition. For now the ende of the fiue yeares approched, & euery one had neede of seuerall helpe to maintayne his Lordship. The Soldiours had neede of them, to keepe still that which was giuen them: they had neede of the Souldiours fauour, to confirme their rule. *Cæsar* also comforted the needy Soldiours with other gifts, bestowyng money of Temples, wherby he wonne their hartes, they beyng thankefull to him, as of whome they had receyued their landes and goodes, and they that were spoyled, cryed out vpon him, whither he serued for the Soldiours sakes.

Miserie of *Italy*.

Insatiableneſſe of Soldiours

Octauian exclaimed vpon.

Lucius brother to *Antonius* beyng Consull, and his wife *Fuluia*, and *Manius* that had the ouersight of his things in his absence, that this benefite ought not seeme to be onely of *Octauius*, nor to haue only the thanke, and the other generall be defrauded of the fauour of the Soldiours, vsed subtill meanes, that the placyng of the inhabitauntes might be deferred till *Antonius* comming. Whiche when it seemed impossible, for the hatte of the Souldiours, they desired of *Octauian*, that they might place *Antonius* Souldiours, although by agreement it was graunted to *Cæsar Octauian* by *Antonie*, which they require to be true. Wherefore by ryding *Fuluia* with *Octauius* little children to the campe, they besought them instantly, not to suffer *Antonie* to be defrauded of his thankes, and remoue from the hatte of him. *Antonies* name was then very glorious among the Soldiours, any others, for the victory at *Philippi* [illegible] only, because

Antonies Souldiers placed by his friendes.

Antonie renoumed.

of

of *Cæsars* sickneſſe. Thaugh *Octauian* ſawe that couenaunt was broken, yette for *Antonies* ſake, hée was content to gyue place: ſo *Antonies* legions were placed wyth very much licence, that they ſhoulde not ſerue to bée inferiour to the beneſitte of *Cæsar*.

There were other Cities neare to theſe, whoſe lands were deuided to the Souldiours, whiche ſuffered many iniuries of the Souldiours, the Citizens crying to *Octauian*, that diuiſion of landes was nowe more cruell, than proſcriptions of lyfe. For then enimies were puniſhed, now innocentes are plagued. *Cæsar* did well perceyue the iniurie, but coulde not remedie it. For neyther had hée money wherewith to pay the poſſeſſours of the lande, neyther could the rewardes of victory be deferred, for the warres that myght enſue. *Pompey* beyng Lorde of the Sea, who cauſed famine in the Cittie, all victuall beyng kepte away: *Aenobarbus* and *Murcus*, hauyng an other army, and gatheryng an other nauie: and the Souldiours the more vnwillyng, except they haue prompte kepte: and the ſpace of fiue yeares was almoſte come, ſo as they muſte haue néede of Souldiours, and therefore bare with their inſolencie: In ſo muche, as in the Theatre a common Souldiour wantyng a proper ſeate wente and ſatte in the place of a Gentleman. The people noted it, and *Cæsar* rayſed hym. The Souldiours were angry at it, and when *Cæsar* came from the paſſe tyme they compaſſed him, and requyred their felow Souldiour, whome they thought to be deſtroyed. But when hée came, they ſayde he came out of priſon, whiche bycauſe hée denied, they ſayde hée was hyred ſo to ſay, and was a Traytour to hys company. This rudeneſſe was vſed in the Theatre.

Oppreſſion of Cities.

Pompey, *Aenobarbus* and *Murcius* Lordes of the ſea.

Inſolencie of Souldiours.

Theatre the place vvhere they beholde paſtyme.

Inſolencie of Souldiours.

Beyng called to the diuiſion into the campe of *Mars*, and comming to it by night, they were angry that *Cæsar* tarried ſo long. *Nonius* a Capitayne rebuked them, and tolde them their dutie, and put the cauſe vpon *Cæsars* ſickeneſſe. They called him flatterer, and threwe ſtones vppon him, and droue him to take a water, out of the whiche they toke hym vp dead, and layde hym in the waye where *Cæsar* ſhoulde paſſe, who was monished by hys frendes, not to truſte theyr rage, but hée to auoyde

Nonius kylled of the Soldiers.

Vproare of Souldiours.

furder inconuenience by hys absence, wente on, and when hée sawe the dead body of *Nonius*, he went aside. And when the fault was layde vpon a fewe, hée willed them hereafter one to spare another, and so gaue them giftes and distribution of lands, and rewarded some beyonde their owne expectation. Which confidencie of hym they so lyked, as they requyred that the kyllers of *Nonius* myghte bée punyshed. Hée sayde, hée knewe them well inough, and was satisfied wyth their confession and conscience: and the reste hée forgaue. By the whyche mercy and liberalitie, beyng prouoked, they made greate shoutes of hys felicitie. These two contempts of the Souldiours among many other, may suffice to be shewed.

Sufferance and liberalitie of Octauian.

Cause of disorder among the Souldiours.

The cause of thys, were they, that without lawfull authoritie, (as happeth in ciuill warres) takyng vppon them to bée Capitaynes, led these Souldiours, not to serue their countrey, but themselues: not agaynst enimies, but agaynst Citizens. This destroyed the discipline of the *Romanes* warre. The Souldiour, rather desirous to serue for pryuate affection, and the Capytaynes to abuse them for pryuate commoditie. Not onely a Souldiour, but whole armies were to bée bought for money. And it was offence to fauour the good, and prayse to aduaunce the euill. So as for lighte causes, whole armies would go from a good and lawfull leader, to a lewde and vsurpyng Captayne: (lyke agréeyng with lyke) the Souldiours toke them for enimies, were they neuer so honest, that their Capitaynes hated. And the Capitaynes to haue Souldiours at hande, suffred them to committe things abhominable, without al reuerence of lawe and iustice. So nowe all discipline beyng corrupted, they were compted best, that could rayse moste sedition.

Discipline corrupted.

The Citie in the meanetime, was in great penurie, their prouision of corne beyng stopped by *Pompey*. In *Italie*, tillage beyng almost lefte for the continuaunce of warre, and that that there was, beyng consumed of the Souldiours: and in the Citie, thieues and murderers by night, were vnpunished, for what euer was done, was imputed to the Souldiour. The commons shutte vp they shoppes, and were without officers, whiche would not

Penurie and troubled in Rome.

serue

serue where thekte was suffred.

But *Lucius*, beyng well affected to the common wealth, and greeued with the power of the three Princes, continuyng longer than the time appoynted, contended with *Cæsar* for he onely promised helpe to the olde possessioners, making supplication to all the officers, & they promised their seruice to him. Wherby, both *Antonies* Souldiours, and *Cæsar* himself, accused him as an enimy to him, and *Fuluia* also, as stirrers of warre out of time. But a deuise of *Manius* preuayled, which perswaded *Fuluia*, that if *Italie* were in quiet, *Antony* would remayne with *Cleopatra* in *Aegipt*, but if warres were styred, he would come quickly. Then *Fuluia* of a womanishe passion, incensed *Lucius*, & when *Cæsar* wente to place the newe inhabitancies, *Antonies* children and *Lucius* wente with them, that *Cæsar* should not haue the whole thankes, by goyng alone. *Cæsars* horsemenne scoured the coaste toward *Sicelie*, that *Pompey* should not spoyle it. *Lucius* either afrayde in deede, or fayning to bee afrayde, that these horsemen were sente agaynst him and *Antonies* children, wente in haste to the inhabitauncies of *Antonie*, to gette a garde about him, accusing *Cæsar*, as vnfaithfull to *Antony*. But he answered, that he kept faith & friendship with *Antonie*, & that *Lucius* fought to moue warre, for y he was offended with the rule of the three, by the which the newe inhabitants might take full possession, & that the horsemen were yet in the coast, & did their duties. Whē *Antonies* Souldiours vnderstode this, they made a meeting with him at *Theano*, and were reconciled to him with these conditions.

That he should deuide no lāds but to such as serued at *Philippi*.

That the money of the condemned men, & their landes, should be equally diuided among *Antonies* Souldiours.

That hereafter one alone should not leuy men.

That two legions of *Antonies* should serue *Cæsar* against *Pompey*.

That the *Aegipt* towarde vpon should be open to the nauie that *Cæsar* sent, and not be shut by *Asinius*.

That *Lucius* should putaway his garde, and exercise his office with quietnesse.

These were the couenants, whereof onely the two last were

Lucius taketh parte with the old husbandmen.

Manius counsell.

Fuluia Antonies wyfe stirreth warres.

Begynnyng of suspition.

ne.

Teano, a cittie by *Via Appia*.

An other in *Apulia*.

Conditions betwene *Cæsar* & *Antonies* souldiours.

kepte. And *Saluidienus* paſſed the *Alpes* ſpyte of them that kepte them, the reſt were deferred. Wherfore *Lucius* went to *Preneſte*, affirmyng he was afrayde of *Cæſar* hauyng a garde aboute him, and he none. *Fuluia* alſo went to *Lepidus*, ſaying, ſhe was afrayde of hir children, for ſhe truſted him better than *Cæſar*. And they bothe wrote to *Antonie*, certaine frendes carying their letters, that might certifie him of all thyngs, the copies whereof I haue long ſought, and can not finde. Then the chiefe of the armies, agréed to take vp thys matter, and affirmed they woulde compell hym that were vnwillyng. They ſente for *Lucius* frendes to come to them, whiche they denying to doe, *Cæſar* accuſed them, as well to the chiefe of the armies, as to the officers of the Cities.

Preneſte nowe *Palæſtrina* a Citie in *Latio*.

Fuluia fleeth to *Lepidus*.

Then great reſorte was made to *Lucius* out of the Citie, beſeechyng him to haue compaſſion of afflicted *Italie*, and take ſome man, that eyther with him, or with the Capitaynes might make an ende of the matter. And where as *Lucius* had regarde both of them that ſpake, and alſo of the thyngs ſpoken, *Manius* anſweared ſharpely. That *Antonie* onely gathered money of ſtrange nations, but *Cæſar* did gette mens loue by preuention of the armies and litte places of *Italy*. For by fraude he had gotten *Fraunce*, which was *Antonies* prouince, and for .xviij. cities, that ſhould be giuen to the Soldiours, he ranſacked almoſte all *Italy*. And alſo gaue money to foure and thirty legions, not onely to eight and twentie that fought in hys quarrell: and that he had ſpoyled Temples in pretence of warre agaynſt *Pompey*, whiche was not yet begon, for all the greate dearth in the Citie, but in déede to winne the fauour of the Souldiours agaynſt *Antonie*, in ſo muche as the gwdes of the attaynted, are not ſolde before they be giuen to the: but if he ſéeketh peace, in good ſayth, he muſt make accompt of things he hath done, and hereafter do nothing but by conſent of bothe. This was the bolde anſweare of *Manius*, that neyther *Cæſar* ſhoulde doe any thing alone, nor the conenaunts betweene him and *Antonie* remayne firme, that is, that eyther of them ſhould haue full authoritie in their prouintes, and each confirme others actes.

Great reſorte to *Lucius*.

Manius anſwer ſharpe.

Cæſar

Cæsar séeyng that they soughte warre, prepared hymselfe for it, but the two legions that were placed out of *Ancona*, and first serued his father, and after *Antony*, for the loue they bare to them both, sente Ambassadors to *Rome*, to pray them to haue respect to peace. And when *Cæsar* aunswered that he swerued not with *Antony*, but *Lucius* wyth hym, the Embassadors conferring with the officers of *Antonyes* Souldyoures, sente a common Embassage to *Lucius*, requiring hym to be contente to committe hys difference wyth *Cæsar*, to arbitrement, affirming they woulde take vppon them, excepte he woulde condiscende. Hauing obteyned their requeste, *Gabij* was appoynted the place of méeting, in the midde way betweene *Rome* and *Preneste*. There was prepared a seate for the Iudges, and two chayres to shewe the cause. *Cæsar* came firste, and sente Horsemen that way that *Lucius* shoulde come, eyther to sée what *Lucius* dyd, or whether there were any traynes layde. They lyghted vpon *Antonyes* Horsemen, whyche came as forerunners of *Lucius*, or to sée if all were cléere: they fell to fight, and some were kylled. Wherefore *Lucius* wente backe for feare of treason (as he sayde) and béeing called of the chiefe of the army, promising hym to conducte him safe, he refused. Thus the pacifyers béeyng deceyued, warre was threatned wyth bitter wordes betweene them. *Lucius* hadde fiue legions, of the leuie whiche he toke when he was created Consull, beside eleuen of *Antonyes*, vnder Captayne *Caleno*, and all those in *Italy*.

Souldioures of *Ancona* labour for peace.

Gabij a people, destroyed by *Tarquinius Superbus*.

Meeting at *Gabij*.

A fight by chance.

The daye frustrate.

The warre breaketh.

Lucius power.

Cæsar hadde foure Legions at *Capua*, and certayne bandes for his person.

Cæsars power.

Saluidienus broughte other fyue Legions out of *Spayne*.

Antium was a Citie in *Latio*, very good vpon the Sea.

Lucius had money of the prouinces that *Antony* had pacifyed.

Lanuuium, now *Indouma*.

Cæsar hadde of all them that came vnto hym by lotte, excepte *Sardinia*, whyche was then in warre.

Treasure houses of holy money.

He gote much of Temples, promising to render it with interest, that is, of *Capitolio*, *Antio*, *Lanuuio*, *Nemore*, *Tiburi*, in the whyche Cities be treasures at this day of holy money.

Tibure now *Tiuoli*.

Nemore, not farre from *Aritia*.

Out of *Italy* all things were not quiet, for *Pompey*, by reiorte of condemned Citizens, and auntient possessioners, was greatly

Pompey increaseth.

increased, both in mighte, and estimation: for they that feared their life, or were spoyled of their goodes, or lyked not the present state, fledde all to hym. And this disagreemente of *Lucius*, augmented hys credite: beside a repayre of yong men, desirous of gayne and seruice, not caring vnder whome they went, bycause they were all *Romanes*, sought vnto him. And among other, hys cause seemed most iust. He was wared riche by boties of the Sea, and he hadde good store of Shyppes, with their furniture. *Murcus* also brought him two legions, and fiue hundred archers, much money, and fourescore Shippes: and he had another army from *Cephalenia*. Wherefore mē thynke, that if he had then inuaded *Italy*, he might easily haue gotte it, which being afflicted with famine and discord, loked for him. But *Pompey* of ignorance had rather defend his owne, than inuade others, till so he was ouercome also. In *Affrica Sextius* the Lieutenant to *Antony*, beyng lately commaunded to deliuer his charge to *Fagio Cæsars* Lieutenant, and sent againe to take it from *Fagio*, who would not deliuer it, but made warre, hauing a bande of discharged Souldyoures, and a number of *Africanes*, and the helpe of the Princes there. And when *Fagio* was ouercome in both wings of his battell, and also lost his Campe, thinking it had come by treason, killed himselfe, and so *Sextius* once agayne was Lord of both prouinces of *Affrica*. *Bocchus* King of the *Mauritians*, at the persuasion of *Lucius*, made warre vpon *Carinas*, Gouernour of *Spayne* for *Cæsar*. And *Aenobarbus* with lxx. Shippes, and two legions, and a band of archers and venturers, scouring the sea of *Ionia*, destroyed the regions that accepted the rule of the three men. And being come to *Brundusie*, he partly toke the Gallyes of *Cæsar*, and partly burned them, and driuing the *Brundusians* within their wall, spoiled the lands. *Cæsar* sent a legion thither, and willed *Saluidienus* to come out of *Spayne*. And throughout *Italy* men were mustered in hast, as well of *Cæsars* Captaynes, as of *Antonys*, for *Dacha* Dyuers fightes there was betweene them both, in iust battell, and in ambushmentes. The fauoure of *Italy* was more enclined to *Lucius*, bycause he fought for them against the new inhabitants. Not onely the Cities that were giuen in pray, but also all *Italy*

was

Resort to *Pompey*.

Cephalenia, an Iland in the *Ionian* Sea.

Pompey loseth his occasion.

Honor of *Pompey*.

Sextius.

Fagio.

Fagio killeth himselfe.

Bocchus.

Carinas.

Italy troubled all ouer.

was stirred, fearing the lyke calamitie, and reiecting *Cæsars* souldioures that borowed holy money, and partly kylling them, they gaue aide to *Lucius*, keeping their Cities for him. Contrarywise the new inhabitants stucke to *Cæsar*, as though eyther laboured for their owne. In this state, *Cæsar* called the Senatoures and the Gentlemen, and thus spake vnto them: I know I am contemned of *Lucius* faction as a coward, and afrayde of myne owne weakenesse: and that contempt is increased by your assembly. I haue a valiant army, both that which he iniureth by hyndering their possession, and also that which afore time haue serued vnder my banner, the rest be as sure, except one meaning. I delighte not in ciuill warres that be not necessary, nor do thinke to abuse the Citizens that be left, to destroy one another, chiefly in thys ciuill motion, the miserie whereof shall not be tolde from *Macedonia* or *Thracia*, but shall be séene in *Italy*. The which if it be the fielde of this warre, what incommodities shall it suffer. This is the cause why it yreketh me to beginne first. And now I protest, that I neyther quarrell with *Antony*, nor do anye thing why he should quarrell with me. It is your part, that for your selues you do reprowue *Lucius*, with his abettors, whome I praye you to reconcile vnto me: but if they continue in their obstinacie, I shall make it knowen, that I am not slowe for feare, but for consideration. You shall be witnesses not onely to me, but also to *Antony*, that I am driuen to this necessitie, by the insolencie of *Lucius*. When *Cæsar* had thus said, they returned in hast to *Prenestle*. *Lucius* answered only this, that the matter would come to tryall on both sides shortly, and that *Cæsar* dissembled, who had sente a legion to *Brunduse*, to stoppe *Antonyes* passage from *Italy*. *Manius* also shewed *Antonyes* Epistle, false or true I can not tell, whych willed his estimatiõ to be maintayned, though it were by warre. And when the Embassadors of the Senate did demaunde, if any mã did blemish his estimation, & if they did, they should cõplaine to ỹ Iudges. *Manius* vsed many threatnings againe, till they wẽt away without conclusiõ. Yet ỹ Embassadors dyd not shew ỹ answere to *Cæsar*, either bycause he knew it particularly, or bycause they wer abashed, or for some other cause. Then present war appered. *Cæsar* made prouisiõ, & left *Lepidus* Gouernor of ỹ citie wt a garrison

Oration to the Senate.

A letter of *Antonyes* shewed.

No conclusiõ of peace.

Lepidus Gouernoure of the Citie.

garrison of two legions. Many of the noble men of *Rome* reso-
Resort to *Lucius*. rted to *Lucius*, declaryng that the authoritie of three men did dis-
Alba longa. please them. And thus thys warre followed after thys sort. Two
Mutinie of two legions. legions of *Lucius* at *Alba* made a tumulte, and droue away their
Captaynes, and were readye to reuolte. *Cæsar* and *Lucius* both
made hast to them. *Lucius* came fyrste, and wyth many fayre
wordes and promises stayde them. *Furnius* brought hym ano-
ther army, and *Cæsar* cutte off the tayle of it, and droue *Furnius* to
Furnius besieged at *Sentia*, betweene *Campania* and *Umbra*. an hyll. The that nyght following wente to *Sentia*, a Citie of hys
faction, whome *Cæsar* would not follow for feare of traynes, but
the next day besieged the Citie. *Lucius* went to *Rome* wyth al hast,
Lucius entreth the Citie. and sent in three bandes by night, he followyng with his armye,
where he was receyued of *Nonius* that had the gard of the gate,
and toke hys Souldyoures to seruice. *Lepidus* escaped, and wente
Lepidus fleeth. *Lucius* to the people of *Rome*. « to *Cæsar*. *Lucius* assembled the people, and put them in good hope,
« that *Cæsar* and *Lepidus* shoulde be punished for their misgouerne-
« ment, and that hys brother woulde willingly giue ouer his vn-
« lawfull authoritie, and take the Consulshyp for it, which was an
« office instituted by theyr auntient fathers. When he had sayd
thus muche, the people beyng glad, and thinking that the three
mens authoritie should sone ceasse, saluted hym Generall, which
done, he went against *Cæsar*, gathering by the way another host
of the places of *Antonyes* inhabitance, and settled them, being
Barbatius. well affected to *Antony*: but *Barbatius*, who had bin his treasou-
rer in warre, and was sente from hym in displeasure, tolde the
people that *Antony* was angry with them that fyred against
Cæsar, and the common authoritie. The people beyng thus abu-
People forsaketh Lucius. sed, forsoke *Lucius*, and wēt to *Cæsar*. *Lucius* now marched against
Saluidienus, *Asinius*, *Ventidius*, *Agrippa*. *Saluidienus*, that brought great power out of *France* to *Cæsar*, and
Asinius, and *Ventidius*, *Antonyes* Captaynes, followed at ỹ tayle,
so as he coulde not goe forward. *Agrippa* a man most trusty to
Cæsar, fearing least *Saluidienus* should be espialled, toke *Lombardy*,
ỹ which place he thought *Lucius* could not spare, & that he would
leaue *Saluidienus*, & come against him, & so might *Saluidienus* fol-
low at ỹ tayle. And *Agrippa* was not deceiued, for whē *Lucius* saw
he was deceiued of his purpose, he repaired to *Asinius*, & *Ventidius*,

whereby

whereby *Saluidienus* and *Agrippa*, were free to take what aduantage they could: whiche, when *Lucius* perceyued, and durste not fight with them both, he went to *Perugia*, a Citie wel defensed, and there encamped, loking for *Ventidius*: but by and by *Cæsar*, *Agrippa* & *Saluidienus* comming vpō him, he was besieged with three armies at *Perugia*: and least *Lucius* might escape their hāds, they sent to *Cæsars* other forces, to deteine *Asinius* & *Ventidius*, although they made no great hast, nor approued that warre, nor were sure of *Antonies* minde. Beside, there was emulation betweene them, eyther of them seeking to be leader of all.

Lucius goeth to *Perugia*.

Occasion of the hinderaunce of *Lucius*.

Lucius being thus besieged, neyther durste giue battel, being inferiour not only in number, but also in goodnesse of Soldiors, nor departe from thence, so manye being readye to molest him: therfore he sent to *Ventidius* and *Asinius*, by *Manius*, to perswade thē to come to helpe hym & thē that were besieged. He sent also *Titinius*, with foure thousande horse, to spoyle *Cæsars* landes, that thereby he myght call him from the siege, and so haue *Perugia*, free to winter in, if neede were, til *Ventidius* and his company myghte come. But *Cæsar* hauing al his power togither, compassed the place, eight miles aboute, bycause of the hills that be there, and made a long trenche to *Tiber*, that nothing shoulde be brought from thence to *Perugia*. *Lucius* after lyke sorte trenched the rutes of the hilles. *Fuluia* commaunded *Ventidius*, *Asinius*, *Nonius* and *Calenus* to make haste to helpe them that were besieged, and gathered a newe hoste, and sente it by *Plancus* to *Lucius*. Whyls *Plancus* by the waye cutte off a legion of *Cæsars*. And whereas *Asinius* and *Ventidius* went very slowly, as vncertaine of *Antonius* will, yet for *Fuluia* and *Manius* sake, they came forwarde. *Cæsar* with *Agrippa* went to meete them, leauing sufficient forces at *Perugia*. But they diuersed themselues: the one to *Rauenna*, the other to *Arimeno*, and *Plancus* to *Spoleto*. *Cæsar* leauing againste both of them power to keepe them from ioyning againe togither, returned to *Perugia*, and added rampires to the ditches, making the ditches more large, by thirtie foote, both in breadth and depnesse. He made also the trenches stronger, and ioyned to them 150 towers of wodde, 15 foote alum-

Siege of *Perugia*.

Cæsar encloseth *Lucius*.

Tiberius springeth aboute *Arezzo*, and goeth thorough *Toscane* to *Rome*. nouv Tenere.

Fuluia.

Plancus.

Lucius powver diseuereth themselues.

Rauenna standeth at the gulfe of *Venice*.

Arimeno on the side of the *Pinesian* Sea.

Spoleto in *Vmbria*.

der, so as they serued for bothe turnes, as well to resiste them that came to the Citie, as to kéepe them in, that woulde come out of it. In the whych tymes there were manye sallies made out of the citye, *Cæsars* men being the better a far off with shot, & *Lucius* more bolde at hand stroks. But whē the worke was finyshed, famine toke the citty, & encresed daily. For neither ỳ citizēs nor *Lucius*, had made any prouision of victuals. Which, when *Cæsar* vnderstood, he kept thē the straighter. The night before the Calends of January, *Lucius* thinking ỳ fearfull time would haue wrought negligēce among the enimies, he gaue an assaulte to ỳ camp, thinking he might haue put in some companions, whiche he had many in diuerse places: but one legion being quickly called of the watch, & *Cæsar* comming with his bands, after a sharp fight, *Lucius* was repulsed. At this time in *Rome*, corn being kept for the vse of the soldiors, the people with tumult & contention ran into priuate houses, & toke what corne they could. Now *Ventidius* soldiors thinking it a shame not to helpe *Lucius*, marched forth, and ouerthrew *Cæsars* garisons in euery place. But when *Agrippa* and *Saluidienus* were come with more mē, they turned to *Fulginio*, a castle not far off frō *Perugia*, where being besieged of *Agrippa*, they signified by night to *Lucio*, ẅ many fiers, where they were. Then it was thought best to try it out by fight. But *Plancus* counsel. *Plancus* thought it best to stay, & not to hazard the selues betwene *Cæsar* and *Agrippa*, which sentence preuayled. They that were besieged at *Perugia*, when they saw the fiers, they were glad, and thought there was some impediment ỳ they came not forward. and when the fire ceassed, they thought they had bin destroyed. Then *Lucius* oppressed with famine, made sallies out of the citty from the first watch vntil break of day, on euery side: but being repulsed in euery place, he retired, & perusing the victuals, commanded, that the bondmen shold haue none, & yet to be kept, that they shold not get out to shew the need to ỳ enimie. They ran about in Orchards & gardens, & eate grasse & leaues where they could find any: & whē they were pined, *Lucius* put thē into dishes, that the enimy shold not perceiue any burials, nor the Citty be infected with the sauors. But no end being of hunger nor death, the

Sallies out of the citye.

Famine in *Perusgia*.

Calendes be the firste daye of the moneth.

Ianuarie, is the firste moneth of the yeare.

Lucius assayleth the campe.

Tumulte in *Rome* for corne.

Ventidius.

Fulginio.

Extremitie of famine.

Misery of slaues

the soldiors being weary, desired *Lucius* to sally out again, & they would breake the contrary trench. Whose feruentnesse when *Lucius* saw, he said: Of late we did not fighte so valiauntly as we might haue done, now therfore yelde, or fight to death. Euery man consented. Therfore that the night shoulde giue none occasion to cowardnesse, they desired they might go to it in the daye: and so *Lucius* led them forth, at breake of day, with many scales and engins of yron and other, to fill the ditches and climbe the trenches, and with all kind of weapons to throw. Thus they issued with great violence, and filled the ditches without stoppe, and casting their engins to the wall, some did beate downe the trenche: some set vp their scales, and some assaulted the toures, and without all respect of death fought it out, notwithstanding the great resistaunce that was made with the shotte on the contrary parte. This fight was in diuers places, so as the defence was the weaker. The fight was fierce vpon the bridge which they passed, and also scaled the rampire, and were like to haue vanquished desperate feate, except the most valiat of *Cæsars* host, and with like courage come to the resistāce, euer being relieued with freshe men: & the other at length being tyred, were thrown from the trench, and their engins broke, and yet they stucke to it without shrinking, though strength and voice failed them. Yet not being able to resist, and ashamed to giue place, they abode it, till *Lucius* did blow the retreat, at the which, when *Cæsars* souldiours did make great token of gladnesse, *Lucius* men stroken with shame, toke their scales again, and approched the wal: but not able to do any good, *Lucius* againe did cal them backe, ꝑ they shoulde not caste away their liues in vaine. Then with heauye harts and agaynst their wils they retired.

Lucius to hys souldiors.

Assaulte of the Trenche.

The fiercenesse of the fyght.

Lucius repulsed.

This was the end of this sharpe assaulte. *Cæsar* then appointed souldiours to warde at the trenche, and at a token, to leape vppe to the wall, whyche they dyde, thoughe they hadde none occasion, exercising themselues, and discouraging their foes. *Lucius* souldiours remained sadde, and the wards were negligentlye kepte, so as diuers fledde into the Campe not onely of the common sorte, but also some Capitaynes. *Lucius*

was inclined to peace, pitying the multitude that perished, one thing hindred it, that *Cæsars* enimies were afraid of themselues, but whē it was heard that he vsed the fugitiues gētly, and that he was desirous of no mans death, thē *Lucius* thought it expedient, without anye further respect, to seeke peace. And least the people wouloe deliuer hym for all, he thoughte he would prone their mindes, and thus saide:

Lucius enclined to peace.

Lucius to the besieged.

My desire and intent was (O souldiour fellowes) to haue reduced the common wealth, to that state ẏ our ancestors left it, bycause I sawe the office of the three men tourned into Tirannye, and not amended after the death of *Brutus* and *Cassius*, by whome they made their pretence of warre. For *Lepidus* being remoued from their Colledgeship, and *Antony* occupy in farr parts, this man alone dothe here what he liketh: the lawes be onely pretences, and shadowes, I seeking remedy for these incommodities, and minding to haue restored the commō wealth, I required that the souldiors, hauing their due rewardes, the power of one might haue bin abolished, which bicause I could not do, I went aboute to doe it by force and power. Then the man accused me to the army, as one ẏ pitied the auncient inhabitance: of the which accusation being ignorant, & not beleuing it when I hearde of it, bycause I was sure you receiued landes by my diuision: yet many beleeued that false accusation, and ioyned with him to make warre against vs, whiche one day they shal find to be done against themselues. For I am witnesse, that you following the better part, haue labored for thē aboue your strength. Yet we be ouercome, not of the enimye, but of hunger, and as it were forsaken of our Captains. It should haue become me to haue abiden the vttermost for my country, & therby in the ende, haue had the praise of my good wil: but I cannot for you, whose safetie I preferre before my glory. Therfore I wyl send Ambassadors to the victour, and I wil require him to punish me only, and let you go, & that he would giue you ẏ forgiuenesse, which I do not aske for my selfe. You being Citizens as he is, & sometyme his souldiours, not nowe offending, but hauing a iust cause of war, be ouercome, not with fight, but with famine,

famine. When he had thus said, he sent by & by three of the officers that were chiefe. The rest of the multitude lamented, eyther their own case, or the Generalls, which meant wel as they did, and seemed to be a friende of the common wealth, and fayne to giue place to extreame necessitye. The Ambassadoures that were sent to *Cæsar*, remembred to him their common country, their common souldiours fare passed, the friendships of the noble men of both sos, the custome of their ancestors abhorring from suche deadly Dissentions, and other things to thys purpose. *Cæsar*, knowing that his enimies hoste consisted in olde and young souldiors, vsed arte, and saide, he pardoned all *Antonies* souldiors, the other he required to submitte to his discretion. Thus he spake openly, but secretly to *Furnius*, he signified he would pardon al, except his priuate enimies: which priuate talk with *Furnius*, they had in suspition, and saide, that war was not made for displeasure, but for common cause, and required *Lucius* either to haue general peace, or martial war. *Lucius* hauing pitie of those noble men that were equall in dignitie with the other, praised them, and saide he would sende other Ambassadors to him: and because he thought none so fit as himselfe, he would go alone without an Herault. When it was tolde *Cæsar* that *Lucius* was comming to him, he went straight to mete him, and they both came in sight, accompanied with their friends, in the habite of a General. When *Lucius* sending aside all his friends, went on with two Sergeants, signifying what he meant: and *Cæsar* following that beneuolence, shewed the like token of modestie. And when he saw *Lucius* come within his trenche, that to he might shew himselfe to be in his power, he first went out of the Trenche, that *Lucius* might be free to saue himselfe. Thus they did outwardly by tokens of courtesy, and when they were come to the ditche, and had saluted eche other, *Lucius* thus began.

Ambassadors to *Cæsar*.

Cæsars answere

Priuate talke.

Lucius goeth to *Cæsar*.

Cæsar meeteth with *Lucius*.

Lucius to *Cæsar*.

If I had made this warre with straungers, I would haue bin ashamed (O *Cæsar*) to haue bin ouercome, and more ashamed to yelde myselfe: from the which ignominie, I would easilye haue deliuered my life: But because I haue dealt with a Citizen of like authoritie, and that for my country, I thinke it no

Vt.ity. shame,

shame for such a cause to be overcome of such a manne, which I speake, not that I refuse to suffer any thyng that thou wilt put vpon mee, beyng come to this campe, without an Herauld, but to aske pardon for other, vnfit and commodious for thyne estate. Which, that thou mayste vnderstande the more playnly, I will separate theyr cause from mine, that after thou shalt vnderstand that I am the onelye cause, thou mayste exercise thine anger vppon me. Thinke not that I will inuey againste thée intentionsly, which now were oute of tyme, but will onelye tell the truth, which I cannot dissemble.

I toke thys warre agaynste thée, not that I wouldé bée a Prince, if I hadde dispatched thée: but that I myghte haue brought the Common wealth to the rule of the Senate, whyche is nowe taken awaye by the power of thée, as thou thy selfe canste not denye.

For when you begunne it, confessyng it vnlawfull, you sayde it was necessarye for a tyme, *Cæsar* and *Brutus* beyng alyue, who coulde not be reconciled vnto you. They being taken awaye, the reste, (if any reste there be) being afraide of you, and takyng armes, not agaynste the Common wealth, and youre tyme beeyng ended, I requyred that the oppressed Senate myghte be restored, not regardyng my brother before my Countrey. For I hoped to haue perswaded him at his retourne, and I made haste to doe it in the tyme of myne office. If thou wouldeste haue done so, thou shouldeste haue hadde the glorye alone, but bycause I could not perswade this, I wente to the Cittye, and thought to gette it by strength and force, being a Senatoure, and a Consull.

These were the onelye causes of this warre, not my brother, not *Manius*, not *Fulvia*, nor the landes diuided to the Souldyoures, that wanne the fielde at *Philippi*: not the pitie of the olde possessioners cast out of the landes: for by myne authoritie, some were appoynted to landes for my brothers

Legions,

Legions, the olde owners spoyled. But thys calumniation thou
dydest deuise, that thou mightest putte the faulte of the
warre from thy selfe, to me, and the newe inhabiters. And by
thys arte, wynnyng the heartes of the olde Souldyoures, thou
hast wonne also the victory: for it was persuaded them, that
I woulde putte them out by violence. These deuices were to be
vsed, when thou madest warre agaynste me. Nowe beyng
Conqueroure, if thou bee an enimie of thy Countrey, make
mee an enimie also, that coulde not remedie it, beyng lette
by sampyne. And thys I speake freelie, gyuing my selfe (as
I sayde) into thy handes, shewyng what I thought of thee
before, and nowe also, beyng with thee alone. Thus much
of my selfe.

Now, as concernyng my friendes, and the whole army:
if thou wilte beleeue me, I wyll gyue thee most profitable
councell. Doe not vse them hardly for my cause, and matter:
and seeyng thou arte a man, and subiect to vnkinde fortune,
make not thy friendes the flower to venture, for thee: if
they shall see examples gyuen of thee, nothyng to be hoped,
but to the Conqueroures. And if thou reiect all my councell,
as of thyne enimie, I maye not bee ashamed to craue par-
don of thee, that thou wouldest not exacte punishmente
of my friendes for my faulte or misefortune: but rather
turne all vppon mee, whyche am the cause of all these
troubles: for I haue lette them beyonde me of purpose,
least if I shoulde speake theyr things in theyr hearyng, I
shoulde seeme to laye some cause to them. To thys Cæ-
sar answered.

When I saw thee come to me without an Heraulde, I
came apace out of my campe, that thou mightest freelie bee
that mynde bee for thy good. And seeyng thee acknowled-
gyng thy faulte, thou submittest thy selfe to my po-
wer, I nede not confute the thyngs whyche thou hast obie-
cted a-

ged againſte me ſtrongly, but falſely, hurting mée now as thou
didſt before. For if thou hadeſt come to make confederation,
thou ſhouldeſt haue come to an angrye Conqueroure not with-
out a cauſe. But now, ſéeing without any condition, thou giueſt
thy ſelfe, thy friends and army to vs: al anger is taken awaye,
al neceſſitie of truce is cutte off. For nowe I muſte conſ-
der, not ſo much what you haue deſerued, as what is ſéemly for
mée to doe, whyche I hadde rather doe, eyther for Gods
cauſe, for my cauſe, or for thy ſake (O *Lucie*): neither will I de-
ceiue the expectation that thou haſte broughte with thée.

Cæſar pardoneth

Thus much do I find in the dayly notes of the Chronicles of
that time, in this matter. *Cæſar* marueiled at the noble & ſtout
courage of *Lucius*, ioyned with prudence: and *Lucius* marueiled at
the clemencie and quicke briefeneſſe of *Cæſar*: the other gathered
coniecture of their talke, by the countenaunce of them both.

The marueil of both Generalls.

Then *Lucius* ſent to the chiefe Captaynes, that they ſhoulde re-
ceiue the watche worde of *Cæſar*. They brought a booke of the
number, for ſo was the manner, as it is now, that when the cap-
taine aſketh the watche word, he offereth to the Prince a booke
of hys number euery day. Receyuing the watch worde, they did
not leaue the wonted watches, for ſo *Cæſar* commaunded that
they ſhould keepe watche ſeuerally. The nexte day *Cæſar* ſacrifi-
ced, and *Lucius* ſent the hoſte to *Cæſar*, carying their harneſſe, but
going in their common apparel, and a farre off they ſaluted *Cæ-
ſar*, as Generall, and ſtayde legion by legion, as *Cæſar* hadde ap-
pointed: for he deuided the olde legions from the young. When
he hadde ſacrificed, he ſate in the Generals ſeate, and comman-
ded euery one to lay downe their armour, which beeing done, he
commaunded the olde ſouldiours to draw nighe, that he might
reyoyne their kyndneſſe, and make them afraide, yet his mea-
ning was knowne well enough. Then whether it was of pur-
poſe, or of affection, *Cæſars* ſouldiours came ſuite of theyr pla-
ces, and embraced *Lucius* ſouldiours, and wept, and ſued to *Cæſar*
for them, and they woulde not leaue, but ſtil cryed vppon *Cæſar*,
ſo as there was muche mourning. But *Cæſar* chaunging hys
minde, and appeaſing the multitude, ſaid thus:

Lucius rendereth

A booke of the number of ſoldi-
oures.

Lucius ſouldiours receiue vvatche vvord of *Cæſar*.

Souldiours em-
bracing.

You

You my (fellowe Souldyers) haue alwayes so well serued me, as I can not deny you anything. The yong Souldyers, whiche I thinke haue serued iustly vnder *Lucius* standerd, I remitte: but those that haue heretofore bin ioyned with you in warre, and now be saued by your meane, I woulde aske, what iniurie I haue done them, or what grace denyed them, that they shoulde serue another, and beare armoure against me and you, and themselues? for I suffered all the paynes for diuision of the landes, of the which these were partakers, whose leudenesse nowe, if you will suffer me, I will punish. But they denying that, and continually calling for pardon, I graunt (quoth he) that you demaunde, let them goe free, so as hereafter they agree with you: whyche, beyng promised on both partes, thanks were cryed to *Cæsar*, who was contente that some shoulde be lodged in houses. The common sorte he willed to lye in their Campe, where they first were placed, tyll he sente them to wintering. Then sitting in the high seate, he called *Lucius*, and the chiefe out of *Perugia*, among whome, were many Senatoures and Gentlemen, all in beastie shape, who beyng out of the Towne, a garrison entred. When they were come, *Cæsar* toke *Lucius* to him, the other were committed to his friendes and officers, beyng warned to kepe them in honest and secrete custody. The *Perugians* crying for pardon ouer the wall, he commaunded to come without the Senate only, whyche beyng done, he pardoned them.

Cæsar pardoneth the yong Souldyoures.

Souldyers still crie for pardon.

Pardon.

Romanes appeared, and were vvell vsed for a time.

Perugians pardoned.

The Senatoures were putte in prison, and after kylled, except *Lucius Aemilius*, who being in *Rome*, when ỳ killers of *Cæsar* were cryed, he thoughte good they shoulde be punished, and the Citie purged. He mynded to haue gyuen the Citie in spoyle to the Souldyoures, but one *Sextius*, a madde fellowe, surnamed *Macedonian*, bycause he hadde serued in *Macedonia*, sette his owne house on fyre, and threwe himselfe into it, and the wynde beyng great, blew the fyre ouer all the Citie, and burned it, the temple of *Vulcane* only excepted. Thus was the ende of *Perugia*, an auntient and goodly Citie, for (they say) it was one of the

Captaynes of *Perugia* killed.

Sextius setteth the Citie on fire.

Perugia set on fire.

Antiquitie of *Perugia*.

It vvas first called *Vibia Colonia*, of *Vibius* a Captayne of the *Arbeares* that first came thither: but the *Cirrhenes* of *Armenia* did build it, and of a Griffon vvhich they bare in their standerd, called in their language *Perugio*, they called the Citie *Perugia*. *Cæsar* repayred the Citie, and it vvas called *Perugia Augusta*, vvith this inscription, *Augusto Sacro Perugia restituta*.

twelue Cities, which the *Etrurians* buylded after their firſte comming into *Italy*. Wherefore, after the *Tuſcane* fashion, they honor *Iuno*. And after that, they that followed, chose *Vulcane* in ſtead of *Iuno* for their patrone.

The next day, *Cæſar* made truce with all the armyes, yet ſome tumultes continued betweene them, till *Canutius*, and *Flauius*, *Cladius*, *Bithinicus*, and diuers other were ſlayne, who were deadly enimies of *Cæſar*.

This ende had the ſiege of *Perugia*, and the warre that *Lucius* made, which certaynely was very daungerous, and like to haue continued long. For *Aſinius*, *Plancus*, *Ventidius*, *Craſſus*, *Attieni*, and others of this faction, hadde an army diuided into thirteene partes, with fiue thouſande horſemen, and aboue. All the which, ſcattered, ſome to *Brunduſio*, ſome to *Rauenna*, and ſome to *Tarente*. Some wente to *Murco*, ſome to *Aenobarbe*, and ſome to *Antony* himſelfe. *Cæſars* bandes chaced them by land, and *Agrippa* gote two legions from *Plancus*, which were left at *Camerina*. *Fuluia* with hir children fledde to *Putzolo*, and from thence to *Brunduſio*, with three thouſand horſe, which the Captaynes appoynted for hir conduit. At *Brunduſe* ſhe toke Shippe with fiue Gallyes that were ſente from *Macedonia*, and *Plancus* went with hir, who for cowardiſe, had forſaken the reſt of his army whiche ſerued *Ventidius*. *Aſinius* entiſed *Aenobarbus* to *Antonyes* ſide, whereof they both wrote letters vnto him, and prepared for him againſte his comming into *Italy*. There were other bandes of *Antonyes* vnder the *Alpes*, wherof *Calenus* was Captayne. *Cæſar* intended to winne them to him, becauſe he had *Antony* now in ſuſpition, that if he were his friend, he would keepe them for him, if he proued his enimie, he would ſerue himſelfe: and whyleſt he ſought a good occaſion, *Calenus* dyed. *Cæſar* toke the aduantage, and had the army, for *Fuſius*, *Calenus* ſonne, deliuered all for feare. Thus *Cæſar* without any buſineſſe, gote eleuen legions, and moſt ample prouinces, from the whiche he remoued the old officers, and placed his owne, and went to *Rome*. *Antony* kepte the meſſengers that were ſent from the inhabitancies, eyther becauſe of the winter, or becauſe he would not haue them report his doings.

Lucius army ſcattered.

Camerin in Latio. Fuluia fleeth. Putzoli in Campania.

Plancus the coward.

Cæſar taketh Antonyes bands in Lombardy.

Antony deteyneth the meſſengers.

At the beginning of the Spring, he wente from *Alexandria*,

came to *Rome*, and from thence by *Capes* and *Sardis* into *Asia*, where he heard of the siege of *Perusia*, for the which he blamed his brother and his wife, and most of all *Fulvia*. He found by his wife at *Athens*, that was fledde from *Brundusa*. His mother *Iulia*, *Pompey* had sente out of *Sicelie*, whither she fledde in company of *Libone*, his father in lawe *Saturninus*, and others of the best sorte that he had, the which allaied to allure *Antony* to *Pompeys* parte against *Cæsar*. *Antony* thanked *Pompey* for sending him his mother, the which he would requite in time conuenient, and if he did make warre against *Cæsar*, he would die his quietie, but if *Cæsar* and he continued in agreement, he would reconcile him to *Cæsar*. And this was *Antonyes* answere. *Cæsar* hauing come to *Rome*, vnderstode that some were gone to *Athens*, but what answere they had of *Antony*, he could not tell. Then he sought to discredite *Antony*, with the souldoures, as he that would ioyne with *Pompey*, to put them from their possessions, and that many were fledde to *Pompey*, but for all that, he could not winne the souldoures from *Antony*, so greate was the glory that he had gote at *Philippi*. *Cæsar* thought himselfe good enough for *Antony* & *Pompey* by him, for he had about 40. legions, but he had no ships, & they had more than 500. with the which, if they would beset the coast of *Italy*, they might soone oppresse it with famine. Therfore of many maydens ỹ were offered him in marriage, he thought to make his best match, & he wrote to *Mecenas*, that he should entreat him to *Scribonia*, sister to *Libo*, father in lawe to *Pompey*, ỹ he might haue a pretence to agree with *Pompey* if nede were. This done, he remoued diuers of *Antonyes* friends from their authoritie, & sent *Lepidus* into *Affrica* with fiue legions of *Antonyes*. Then he called to him *Lucius*, and praised him as kind to his brother, that he would take his fault vpon himselfe: but he could not but thinke vnkindenesse in him, that after so great benefite shewed to him, he would not plainely tell his brothers conspiracie.

Antony findeth his wife.

Pompey sendeth *Iulia*, *Antonyes* mother to him honourably.

Pompeys friends assayed *Antony*. *Antonyes* answere.

Cæsar discrediteth *Antony* at *Rome*.

Glorie of *Antony* great.

Mariage for *Cæsar* to serue his turne.

Cæsar to *Lucius*.

To thys *Lucius* answered, I knewe my selfe in lawes ambitious desire to rule, but I tooke the commoditie of my brothers nonage, to take the rule from you all, and if my brother would come nowe to abolishe youre Monarchie, I would take his parte alwayes agaynste thée for my Countreys sake, although

Lucius to *Cæsar*.

priuately I am most beholden vnto thee. But if he will seeke
Constancie of *Lucius*. compassion of his tyrannie, I will take thy parte against him,
so thou wilte destroy the Monarchie: for the affection to my
Countrey shall alwayes preuayle more with me, than fauoure
Cæsar to *Lucius*. of kindred.

Cæsar marueiling at the constancie of *Lucius*, saide, he would
not deny him against his brother, though he would follow him:
yet he would committe to him the prouince of *Spayne*, and ap-
Lucius is honoured of *Cæsar* with regard. poynt *Paducius* and *Lucius* his Lieutenantes.

Thus in shewe of honor he sente away *Lucius*, yet secretely
commaunded he should be priuily watched.

Sicyone not farre from *Corinth*. *Antony* hauing his wife sicke at *Sicyone*, take the Seas with-
out great aduy, with a Nauie of two hundred Shippes, whyche
he had made in *Asia*.

Ænobarbus goeth to *Antony*. When he vnderstode that *Ænobarbus* came to ayde him with
a great army, who was suspected not to be trusted of his worde,
(for he was one of the condemned men of conspiracie against
Cæsar, and in battel at *Philippi*, fought against *Cæsar* and *Antony*,
yet he went to saue him with fiue and fiftie Shippes: that he might
seeme to trust him, willing the rest to followe after. *Ænobarbus*
whē he had sight of him, came forward with all his Nauie. Then
Plancus afrayde. was *Plancus* afrayde, and wished him to stay, and first to trye
what he meante, bycause he was to be doubted. *Antony* answe-
red, he had rather be deceyued by trust, than he thoughte
to flee for feare. Being come nere, both the Admirals were
knowen by their flagges, and sayled one to the other. The He-
rald of *Antony* standing in the forepart, either ignorante that
he was not a sure friend, or of a boldnesse of minde, that the infe-
riour should stoupe to the superiour, commaunded the other to
strike saile, whyche they did, and drewe to the side of *Antonyes*
Shippe, where they saluted and embraced one another: and the
armye of *Ænobarbus* receyued *Antony* for their Generall: yet was *Plancus* scarsly assured. And *Cæsar* take *Ænobarbus*
Paleruto. into his owne ship, and sayled to *Paleruto*, where *Ænobarbus* had
his tentes. And there *Ænobarbus* gaue place to *Antonie* in the
Generals tent.

From thence they sayled to *Brunduse*, where was fiue bandes of *Cæsars* in garrison. The *Brundusians* shut the gates to *Aenobarbus* as an auncient enimie, and to *Antonie*, as one that brought an enimie. *Antonie* toke this pretence to be done by *Cæsars* commaundement, and therefore, fortified the narrow parte of earth that ioyned to the Citie, with ditche and trenche. For this citie is almoste an Iland in a porte lyke a cresent, whiche by lande, could not become vnto, when this cliffe was cutte from it, and the place fortified. *Antonie* also did beset the hauen, which is very great, and all the Ilandes in it, with many Castels that he made. He sent also into sundry coastes of *Italy*, to take the fitte places, and exhorted *Pompey*, also that he should inuade *Italie*, as much as he coulde. He gladly sent *Menodorus* with a great army e. iiij. legions, to gette *Corsica*, which was *Cæsars*, where he toke two legions, beyng amased at this attonement with *Antonie*. *Antonies* Captaynes toke *Sigunto* a citie in *Ausonia*. *Pompey* besieged *Thurij* and *Cossentia*, & placed his horsemen in their fieldes. *Cæsar*, troubled in so many places at once, sent *Agrippa* to releue *Ausonia*. He commaunded the Souldiours that were placed, to serue: but they, vnderstandyng that it was done by *Antonies* consent, denied, whiche troubled *Cæsar* more of all. Yet he wente to *Brunduse* with an other army, and by fayre wordes made the souldiours to go with him, the whiche practised by secrete meanes to reconcile *Cæsar* and *Antonie*. And if *Antonie* woulde not, they woulde sticke to *Cæsar*, who was now sicke at *Gannsis*, and had a greater armie than *Antonie*. When he was come to *Brunduse*, & sawe how *Antonie* had cut off the lande from the Towne, he lay and wayted his aduersaries doynges. *Antonie* was stronger in munitions, by the meane whereof he sente for his armie out of *Macedonie*, and vsed this policie, to put countrey men by nighte into his shippes, bothe Galleys and other, and to make a shewe of a great army, to come from *Macedonie*, and so began to beate *Brunduse*, whereof *Cæsar* was sory, for he coulde not helpe it. At that eueninge it was tolde, that *Agrippa* had recouered *Sigunto*, and that *Pompey* was repulsed from *Thurie*, and that *Cossence* was still besieged, whereat *Antony* was sory. And hearing that

Antony and *Aenobarbus* to *Brundusc*.

Antony is kepte out of *Brundusc*.

Antony besieged *Brundusc*.

Brunduse vvas builded of the *Aetolians*, and after inhabited of *Cretenses*, and at laste made an inhabitaunce of *Rome*: it hath the name of the forme of an Hartes head vvith the hornes vvhich the *Messapians* call *Brundusium*, for that shape hath the porte, vvhich is one of the beste of the vvorld.

Antony vseth *Pompeis* helpe.

Pompey sendeth a nauy vvith *Menodorus*, and besiegeth *Cossense* & *Thurij*.

The space from *Tiber* to *Benetum* to, vvas called *Ausonia*, by the vvhich name also, *Italie* vvas called.

Cæsar troubled, *Consentia*, is yet a Citie, buylded vpō seuē hilles, and thereof giueth seuen hilles for their armes.

Souldiours praise peace.

Canusio nowe *Canossa*, in *Apulia*.

Antonies policy.

Agrippa recouereth the besieged places.

Thurio was a citie builded by *Nicias*, comming from *Athens* not farre from the which *Mamuis* gathered.

Antonies valiantnesse.

Vria one, in *Calabria*.

Seruilius was comming to *Cæsar* with one thousande and two hundreth horse: he could not stay, but straight frō supper with great rage, toke his frendes and, iiij. C. horse, and valiantly gaue the onset vpon *P.* and *B.* and toke them sléeping at *Vria*, and brought to *Brundusc*. So great a fame was still of him, for the victory hée gotte at *Philippi*. The garde of his person, would come to *Cæsars* campe, and vpbrayde them, their vnkindnesse to hym that saued them at *Philippi*. Who answeared, that they did but defende themselues. Then they obiected one agaynst an other. The one, that they were excluded from *Brundusio*, and that the armie of *Calenus* was taken from them. The other, that *Brundusc* was besieged, and that the coast was inuaded, and aliance made with *Aenobarbus*, a hiller of *Cæsar*, and with *Pompey*, a chiefe enimie. At length *Cæsars* men opened their minde to *Antonies*, that they folowed *Cæsar*, not forgetting *Antonie*, beyng desirous that they might be reconcyled. But if *Antonie* would not relent, they woulde do their vttermost. And this talke had they in *Antonies* campe. Whyles this was a doyng, newes came that *Antonies* wyfe was dead, who coulde not beare hys vnkyndnesse, leauyng hir sicke, not bidding hym farewell. Hir death was thought very cómodious for them both. For *Fulnia* was an vnquiet woman, & for iealousie of *Cleopatra*, rayled suche a mortall warre. Yet the matter vered *Antony*, bicause he was rápted the occasion of hir death. *L. Cocceius* was frend to thē both. Be the Sommer before was sente of *Cæsar* with *Cecinna* to *Antonie* into *Asia*, and *Antonie* sente *Cecinna* home, & kept *Cocceius* still. He séeking occasiō to trie *Antonie*, told him *Cæsar* had set for him, & desired he might departe, & asked whether hée woulde wryte to *Cæsar* or no. *Antonie* was content hée should departe. But as for wryting (sayde hée) what shoulde we wryte but tauntes one to an other, seyng wée are nowe enimies. And I wrote to hym by *Cocceius*, the copie whereof you shall haue if you wyll. I brought you letters from hym, (sayde *Cocceius*) and enimie you can not take hym, that bled your brother *Lucius* and your other frendes so well. Why (quoth *Antonie*) hée shutteth me out of *Brundusc*, and hath taken myne armie and prouince that *Calenus* kepte. And where hée

Cocceius talke with *Antonie*.

Antonies wyfe dead.

Obiections of Soldiours on both partes.

hée is good to my frendes, hée hath made them by hys benefites mine enimies. Then *Cocceius* not minding furder to stirre so angry a man, departed. And when *Cæsar* saw hym, marueling he had tarried so long, sayde, I haue not saued your brother that you should become mine enimie: how cal you (sayd he) your frēds enimies, & take frō them their armies & prouinces? wherto *Cæsar* sayd. After the death of *Calenus*, so great a charge ought not to be giuen to so yong a man, as *Calenus* soune, *Antonie* being absent, & *Lucius*, *Asinius*, & *Aenobarbus* in armes against me. As for *Plācus* legions, I intercepted, that they shoulde not go to *Pompey*, as the horsemen did. These things were tolde otherwise to *Antonie*, (sayde he) yet he beléeued nothing till he was shutte from *Brundusc.* I knewe not of it, sayde *Cæsar*, neyther did I commaunde it: the *Brundusians*, & the garrison that I left, could not abide him, when hée brought with him *Aenobarbus*, a killer of *Cæsar* and a proscribed mā, who after the field at *Philippi*, besieged *Brundusc*, and yet troubleth the coast of *Italie*, burned my shippes, & spoyled the countrey. You haue (sayd he) cōsented one to the other, to make alliance with whom ye wil. Neither haue *Antonie* ioyned with any manqueller more than you haue for regard of your father. *Aenobarbus* is no man killer, neyther any decrée of anger made against him, neither was he priuie to that purpose. And if he be thought vnworthy pardon bicause he was frend to *Brutus*, then must we sée whether al other be not in this case. Cōfederacie is made with *Pompey*, not to hurte you, but if you make warre vpon *Antonie*, to haue his societie, if not, to reconcile hym to you, who is voyde of faulte: but you are in the faulte. For if warre had not bene made in *Italie*, they durste neuer haue sente Embassages, to *Antonie*. *Cæsar* replied, and sayde, that *Fuluia*, *Lucius* and *Manius* began the warre in *Italy*. And *Pompey* durst neuer before inuade the coast of *Italy*, but vpon the trust of *Antonie*, not onely trusting vppon *Antonie*, but sente of hym, sayde *Cocceius*, for I will not dissemble, and he shall inuade the reste of *Italie* being voyde of faute, if you make not peace. *Cæsar* not vnwilling to heare this diuise, sayde a whyle: *Pompey* shalbe punished, wherynow (quoth he) being already repulsed frō *Thurij*.

Cæsar to Cocceius.

Cæsars words of Pompey.

Then

Than *Cocceius* perceyuing all the controuerſie, tolde hym that *Fuluia* was dead, for vnkindneſſe of *Antonie*, and nowe that ſhe is gone, there is no way but to vtter one an others greefe without diſſimulation. *Cæſar* beyng appeaſed by this talke, receyued *Cocceius*, who requeſted him to wryte ſomewhat to *Antonie*, as the yonger to the elder. He denied to wryte any thing to his enimie, that woulde wryte nothing to him. He alſo thought vnkindneſſe in *Antonies* mother, that beyng of his houſe, fledde out of *Italie*, and would not ſeeke to hym, of whome ſhe might haue obtayned any thing, as of hir Soune: and to hir hée was content to wryte. When *Cocceius* came forth, many of the Capitaynes declared the mindes of the Souldiours, that except they woulde be reconciled, warre ſhould be made. Which hée tolde *Antonie*, and wiſhed him to cõtermaund *Pompey* from furder inuaſion of *Italie*, and to ſende *Aenobarbus* away, till they were agréed. *Iulia* his mother ioyned with *Cocceius*, and prayed hir ſonne ſo to doe. *Antonie* ſtoode in doubte, for if the peace did not take, he muſte deſire *Pompeis* helpe agayne, the whiche woulde be a ſhame for hym: but his mother putting him in comfort, & *Cocceius* ſéeming to knowe more, *Antony* gaue place, and required *Pompey* to returne into *Sicelie*, and he would kéepe promiſe with him, and ſent *Aenobarbus*, with authoritie into *Bythinia*. When ỳ army heard this, they choſe meſſengers that mighte goe to eyther generall, and cuttyng off al rehearſall of vnkindneſſe paſſe, to requyre thẽ to linke in amitie. For this purpoſe, of *Cæſars* parte, there was choſen *Mecenas*: and for *Antonie*, *Pollio*: and *Cocceius* was ioyned to them as a frẽnde to bothe. And bycauſe *Marcellus* was dead, that was huſband to *Octauia Cæſars* ſiſter, they required that ſhe might be made ſure to *Antony*, whiche beyng done, all the army, cried, Happy may it bée, continuing their reioyce one whole day & a night. Then *Cæſar* and *Antonie*, once agayne deuided the whole *Romane* Empire, and made *Cadropolis*, a Citie of *Slauinia* the bounder of both their partes, bycauſe it ſtoode in the ende of the *Adriaticalk* ſea.

Cæſar is quieted by the talke of *Cocceius*.

Antony in doubt what to doe.

Antony conſenteth to peace.

Meſſengers of reconciliation.

A maryage practiſed for *Antony*.

Crodopolis.

That *Cæſar* ſhould haue al prouinces and Ilandes weſtward euen to the mayne ſea.

That

That *Antonie* shoulde haue the lyke Gallwarde, euen to the flood *Euphrates*.

That *Lepidus* should haue *Africa* still, as *Cæsar* had appointed.

That *Cæsar* should make warre vpō *Pompey*, vnlesse other order were taken.

That *Antonie* shoulde make warre vpon the *Parthians*, to reuenge the iniurie done to *Crassus*.

That *Domitius Ahenobarbus* should be receyued into societie, with those conditions that he had of *Antonie*.

That it should be lawful for both, to leuie men in *Italie*, with like numbers of legions. This peace was solemnelie ratified.

Wherevpō they sent awaye their friends about their affayres. *Antonie* sent *Ventidius* into *Asia*, to repulse the *Parthians*, & yong *Labienus*, who by the help of the *Parthians*, made new commotiōs in *Syria*, as far as *Ionia*, all the which he chased vt the *Parthians* warre. *Pompey*, by his Capitayne *Menodorus* repulsed *Helenus Cæsars* Lieftenant out of *Sardinia*. Wherefore *Cæsar* would not be reconciled with him. They went to *Rome* togither, and celebrated the mariage. Where *Antonius* put *Manius* to death, bycause he stirred *Enobarbus* to make warre. He accused *Saluidienus* gone from *Cæsar*, of the armie at *Rhodanus*, that he would forsake vpō mayster and cleaue to hym: whereof he wrote letters to hym to *Brundusie*. This was not lyked of all men, declaryng vnconstant dealing in to much seeking of amitie. *Cæsar* called *Saluidienus* vnto him, as about a matter of charges, and to sende him againe to the army, whom when he came, he slew him with reproche, and deliuered his army to *Antonie*, as suspected.

Menodorus dryueth *Helenus* out of *Sardinia*.

Manius is put to death by *Antony*, & *Saluidienus* accused.

Saluidienus killed of *Cæsar*.

In the meane time the cytie was oppressed with famine, for neyther durst the Marchauntes bring any corne from the East bicause of *Pompeis* being in *Sicelie*, nor from the West of *Corsica* & *Sardinia*, where *Pompeis* shippes also lay: nor frō *Africa*, where the nauies of the other conspiratours kepte their stations. Being in this distresse, they alleaged, that the discorde of the rulers was the cause, and therefore required that peace might be made with *Pompey*, vnto the whiche when *Cæsar* would not agree, *Antonie* thought warre was made (vnlesse) necessitie, and bycause mo-

Famine in Rome.

Cæsar will not agree to peace with *Pompey*.

A payment put vpon the people.

ny wanted, a decree was made by *Antonies* aduise, that euery maister should pay the half of. xx. drames, for euery slaue ỳ he had, which was determined to haue bene done in the war of *Cassius*, & that somewhat also should be payde of euery mans heritage.

The people resist the decree of *Cæsar* and *Antony*.

The people tore the decree with great furie, & obiected the consuming of treasure publike, the spoylyng of prouinces, the sacking of *Italie*, and all for priuate displeasure, and yet all would not serue, but muste nowe put newe impositions vpon them that haue nothing left. They assembled and murmured, & cõpelled thẽ that would not, and with threatnings to spoyle and burne theyr houses, gathered all the people. Then *Cæsar* with a fewe of his frends and garde, came to them to excuse themselues, but they threw stones and droue him away, which when *Antonie* heard, he came to help him. To him comming the holy way, the people did nothing, bycause he was willing to agree with *Pompey*, but prayde him to departe, which when he would not do, they threw stones at him. Then he brought in his soldiours that were without the walles, & not about him, into the citie, being diuided into market places and streates, wounded & set vpon the multitude, killed thẽ in the streates as they came. And they could not escape for ỳ multitude, nor breake through by running, so that many were hurte and killed, crying and yelling from their houses.

The people resist *Cæsar*.

VVho buyeth friendship to deere shal smart as *Antony* did.

Cæsar escapeth by *Antonies* meanes.

So *Antonie* hadde muche ado to escape and *Cæsar* by him was euidently preserued and got away. Thus did *Antonie* deliuer *Cæsar* from present perill. The bodies of the commons that were killed, were caste into the riuer to auoyde the grieue of the sight, which came not so to passe, for the Soldiours, fished for them as the streame carried them, and toke from them their apparell, whiche grieued the beholders. Thus this euill ended with enuie of the Princes, and yet no remedie for the lacke of things, whereat the people grutched and suffered. *Antonie* wished *Libo* hys frendes, to call him out of *Sicelie*, to congratulate for the alliance made, and he would procure greater matter, and saue him harmeles. They wrote letters to *Libo*, and *Pompey* was content he should goe. And when he was come to the Ile called *Pithecusa*, and now *Aenaria*, the people assembled again and prayed

Dead bodies cast into the ryuer, and after spoyled.

Antonies counsel. The alliance of the mariage betweene *Cæsar* and his sister *Scribonia*.

Pythecusa, was named *Aenaria* of *Aeneas*, and now *Ischia* of strength, it was the inhabitance of the marquesse of *Piscara*.

Cæsar,

Cæsar, to send him letters of safeconduit to come to treat of peace. which he did, although against his wil. The people also cõpelled *Mutia*, mother to *Pompey*, to go vnto him, threatning els to burne hir, & help to make peace. When *Libo* perceyued how the enimies were inclined, he desired to speake with the Captaines, that they might togither agree in the couenants, the which the people cõpelled thẽ with much a do, & so *Antonie* & *Cæsar* went to *Baia*. All other persuaded *Pompey* earnestly to peace, only *Menodorus* wrote frõ *Sardinia* that he should make open warre, or dyue off, whyles the dearth continued, that hee might make peace with the better cõditions, & bad him take hede of *Murcus*, who was a mouer for peace, as one that sought to be in his authoritie. Wherefore *Pompey* put away *Murcus*, and vsed his counsell no more, vnhome before hee honoured for his worthinesse and wisedome: whereat *Murcus* toke displeasure and went to *Siracuse*, and to suche as were sent after him to kepe him, spake openly against *Pompey*, wherewith he beyng angrie killed diuerse of the best about *Murcus*, and sent to kill him, and to say that his frends had done it, which he beyng done, he hanged certayne of *Murcus* frends as though they had done it. The which craft was not hid, nor the wickednesse that he did against *Bythinius*, a noble man and a valiant warriour, and constant to him from the beginning, & his friende in *Spaine*, from whence he came willingly to serue him in *Sicelie*. When he was dead, other men twise in hand to persuade him to peace, & accused *Menodorus* as desirous of his office by lea, not so much caring for his matter, as for his owne power. *Pompey* folowyng their counsell, sayled to *Misenum*, with many chosen ships, himself being in a gorgious galley with fyue ores on a seate, & so did passe *Dicearchia* proudly, towarde the euening, the enimies loking vpon him. The next morning flakes were set in the sea, & bridges made, into one of which ioyning to the land, *Cæsar* came with *Antonie*. *Pompey* and *Libo* entred the other bridge, in such distance, y one could not heare an other, vnlesse they spake alowd. *Pompey* required societie of rule, in place of *Lepidus*. When onely graũted his returne to his countrie, then al was dashed. Yll ofte messages wer set betwẽ, offering diuerse cõditions on both sides.

Baia was a Cittie not farre frõ *Naples*, where the old *Romanes* had great delight.

Menodorus counsell.

Murcus is put from *Pompey*.

Siracuse, now *Saragosa*, a goodly citie of *Sicelie*.

Murcus and *Bythinius* killed of *Pompey*.

Now *Ischia*.

Dicearchia, now *Puzzolo*, *Puteoli*, an old ruined citie, neater *Naples* than *Baia*, beyng three myles asunder by lande, to the which *Caligula* made a bridge by the sea, meeting of *Cæsars Antony* and *Pompey*.

Pompey required that such condemned men as were with him for *Cæsars* death, might be safe in exile, & that the other men of honour & proscribed, might be restored to their countrey and goodes. The dearth continuing, & the people begging peace, it was graunted that they should recouer the fourth part of their goodes, as retayning it of the new possessioners, and wrote of it to the condemned men, thinkyng they would accept it, which toke the offer, beyng now afrayde of *Pompey*, for his wickednesse committed agaynst *Maurus*, to whom they went & moued him to agree. He tolde his cloke, as betrayed of them, whom he had defended, and oft called for *Memodorus*, as one expert in matters of state, and onely constant in faith. At length, by the exhortatiō of *Martia* his mother, & *Iulia* his wife, they three met agayne, vpon an old pere of the sea, beyng wel garded, where they cōcluded with these cōditions.

Pompey in a rage

The conditions of peace, betweene *Antony, Cæsar* & *Pompey*.

That peace shoulde be, bothe by sea and lande, and the Marchantes haue free course.

That *Pompey* should take his garrisons out of *Italie*, & receiue no more fugitiues, nor kepe no nauies in *Italie*.

That he should rule in *Sicelie*, *Corsica* and *Sardinia*, and those other Ilandes that now he had, so long as the rule should be continued to *Antonie* and *Cæsar*.

That he should send to the people of *Rome*, the corne that now was due.

That he should also rule *Peloponesus*, besides the former Iles.

That he should exercise the office of Consul in his absence by his freende, and be admitted to the colledge of the Bishops.

That the noble mē that were banished, might returne home, except them that were condemned by publique iudgement of *Cæsars* death.

That they that were fled for feare should be restored to their goodes. And they that were cōdemned, only to the fourth parte.

That the slaues that had serued vnder *Pompey*, shoulde be free.

That the free men shoulde haue the same stipendes, that the old Soldiours of *Antonie* and *Cæsar* had.

These were the conditions of peare, whiche beyng written were sent to *Rome*, to be kept of the holy Virgins.

Then

Then they desired the one to banquet the other, and the lotte fell first to *Pompey*, who receiued them in his greate gally, ioyned to the peere. *Pompey* banqueteth *Cæsar* and *Antony*, and they him.

The next day, *Cæsar* and *Antony* feasted him in their Tentes, pitched on that peere, that euery man might eate on the shore, but peraduenture for their more safetie, for the Shippes were at hand, the gard in order, and the guestes with their weapons vnder their clokes. It is sayd, that *Menodorus* when they banqueted in *Pompeys* Shippe, sente one to *Pompey*, to put him in remembrance, that nowe was the time to reuenge his father and brothers death, for he would see that none should scape the Shippe: and that he answered, as became him then for his person and place: *Menodorus* might haue done it without me, it agreeth with *Menodorus* to be periured false, but so may not *Pompey*. *Menodorus* counceth. Answere of *Pompey*.

In that supper, *Pompeys* daughter, wife to *Libo*, was espoused to *Marcellus*, *Antonyes* nephew, sonne to *Cæsars* sister.

The next day, the Consuls were appoynted for foure yeares, first *Antony* and *Libo*, and that *Antony* might make a substitute, next *Cæsar* and *Pompey*, then *Aenobarbus*, and *Sosius*, lastly *Cæsar* and *Antony*, thrice Consuls, and as it was hoped, to restore to the people the gouernement of the common wealth. Consuls appoynted.

These things being concluded, they departed, *Pompey* with his Shippes to *Sicelie*, and they by land to *Rome*.

At the newes of this peace, the Citie and all *Italy* made great ioy, by the which, ciuill warre, continuall mutters, insolencie of garrisons, running away of slaues, wasting of Countreys, decay of tillage, and aboue all, most greate famine was taken away: therefore, sacrifices were made by the way to the Princes, as to preseruers of the Countrey. The Citie had receyued them with a goodly triumph, hadde not they entred by nighte, bycause they would not charge the Citizens. Onely they were not partakers of the common ioy, that had the possession of the banished mens goodes, who should returne by the league, and be their heauie enimies. Reioyce for peace.

The banished men, a fewe except that went againe with *Pompey*, toke leaue of him at *Puzzolo*, and wente to the Citie, where Banished men returne.

a new ioy was made, for the returne of so many noble men. The *Cæsar* went to pacifye *France*, and *Antonie* to make war on ỹ *Parthians*. And ỹ Senate hauing approued his actes, as wel past as to come, he sent his Captaynes abroade, & did what he would. He appoynted also certaine kings, only such as should pay a tribute. Of *Pontus*, *Darius*, *Pharnaces* sonne, & *Mithridates* nephew. Of the *Idumeans* & *Samaritanes*, *Herode*. Of ỹ *Pisidias*, *Amyntas*. Of part of *Cilicia Polemon*, and others of other nations. He sente his army that should haue wintered about him, into *Parthiena*, a nation of *Illyria*, nigh to *Epidamne*, ỹ sometime entierly loued *Brutus*, that he might acquaint thẽ to gayne & exercise. Another army he sẽt to *Dardanes*, which is a people of *Illyria* also, that was wõt to make roues in *Macedonia*. Other he cõmaunded to abide at *Epirus*, ỹ he might haue them all about him, intending to winter at *Athens*. He sent *Furnius* into *Affrica*, to leade vj. legions of *Sextius* against the *Parthians*, for he had not yet heard, that *Lepidus* had taken them from *Sextius*. These things being done, he wintered at *Athens* with *Octauia*, as he did at *Alexandria* with *Cleopatra*. Only he looked on the letters ỹ came frõ his armies, and leauing ỹ habite of a Generall, vsed ỹ garmẽts of a priuate mã, and without a garde, wẽt in cõpany of two frieds, to heare the lectors & disputations of the Philosophers. His dyet was after the Greciã maner, hauing *Octauia* euer in his cõpany, as ỹe ỹ was kond vpõ woõne. Winter being ended, he changed his maner & gouernement. He had his officers & Captaines attending at his gates, and all things were done to make feare. The Embassages that were differred, were now heard, audience was giue, ships were prepared, and all full of business. Whilst *Antony* was thus occupyed, the league betweene *Cæsar* and *Pompey* was broken for some secrete cause, but the open matter was this. *Antony* committed *Morea* to *Pompeius* vpon this condition, that he should pay their debtes, or lẽ them paide, or leaue the matter safe. He twise hot the prouince with this cõditiõ, but to haue the countrey w the debts. Being greeued at this, of his peruerse nature (as *Cæsar* said) or bycause he enuyed that others should haue greater armies than he, or for that he gaue too much credit to *Menedorus*, that said, it was no peace, but a truce, he repaired other ships, & gathered his Gallies, & made

Antonyes actes allowed by the Senate.

Antony maketh Kings.

Idumei, people betweene *Iudea* and *Arabia*.
Samaria, a regiõ of *Palestina*, besides *Iudea*, *Pamphilia*, *Parthinij*, *Dardani*.

Epirus, now *Comera*, or *Albania*.

Antonyes behauiour at *Athens*.

Change of *Antony*.

Cæsar breaketh with *Pompey*. The pretence of the breach.

mꝛatiō to his army, declaring how war must nedes follow, & troubled ẏ sea by rouers, so as little commoditie came to ẏ Citie by that accꝛo: wherfore it was spokē openly, that peace was not made foꝛ to relæue thē of perils, but to adde the fourth to ẏ nūber of Tyrantes encreased. *Cæsar* toke some of the Pyrats, & put thē to ẏ toꝛture, to make thē confesse, ẏ *Pompey* sent thē, *Cæsar* told it to ẏ people, & signifyed it to *Pompey* by letters. *Pompey* excused it, & cōplained of ẏ dealings touching *Peloponnesꝰ*. The noble mē that remained with *Pompey*, perceiuing him to be alwayes ruled by thē that had bin his bondmē, killed some of his frēmade mē, either of thēselues, oꝛ to please *Cæsar*, to kindle him against *Menodorus* hys maister. Thys they did of purpose, foꝛ the hate they bare to *Menodorus*. At ẏ time, *Philadelphus*, a frēmade mā of *Cæsars*, sayled to *Menodorus* foꝛ cōme: & *Miculio*, a most sure frēd to *Menodorus*, wēt to deale with *Cæsar* foꝛ him, promising him ẏ rule of *Sardinia* and *Corsica*, with three legiōs, & many frēds. This matter practised either by *Philadelphus*, oꝛ foꝛ displeasure of *Pompey*, *Cæsar* would not at ẏ first, but at lēgth accepted it, thinking ẏ peace to be broke in dede, & called *Antony* frō *Athens*, to *Brundusie* at a certayne daye foꝛ this war, and sent foꝛ the Gallies frō *Rauenna*, and ẏ army frō *Lombardy*, to lye at *Brūdusio* & *Puteolo*, to inuade *Sicelie* on both sides, if *Antony* would agrée thervnto. *Antony* came at his day, & not finding *Cæsar* there, tarried not, either foꝛ ẏ he liked not of ẏ war against ẏ truce, oꝛ foꝛ ẏ he saw *Cæsar* make great preparatiō (foꝛ both of thē were ambitious of rule) oꝛ foꝛ ẏ he was feared with a token, foꝛ one of ẏ watch of his tēt was deuoured of a Wolfe, al saue ẏ face, as though it shuld be knowē who it was, which he was done without any crie oꝛ noise. And the *Brundusians* said, they saw a Wolfe runne frō his pauiliōs by breake of day. Notwithstāding, he wꝛote to *Cæsar*, not to breake ẏ couenant made, and threatned to take *Menodorus* as his slaue, foꝛ he was bond to *Pompey* ẏ great, whose goodes he had bought. *Cæsar* sent his officers to receiue *Sardinia* and *Corsica* of *Menodoro*, and fenced ẏ coast of *Italie* with many foꝛtes, that it should not be so subiecte to *Pompeys* roning. Hee commaunded that moꝛe Gallyes should be made at *Rauenna* and *Rome*, and sent foꝛ a great army from *Illiria*. *Menodorus* he made a freeman, and to guide ẏ Nauie that he brought, as Viceadmirall vnder

Quarels against *Pompey*.

Cæsar calleth *Antony* from *Athens*.

Antony cōmeth to *Brundusio*. A suspition betweene *Cæsar* and *Antony*. A token in *Antonyes* Campe.

Antony to *Cæsar*.

Menodorus is claymed of *Antony*.

Menodorus reuolteth to *Cæsar*, and is made free.

vnder *Caluisius*. He continued leysurely in making preparation, and was angry with *Antony*, that he would not tarrie. With his Nauie prepard at *Rauenna*, he badde *Cornificius* go to *Tarento*. As he wente, a tempest rose, and crushed the chiefe Shippe, wherein *Cæsar* should goe, which was thought an euil token. And whereas the people thought that warre to be made against the truce, *Cæsar* to auoyde that suspition, wrote to the people of *Rome*, and spake to the army, that *Pompey* had broken the league, by sending Pyrats to the Sea, which was playne by the confession of *Menodorus*, and the Pirats themselues. Whereof *Antony* was not ignorant, and therefore would not let him haue *Peloponesus*. Who he thought himselfe well furnished, he sayled into *Sicelie*, from *Tarent*, *Caluisius*, *Sabinus*, and *Menodorus*, from *Tuscane*, and his armye came by land to *Reggio*, and with great hast all things wer done. And *Pompey* did not knowe that *Menodorus* was fledde, till *Cæsar* was come, and sayled against both the Nauies. Himselfe tarried at *Messina*, and sent *Menecrates* against *Caluisius*, and *Menodore*, that was a greate enimie of his, being of his condition. He came in sight of the enimie in the euening. They withdrew to the gulfe of *Cuma*, and there rested that nighte. *Menecrates* wente to *Aenaria*. In the morning, *Caluisius* Nauie coasted the shore of *Cuma* in the forme of a Crescent, to keepe off the enimie. *Menecrates* came forth, and made spede against the enimie, whome, bycause he could not drawe into y deepe sea, he set vppon them as they were, and kept thē at the shore, where they defended themselues. He might take the sea when he would, and come again more fiercely, and change his Shippes at his pleasure, but they coulde not stirre, but keepe them from their aduersaries on the one side, and from the rockes on the other side.

Tarentum is a Citie in *Apulia*, vvhich hath a goodly porte tvvelue miles compasse. An euill token to *Cæsar*.

Cæsar affirmeth the peace broke by *Pompey*.

Cæsar into *Sicelie*.

Menecrates vvith a greate company keeping the sea.

Cuma vvas a goodly auncient Citie, not farre from *Baie*, nowe nothing is left but marueilous ruines.

Menecrates fighteth vvith *Cæsars* Captaynes.

When *Menedorus*, and *Menecrates* saw one another, they left the rest of their Nauies, and came togither with rage and noyse, and it seemed, that which of them ouercame, shoulde be the conqueroure of the Nauie. Their Shippes with great violence crushed one another, so as y sterne of *Menodorus* shippe was broken, and the pumpe of *Menecrates*. Then grapeling their Shippes togither, they stode firme. The mariners and souldyoures fought with

The fight betvveene *Menedorus* and *Menecrates*.

fought with no leſſe courage and ſwting, than as if they had bin on the land. They ſhotte, they darted, and threw ſtones, and dyd caſt bridges, to paſſe from one to another. And becauſe *Menedorus* ſhippe was higher than the other, they dyd the more harme, with leſſe payne. Many were killed and hurte. *Menedorus* was ſtricken through the arme with a dart, the whych was ſtreight pulled out. But *Menecrates* was hurt in the thygh with a forked Spanish arrowe, whych could not be pulled out. And not beyng able any longer to fyght, he exhorted hys company, and lept into the Sea, and then *Menedorus* toke hys Shyppe, and drew it to land, for he could fight no longer. This was the fight on the left ſide of the Saule. On the right, *Caluiſius* chaced certaine ſhippes of *Menecrates*. *Demochares* a freemade mã of *Pompeys* alſo, & viceadmirall to *Menecrates*, entred vpon the other ſhippes of *Caluiſius*, whereof he droue ſome to ſhore, and ſome he made to flée, & ſome he ſet on fire. When *Caluiſius* came from the chace, and ſawe hys Saule ſcattered and fired, he ſtayde the one, and quenched the other, and becauſe it was night, both they withdrew to their former harborough. This was the end of the firſt fight by ſea, wherein *Pompey* had the better. *Demochares* greuouſly taking the deathe of *Menecrates*, as a very greate loſſe, (for *Pompey* euer vſed *Menecrates* and *Menedorus* ſeruice by ſea) leauing al other thyngs, as though not *Menecrates* body, and one ſhippe hadde bin loſt, but the whole Saule went ſtreight from the bryde to *Sicelie*. *Caluiſius* lay ſtill as long as he thought *Demochares* would come againſt him, but when he ſaw him gone, he refreſhed his ſhips, and kepte alongſt ỹ ſhore. On the other ſide, *Cæſar* with a great Saule frõ *Tarento*, and his army from *Reggio*, mette with *Pompey* at *Meſſina* with forty ſhippes only. His friendes exhorted him to take the occaſion of the few Shippes that *Pompey* had, and to ſette vpon him before the reſt of his Saule came, but *Cæſar* would not, tyll he was ioyned with *Caluiſius*, affyrming it to be a folly to hazard without helpe. When *Demochares* was come to *Meſſina*, *Pompey* made him, and *Apollophanes* his freemade man alſo, chiefe of the Saule, in ſtead of *Menecrates*, and *Menedorus*. When *Cæſar* heard of the loſſe that *Caluiſius* had, he croſſed the ſea to mette with *Caluiſius*,

Fight by Sea.

Menedorus hurt.

Menecrates drovvned.

Demochares.

Caluiſius ſhippes diſtreſſed.

Cæſars and *Pompeys* shevve at *Meſſina*.

Cæſar refuſeth the fight.

Nevv Admirals of *Pompeys* Saule.

uiſius, and as he paſſed betweene *Stylida* and *Scylla*, *Pompey* ſet vpon ẏ taile of his Nauie, and prouoked ẏ fight by all meanes, but *Cæſar* refuſed it, either bycauſe he would not fight in the ſtreights, or bycauſe he would firſt find *Caluiſius*. He cõmanded all to draw nigh the ſhore, & to lie at anchor, & to ſtãd to defence, if any did ſet vpõ thẽ. But *Demochares* cõming in, & ſetting two of his ſhips vpõ one of the other, ſo droue thẽ togither & vpon ẏ rockes, as many were cruſhed & periſhed cowardly. And ẏ like lucke was heere, as was at the fighte of *Cuma*. *Cæſar* lept out of his ſhip into the ſhore, and holp to ſaue thẽ that ſwamme for their liues, but *Cornificius* & other Captaines without cõmandemẽt, hoyſed anchor, & toke the ſea, thinking it better to be ouercome fighting, thã to periſh ſoluſhly. And *Cornificius* with great boldnes toke the Ammirall that *Demochares* was in, who lept into another. The fighte cõtinuing wyth great loſſe, *Menodorus* & *Caluiſius* were ſeene cõming, not of *Cæſars* cõpany, who trauelled for their liues, but of *Pompeys* people only, who therfore retired. It was nére night, & they would not match with the Frechmen, they being wéery, the which chanced wel for the other that were in danger. In the nighte, many forſoke theyr ſhips, and went to the mountaines, and made many tokẽs of fire to thẽ that were in the ſea, & were all that night without meate, & without reſt, wanting all things. *Cæſar* being in like caſe, went about, & praid thẽ to hold out til the morning. It was not yet knowẽ that *Caluiſius* was come, neither was there any help frõ the ſhips, all being in dãger of drowning, but by another good lucke, the legion drew nigh by the mountaines, whiche hearing of the loſſe, reſorted to the fires by the rocky places, & found their Generall, & thẽ that were with him wéery, & wanting all things: then one did help another. And they brought *Cæſar* into an old houſe, without any of his chamber, being diſperſed in that nightes tumult. Whẽ he had ſente aboute to ſhew that he was ſafe, he vnderſtode that *Caluiſius* was come, & ſo being recomforted by two ioyful newes, he toke reſt. At breake of day he loked out, & ſaw his ſhips, ſome burned, ſome halfe burned, and ſome floting, and ſome broken. *Caluiſius* being come, he cauſed as much help, and repaire to be made as could be, and the rather, bycauſe the enimie was gone: but behold,

Scylla is one of the notable rockes of the narrovv Sea of *Sicelie*, ſo named (as they ſay) of *Scylla*, the daughter of *Phereus*.

Charybdis, nov *Gale ſtro*, is another rocke ouer againſt, name I alſo as they vvrite, of a greedy vvoman of that name.

Stylida.

Scylla in the coaſt of *Sicelie* vnder the hill *Segeo*, in the continent of *Italy*.

Cæſar refuſeth the fight by Sea.

Cæſars Nauie hurt.

Cæſar leapeth a ſhore.

Cornificius.

VVant in *Cæſars* hoſt.

A good lucke to *Cæſar*.

Cæſar in diſtreſſe.

hold, a vehement Southwind blewe, and made a rough sea, so as *Cæsars* ships were againe crushed on the cliffes & rockes, and one against another. *Pompey* was in the port of *Messana*. *Menedorus* fearing the violẽce of the storme, wẽt further into the sea, and many followed his exãple. The other, thinking the storme would sone haue ceassed, as is wont in Spring time, kept still about the shore, saning thẽselues with labour: but the winde waring greater, all went to wracke, Cabels burst, & ships brake. The ecrie was so great, that no good aduice could be heard, no difference betweene maister & mariner, no skil nor rule preuailed, all was alike, and so they perished. The ships were slitte, the mẽ were drenched, & they that coulde swimme, were broken at the rockes: and when the flood of that sea came, whiche is wont to be great, the ships were with new rage tolled hither and thither, beating one another, and the wind continuing toward night, made thẽ feare the losse to bee in the darkenesse, and not in the light. Greate lamentation was made, and calling one to another for help, but all in vayne. They that were cast into the sea cryed for help of thẽ in the ships. They that loked for help of thẽ on the land, were crushed at the cliffes. So present death was in euery place, and so great darkenesse, as neyther heauen nor earth coulde be seene, and so euery one loked for death, whiche was more greeuous, than death it selfe. Suddainely the winde ceassed, and the Sunne appeared, the storme hauing bin so great, as the mẽ of that countrey affirmed they had neuer seene the like, the which destroyed the most part of *Cæsars* ships and Souldyoures, who being afflicted with these newe calamities, went to *Vibo* by land with vnpatient minde. He sente for the Captaines from euery place, that no mutinies might bee made, nor trayne layde for him. He appoynted his army by land, to keepe ỹ coast of *Italie*, that *Pompey* being incouraged by this victory, should not inuade, who neyther attempted any thing by lande, nor made an ende of them by sea, but suffered them to gather togither as they could, and with prosperous wind to gette to *Vibone*, either bycause he thought thẽ afflicted ynough, or could not vse the victory, or (as I sayd before) slowe to inuade, contente to defend. Of *Cæsars* Nauie, scarcely the halfe was lefte, and that

Tempest vpon *Cæsars* shippes.

The trouble in *Cæsars* Nauie.

The looking for death greeuous.

A vehement storme.

Cæsar agayne afflicted.

Vibo.

The great negligence of *Pompey*.

sore brused, leauing some to ouersee them, with sorowfull mind he went into *Campania*, for neyther had he any other Shippes, hauing nede of manye, nor time to make them, the dearth beeyng great, and the people cryyng for peace, and blaming that warre, that was made against promise. Nede also he hadde of money, whereof was great want, the people of *Rome* not to be moued to any payments. But *Octauius Cæsar*, subtile for his owne commoditie, sent *Mecenas* to *Antony* with instructions to call him to societie of warre, which if he refused, he would trãsport his legiõs into *Sicelie*, and trie ẏ matter by lãd. Being in these cares, it was knowen that *Antony* woulde ioyne with him in warre, and that *Agrippa* had a victory against the French *Aquitanes*. His frends also & some Cities promised him ships. So he leauing his sadnes, prepared a greater Nauie. At ẏ beginning of the Spring, *Antonie* came frõ *Athens* to *Tarentum*, with iij. C. ships, to ioyne with *Cæsar* in warre according to his promise. He changing his purpose, tarried til his Nauie was furnished, and when he was told that *Antonyes* Nauie was sufficiente, he allcaged he had other lettes, ẏ it might appeare he had more quarrell against *Antony*, or despised his help, trusting in his owne. *Antony* taking it greuously, remained yet still, and required him once againe. For hauing much adoe, to prepare money for the *Parthian* war, & nede of *Italian* Souldioures, he would haue chãged ships for mẽ, although by cõposition both of them might take vp mẽ in *Italy*, but it was ẏ harder for him to do, bycause *Italy* was another mãs prouince. Wherefore *Octauia* went to hir brother, to moue him thereunto. He said, *Antony* had forsaken him, whereby he was like to haue bin lost in ẏ sea of *Sicelie*. She answered, that matter was satisfyed by *Micenas*. Then he saide, *Antony* had sent *Callias* his late slaue, to confederate with *Lepidus* against him. She sayd, he went to treate of mariage. For *Antony*, before he should go to the *Parthians* warre, desired to bestow his daughter vpõ *Lepidus* sonne, as he had promised. When *Octauia* had affirmed this, *Antony* sente *Callias* to *Cæsar* to trie ẏ truth by torture, which he refused, & sente word to *Antony* to mẽte him, betweene *Metapontus* and *Tarento*. *Antony* when he saw *Cæsar* lept into a bote alone, signifying ẏ he trusted him, *Cæsar* seing ẏ, did the like, & either of thẽ made hast to

Cæsars vvant.

Cæsars continuance in vvarre.

Aquitania is that they call *Gingem*.

Antony commeth into *Italy*.

Cæsar contemneth *Antony*.

Antony desirous of *Italian* Souldyoures.

Octauia to hir brother.

Obiecting and answvering of quarrels.

Metapontus vvas a faire Citie, novv vtterly destroyed. *Cæsar* and *Antony* meete.

get

get grouñ on ẏ contrary ſide, but *Cæſar* was the quicker, & arriued on *Antonies* ſide, and wente in charriot with *Antonie* to hys ſiſter *Octauia*, and lodged togither without garde. The nexte day *Antonie* did the lyke by him. Thus they were ſone at debate for ſuſpition, & ſone agréed for neceſſitie. *Cæſar* deferred the warre agaynſt *Pompey*, till the next yeare. *Antonie* could tarry no longer there for the *Parthians* warre, ſo they made an exchange. *Antonie* gaue *Cæſar* a hundreth and twenty ſhippes, for the whiche, *Cæſar* promyſed him twentie thouſande legions Soldiours *Italians*. *Octauia* preſented hir brother with ten ſhippes, that bothe ſerued for burden, and ores. *Cæſar* gaue *Octauia*, one thouſande choyſe men for his garde, as *Antonie* woulde take. And bycauſe ẏ time of thrée mens authoritie was expired by decrée of Senate, they continued it for fiue yeare more, of their owne authoritie, neither lokyng for conſent of Senate, nor confirmation of people, and ſo departed. *Antonie* making haſte into *Syria*, leauyng *Octauia* with hir brother and hyr ſonne, *Menedorus*, being a trayтour by nature, or fearing the threates of *Antonie*, that ſayde he was his ſlaue, or not finding ſuch reward as he loked for, or being moued with the daylie rebukes of his olde felowes *Pompeis* late bonde men, and after *Menecrates* death exhorting hym to returne as vnfaithfull to hys Maſter, hauing aſſurauunce he ſledde to *Pompey* with ſeuen ſhippes. Whiche *Caluiſius* the admirall did not perceyue, wherefore *Cæſar* put him from his office, and placed *Agrippa*. When his nauie was finiſhed, he did purge it, after this ſorte. Alters ſtande at the ſea ſide touched with the water. They with their ſhippes ſtande aboute with greate ſilence. The prieſtes in boates in the ſea make the ſacrifices and carie their purgations thrice about the nauie, the Capitaynes goyng with them, wiſhyng and prayng that all vnfortunate and vnfaythfull things might be remoued from it. The bowels of the ſacrifices beyng diuided, they throwe parte in the ſea, and parte they burne on the Alters, the people wiſhyng all good lucke. It was determined that *Cæſar* ſhould inuade from *Puteiol*. *Lepidus* from *Africa*, and *Taurus* from *Tarento*, and ſo beſette *Sicelie*, Eaſt, Weaſt, and South. And a day appointed, whiche was the tenth

Exchaunge of fortreſſe.

Continuaunce of three mens authoritie.

Menedorus fleeth from *Cæſar*.

Caluiſius, diſplaced and *Agrippa* placed.

Purgyng of the nauie.

The maner of inuading *Sicelie*.

after the longeſt day of the yeare, which the *Romanes* cal *Calendæ*, in the honour of old *Cæſar*, called *Iulie*, whiche before was named *Quintilis*. This day *Cæſar* appointed, becauſe of the honour of his father, whoſe felicitie was perpetuall. *Pompey* placed *Plennius* at *Lilibæo*, againſt *Lepidus*, with one legion, and muche ſhotte. The Eaſt and Weaſt parte of *Sicelie*, he layde with garriſons chiefly the Iles, of *Lipara* and *Ceſſyra*, leaſt *Lepidus* ſhould get the one, and *Cæſar* the other, and be continuall annoyance to *Sicelie*. He kepte the ſtrength of his naule at *Meſſina*, to be ready at all euentes. After the day was come, they all toke ſhippe in the mornyng. *Lepidus* came out of *Africa*, with a thouſande ſhippes of burden, lxx. Galleys, and.xij. legions, fiue thouſande *Numidian* horſe, and other prouiſion. *Taurus* from *Tarent*, of *Antonies*, a hundred and thirtie ſhippes, brought onely a hundreth and two ſhippes, the other were diſfurniſhed by the peſtilẽce that was the winter paſſed. *Cæſar* departed frõ *Putzolo*, hauing firſt ſacrificed to *Neptune*, and the calme ſea, to fauour him againſt the killers of hys father. Certen ſcoutes went afore, to eſpie the coaſt. *Appius* ledde the reregarde, with a multitude of ſhippes. The thirde day after they were entred, a South winde aroſe and drowned many of *Lepidus* ſhippes, yet he gotte to *Sicelie*, and beſieged *Plennius* in *Lilibæo*, and toke many townes of that coaſte. *Taurus* when the winde turned, returned to *Tarent*. *Appius* ſayling by the point of *Minerua*, had ſhippewracke by tempeſt, parte were loſte vpon the rockes, parte in the ſhalowes, and parte cruſhed one with an other. *Cæſar* ſo ſone as the tempeſt roſe, wente to the porte of *Velino* ſafe, except one Galley of fiue ores on a ſide. After the South winde folowed a Southweſt winde, whiche ſo ſtirred that porte, that the ſhippes could not go forth opening to the Weſt, nor be ſtayed with anchor, but were broken againſt the rockes, or cruſhed of themſelues, which euill was augmented by the comming on of the night. When it was calme, *Cæſar* buried the dead, healed the hurte, clothed the ſwimmers, and amended the loſſe as well as he colde. He loſt fiue great ſhippes, and.xxvj. of the leſſe ſorte, & very many of the ſmall veſſels. To amend this want, xxx. dayes were required, & now ſummer went away.

Quintilis Iuly.

Lilibeo is one of the three elbowes called *Promontories* of *Sicelie*, looking towarde *Affrica*, and a Cittye of that name. The Iles of *Lipare*, others vvyſe, *Eole* be ſeuen.

Cæſar ſacrificed to the Sea.

Lepidus.
Taurus.

Appius.
The point of *Minerua*.

The porte of *Velino*.

The loſſe of *Cæſars* Shippes.

away. Therfore it was thought best to deferre the warre til the next Sūmer. But bicause the people was oppressed with penurie, he repayred his nauies as wel as he coulde, & got of his frendes some helpe, whiche he sente to supply *Taurus* number. After this losse, *Macenas* was sent to *Rome*, to appease them that yet had remembrance of *Pompey*, by the way himselfe wente into *Italie*, & had the new landed men be of good cheere, and with great spede came to *Tarent*, to view *Taurus* nauie, frō thence he went to *Vibo*, & cheered the legions, and trimmed the shippes, to inuade *Sicelie* shortly againe. *Pompey*, toke none aduauntage of this occasion, only he made sacrifices to *Neptune*, and to *Salatia*, whose sonne, now forsoth, he would nedes be called, thinking certainly, that God fauoured him so much, as he would giue him victorie still. And was so inflamed with this successe, as he chaunged his purple robe, into an azure, as adopted of *Neptune*. He thought *Cæsar* would not haue stirred, but whē he heard he returned againe, he was stroken downe, bicause he sawe he had to do with an inuincible minde. Yet he sent *Menodorus* with .vij. shippes whiche he brought to espie his doynges. He disdayning that he had not his old authoritie, & perceiuing he was had in suspitiō, bicause he had no more shippes than he brought, determined to flee againe. And thinking that it woulde turne to his good, if he shewed any feate worthy prayse, he gaue all his money to his companions, & with great hast came vpō *Cæsars* nauie, with such a violēce, as he toke the ships ẏ lay for the garde of the nauie, sometime two at once, sometime three, & the ships of burden he drowned, burned, & led away, & made great affray in ẏ coast. *Cæsar* & *Agrippa* being absent, who was gone to prepare matter for the nauy. Than he fel to flouting of his enimies, he droue his shippe into a softe ose, & pretended he had bin a groūd, which they thought to haue bene true, and ranne to catche him, as a cōmon pray: whiche when he perceyued, he went away & laughed: whereat *Cæsars* Souldiours were much agrieued. Whē he had shewed what seruice he could do, he deliuered *Rebilus* a Senator whom he had taken, making his way so. Than he fayned that *Vinidius* a familiar of *Cæsars* woulde flee away to him, and sayling nigh the enimy, he desired to speake with *Vinidius*, of matters that concerned them both.

Macenas goeth to *Rome*.

Cæsar goeth to cheere the souldiours of *Italie*.

Pompey loseth occasion. He is puffed vp vainely.

Salatia is the sea, here put for the Goddesse of the sea.

Menodorus maketh a newe stirre on *Cæsars* nauy.

Menodorus illudeth hys enimies.

Menodorus deliuereth *Rebilus* a Senator.

He maketh his deuise by *Vinidius*.

Whiche

Which when it was graunted, and they meeting alone, he tolde hym, that his fleeyng agayne to *Pompey* was for despightes that *Calusius* had done him. But nowe that *Agrippa* was the Admirall, hee woulde returne agayne to *Cæsars* seruice, so *Vinidius* would bryng him assuraunce from *Messala*, that was *Agrippas* Leiftenant, promysing to recompence his faulte with singular seruice: but tyll he had his assuraunce, he sayde, he would molest them as he had done, to auoyde suspition, and so dyd. *Messala* doubted at the firste, as of a matter not honest, but at length he graũted it, eyther for the necessitie of time, or for that he knewe *Cæsar* woulde be content. Thus once agayne hee fled, and when hee came to *Cæsar*, he kneeled to him and asked pardon, before he shewed the cause of his former faulte. *Cæsar* bycause of promise was content to pardon him, and appoynted keepers to him, and gaue leaue to the Capitaynes of his Galleys to go whither they woulde. Whan *Cæsar* toke his iourney againe, commaundyng *Messala* to take two legions and ioyne with *Lepidus*, and go to the hauen that is next *Tauromino*. He sente three others to *Stilida* in the furdest parte of the Sea to abyde occasion. He commaunded *Taurus* to goe to mount *Silatio*, that is a mountaine against *Tauromine*. Whiche hee did, beyng both fitte for the fight, and for the passages. The army by land followed, & was scouted with light horsemen: the nauy, with Brigandines and Foystes. *Cæsar* came from *Vibone* and praysed the order, and returned to *Vibo*. *Pompey* placed garrisons on the coast of *Sicelie*, and kept his nauie at *Messina*, to helpe when neede were. To *Lepidus* came out of *Africa* the other foure legions, with whom, *Papias* a Capitayne of *Pompeis* met, and by a pretence of friendship, destroyed them. For they thought hee had bene sente of *Lepidus* to conduct them and gaue place. Two of ỹ legions perished in the sea, if any escaped by swimming, *Tisienus* killed them on lande. *Cæsar*, sayled from *Vibone*, into *Strongile*, one of the *Aeolian* Ilãds, sending foystes to espie the coast, and perceyuing many shippes aboute *Pelorus*, *Milis*, and *Tyndaride*, he thought *Pompey* had bene there. Therefore he left *Agrippa* his Leiftenaunt, and went agayne to *Libon*. Frõ thence he wente againe to *Taurus* campe with *Messala* and three legions,

Messala.

Menedorus reuolteth once agayne.

Tauromino a towne of *Sicile*. *Tauromyio* was builded of the *Cassidoues*, and after a Colonie of *Rome* hauyng the name of the bull of *Minos* which they beare in their armes.

Stylida.

Scylaceo, is nowe called *Capo di Squillacci* a daungerous place.

Vibono or *Hipponeo*: a citie with a gulfe, nowe called *S. Eufemia* in *Calabria*.

Papias.

Lepidus shippes distroyed.

Tisienus.

Strongyle, nowe *Shombile*, not far frõ *Sicelie*.

Pelorus, a poynt of *Sicelie*, ouer against *Scylla*.

Myle, nowe *Myllazzo*.

Tyndaride is not far from *Myle*.

legions, minding to take *Tauromenis* in *Pompeis* absence, and inuade him in two places at once. *Agrippa* passed from *Stongyle* to *Hiera*, and toke it. The next day he went to *Myla*, to matche with *Democharis*, who had xl. shippes. *Pompeius*, doubting of *Agrippas* purposes, sent other xlv. shippes, to *Democharis*, vnder the leading of *Apollophanes* his late bondman, hee folowing with lxx. more. *Hiera*, now *Sardo*, an Ile betwene *Sicelie* & *Liparis*. *Pompeis* nauy.

Before day *Agrippa* set forth with halfe his nauie to fight with *Papia* alone, but when he saw *Apollophanes* nauie, and the rest of *Pompeis* shippes, hee signified to *Cæsar*, that *Pompey* was at *Myla* with the greater parte of his nauie. He kept the battel with his great shippes, cõmaunding al the reste, to kepe course to *Hiera*, the preparation was great on bothe sides, and the shippes had turrets both at sterne and pompe. When the exhortation was giuen, they beganne the fight, *Cæsars* vpon the face, the others vpon the sides fetching compasses. *Pompeis* shippes were lighte and litle, apte to turne and returne aboute the enimies. *Cæsars*, were great & heauie, and therefore the slower, but of more force both to offende and defende. In them, the Soldiours were more manly: in the other, the mariners, they gotte aduantage by compassing aboute, & breaking the sternes & sides of the enimie, and with a violẽce somtime gaue as great a blow as they toke. On the contrary side, *Cæsars* ships, with their sternes, easily put backe these other being litle, and either crushed, or pearced them, and when they fought at hande, they combred them with shotte, and with hookes, helde them harde, and then woulde they leape into the sea, and were take vp againe of the litle botes that wayted on the shippes. *Agrippa* gaue an onset vpon *Papia* his shippe with such force as he slitte it. They that fought in the toppe fell downe, the water entred, the lower sorte were drowned, and the other escaped by swimming. *Papia*, beyng receyued into an other shippe, fought agayne. *Pompey* standyng vpon an hyll, and perceiuing that his shippes were to weake and weary, and *Agrippa* continually refreshed with the rereward, commaunded them to retyre in order, whiche they did in a shewe of fight. But when *Agrippa* folowed, they fledde, not to the rockes, but to the lofte ore, that was brought in by the flouddes. *Agrippa* being

The fighte by sea.

The difference of the Shippes.

The difference of the men.

Agrippa driueth *Papia* from his Shippe.

Papia fighteth agayne.

Pompeis Shippes retire.

aduertised by hys Maisters, not to aduenture in those shalowes, did cause anchor aboande, as though he would giue a new charge if nede were, in the night. But beyng admonished not to folow anger more than reason, and not ouer-labour the weary Souldiour with watchyng, nor trust too muche the cautelenesse of the Sea, he vardely departed. *Pompeis* men got to their portes when they had losse thirtie shippes, of the enimies, fiue were drowned, and many hurt. *Pompey* prayseth hys Souldiours greate shippes, whiche hee sayde seemed to him, not a fighte by sea, but an assaulte of a wall, and rewarded them as victours, puttyng them in hope, that, in that narrow Sea, their shippes woulde euer be the better, and that they might so be, hee woulde adde somewhat to their height. This was the ende of the fighte by sea at *Mylo*, betweene *Agrippa* and *Papia*.

Pompey hath the losse by sea.

Pompey prayseth his Souldiours.

Leucopatra, an hill in the sea nighe *Reggio*, nowe *Capo de Iarme*, or *Spartas* mons di Calabria.

Cæsar in the meane season sayled from *Sylatio* to *Leucopatra*, being certified that *Pompey* was gone from *Messina* to *Myla*, because of *Agrippa*: and when he was determined to haue passed from *Leucopatra* to *Tauromene* by night, after he had heard of the late fight, he chãged his purpose, & thought it more for his honour to passe by day. For he beleeued that *Pompey* woulde not long tary nigh *Agrippa*. And when day was come, he loked from the mountaynes and could haue no sight of his enimie: he filled his nauy with as many as might be, cõmitting the reste to *Messala*, till the ships should returne for him. Approching to *Tauromena*, he summoned the to render. But they vsing delaying, he passed by, [illegible] *Onobala*, & by temple of *Venus* to *Archegeta*, making his prayers, to ouercome his enimies. *Archegeta* is a little image of *Apollo*, which *Naxians* that were sent to inhabite *Sicile*, did first create. Going here out of his ship, he had a fall, but he rose againe, and sayed.

Cæsar came forth agayne.

Onobala.

Archegeta. *Naxians*, of *Naxo* an Ile in *Aegeo*, nowe *Nicsia*.

Cæsar falleth.

Pompey came in sight with a great nauy, wherat euery man was afrayd, for they thought he had been ouercome at *Mylæ*. His horsemen ranged the shore to be euen with his nauy, & his footmen were seene on euery side. The campe of *Cæsar* was afrayde, & him self also, because he could not succour for *Messala*. The horsemen set vpon the enimie as they were planting their campe. And if an onset had been giuen by sea also, it had been like that

Cæsar in feare.

Pompey

Pompey had done a great feate: but for lacke of knowledge of warre, and not vnderstanding in what feare the enimie was, and doubting to begin the fight so late, they went to harborough at *Coccineo*, and the footemen to *Rhevico*, to haue some distance from their enimie. That night was quiet, and *Cæsars* men had leysure to finishe their trench, but for labour and watche they were vnfitte to fight. *Cæsar* had three legions, fiue hundreth gentlemen without horse, one thousand light harnesse, two thousand venterers, & his soldiours for the sea. Deliuering his footemen to *Cornificio*, to resist the enimie as much as he could by land, he before day toke the sea, before he should be shut from thence. To the right battayle he appointed *Titinius*, to the lefte, *Carcias*. In a Brigantine he went aboute the naue, and exhorted them, which being done, he put of his robe of honour, as he was wont to doe in extreme perils. *Pompey* twice gaue him the onset that day, & the night ended the fight, in ỹ which diuerse of *Cæsars* ships were taken & diuerse burned, & diuerse fled to *Italie* for all that he coulde doe, which were chased of *Pompey*: & such as swame to the lande, were dispatched of the horsemen or taken: some got to *Cornificius* campe, whome he receyued, sending onely light horse to conduct thē, for he thought it not good to leere his legions, being out of harte, & the enimy so nigh, in triūph of that victorie. *Cæsar* passed that night among his naues, vncerten what to do, whether to sende for *Cornificio* amiddest the wreckes of the sea, or to flee to *Messala*: & euen by chaunce, departing with one onely page, without seruāts, soldiours, or families, he came to the port of *Abula*, where some founde him out in great feare and desperation, and carying him from shippe to shippe, they brought him at legth to *Messala*, which was not far off, where before he toke rest, he sent a Brygantine to *Cornificio* and to all the shore, to signifie that hee was alyue, and promised he would shortly help them. When hee had a litle rested, hee wente by night to *Stilida*, from whence *Messala* caried him to *Tarinate*, who was ready to saile with three legions, whome hee willed to go to *Lipari*, and hee would folow streyght. He wrote also to *Agrippa*, to deliuer *Cornificio* from daunger so sone as he could, and sent *Laronio* to help with speede,

Pompey loseth for lacke of experience.

Coccineo, a poinct nigh a lake.

Cæsar ordereth his battayle.

Cæsar leaueth the robe of a generall.

Pompey gaineth.

Cæsar in doubte departeth vvith one page.

Abula.

Cæsar in desperatiō is brought to *Messila*.

Cæsar signifieth that he is vvell.

Cæsar goeth to *Stilida*.

Lipari be the Landes nexte *Sicelie*, seuen in number.

He sente *Macenas* agayne to the citie, bycause some went about newe troubles which were punished openly. He sente *Messala* to *Puteolo* to bryng the firste legion. This *Messala* was condemned at *Rome* of the three menne, and reward was promised to them that would kill him. Then he fledde to *Brutus* and *Cassius*, and after their death, he gaue himselfe and hys naule, to *Antonie*. This I thought good to remember, as an example of the *Romane* vertue: that where *Messala* had hym that condemned him in hys power, cast into vtter desolation, he restored him to his state and preserued hym. *Cornificius*, although hee might easily haue kept the enimie from the campe: yet bycause hee wanted victuall, he prouoked them to battayle. *Pompey* thought not good to fighte with them that were desperate, hoping to subdue them by famine. *Cornificius* marched receyuing into his batayle the vnarmed that escaped the sea: beyng greatly annoyed vō the horsmen in the plaine, which were most part *Affricanes* and Mores. The fourth day he came to a dry place called ẏ parchyng plotte of the fire, burned & dryed euen to the Sea, the which the inhabitantes dare not go to, but in the night, so great is the heate. *Cornificius* durst neyther passe that way in the night, bycause the Mone did not shewe, nor they skilfull of the way, nor coulde not abide by day, the heate was so intollerable. Thirst could not be aswaged: nor they go but fast, bicause the horsemen so folowed them. And being come to the issue, they sawe naked men, who ranne vpon them, and claspyng with them, put them in daunger of choking, with ẏ which being yet troubled, the soldiours were in desperatiō. But *Cornificius* cōforted them, & tolde thē there was a well at hand, & so they put backe those rude people till they came to the well, which they found possessed with other enimies of like sort. Then they were vtterly out of hope. For they saw an army cōming, and could not tell whether it was frēnd or foe, but it was *Laronius*, whom when they that kept the well saw, they fled, fearing to be intercloſed. Whereat the weary soldiours made great ioy with shoutes & crys, which *Laronius* answered. They runne on heapes to the wel. Their Captaynes forbidding thē to drinke too hastily, they that would not folow that counsel, died presently.

Messala.

Romane vertue.

The drye place.

Daunger of *Cornificius*.

Naked citizēs vpon the armed *Romanes*.

The *Romanes* grieuously troubled.

Laronius.

Soldiours perished vvith hasty drinking.

Thus

Thus beyonde all hope, *Cornificius* brought his army safe to *Myla* to *Agrippa*, who had taken *Tyndarida*, furnished with all things necessary, and fitte for the warre by Sea, whither *Cæsar* sent both footemen and horse. He had in *Sicile* one and twenty Legions, twenty thousande horsemen, and aboue fiue thousande light horse. *Pompey* held yet with garrisons, *Mylæ*, *Naulochi*, and *Peloro*, and all the Sea coast, who being afrayde of *Agrippa* kept continuall types to vse against the Ships. He kept the mouthes of *Tauromenio* and *Myla*, and shutte the pathes of Mountaynes with walles. He also molested *Cæsar* beyõd *Tyndarida*, who would not yet fight, and supposing that *Agrippa* would arriue, he went with speede to *Peloro*, leauing the streightes of *Myla*, whither *Cæsar* forthwith did take, with a little towne called *Dianie*, not able by the tale of the goodly Oxen, which were taken away when *Vlysses* slept. When the noyce of *Agrippa* his comming was ceassed, and that *Pompey* heard the streightes of *Myla* were possessed, he called for *Tisieno* with his army. *Cæsar* going to encounter with him, missed his way in the nighte in the hill of *Myconio*, where he lay without a tent. And whereas the rayne was very greate, as is wont in Autumne, he stode all night vnder a French target, the Souldyoures holding it ouer him. The horrible and feareful sounds of the hill *Mongibello* were heard, and the flashing of fire was seene, and ẏ sauoure of ẏ brimstone was felt, in so much as the *Germanes* lept out for feare, and thought it no tale that they had heard of that hyll. After this, he wasted the Countrey of *Palestino*, where he mette with *Lepidus*, taking vp corne, and they both layde seege to *Messana*. Many skirmishes there were, but no great battell. Then *Cæsar* sente *Taurus*, to kẽpe victuall from *Pompey*, and take the Cities that remained for hym, by the which difficultie, being driuen to his tryal, he determined to aduenture all at one fight. And bycause he thoughte himselfe to weake by land, he sent his Herald to require the fighte by Sea. And albeit *Cæsar* had no good will to match by sea, hauing hitherto had euill lucke: yet thinking it dishonorable to refuse him, he appoynted a day to the fighte, with three hundred shippes on a side, furnished with all weapons and defence that they coulde deuise. *Agrippa*

Agrippa taketh *Tyndarida*, which was a Citie named of *Tindarus* father of *Leda*.

Peloro is one of the foure hils of *Sicelie* towarde *Italy*.

Myla is a flood and a Citie both, with a Port, now called *Melazzo*.

Dianio is a Citie also in *Spayne*.

They were the Oxen of *Phœtusa*, which she and hir two sisters kept.

Myconio.

Cæsar in perill againe.

The hill *Aetna*, now *Mongibello*, that spoteth fire.

Germanes afrayd of the noyce of *Aetna*.

Palestino.

Messana besieged.

Pompey desireth to trie all by a fight of equall number of Shippes.

inuented a graple, that was a rafter of fine cubites long, layd ouer with yron, hauing a circle or ring in eyther ende, and in the one a croked hooke of yron, and in the other many ropes, which drew the hooke by gynnes, when it was cast with a sling against the enimies shyppes. When the day was come, the first onset was of the small vessels, not without perie, throwing dartes and stones, and shotte fyred, as well by hand as by engine. The shippes rushed one against another, some on the syde, some on the sterne, and other on the poupe, thereby the Souldyoures were shaken, and the vessels broken. Some vsed their shotte and dartes a farre off, and there were little boates to take vp all that fell in the water. The Souldyoures and the Mariners contended who should do best. The erhorting of the Captaynes did good, and the engines did help, most of all the graple, whiche reached the small shyps a farre off for the lightnesse, and held them fast drawyng them by the ropes: neyther could it be cutte off, bycause it was couered with yron, nor the ropes be touched, bycause of their length. Neyther was this engine knowen, that they might haue armed their weapons with yron. They rowed on the sodaine, thrusting their shyps on the sterne, to get aloofe. When the enimies did so, then was the force of me equal, but when the graple came, it was a thing by it selfe. The shyps fought ioyned together, and leaping out of one into another, and scarcely could they one be knowne from the other. Their armour and weapons was alike, their shape was all one. Their priuie token was vnderstood to both, which was cause of much deceyt, and after, of confusion, for they distrusted their owne, for feare to be deceyued, and so did not know what they might do. In the meane time the hurt was great, the sea was full, as well of men, as of armoure, and ruines of the broken and crushed vessels. For after they came to fyghte at hande, they threw no more fire.

Graple, the inuention of *Agrippa*.

The stoute and last fight by Sea.

The profite of the graple.

Likenesse of armour maketh confusion.

Both the armyes of footemen stode vpon the shore, with doubtfull myndes whether the victory would encline, for in a multitude of fyue hundred Shyppes, they could not discerne, beeyng all alyke, excepte it were the colloure of their toppes, wherein they onely differed, and onely they coniectured by the

markes

markes they hadde, and by the noyses and voyces, howe the matter went. But when *Agrippa* vnderstode that *Pompey* had the worse, he exhorted hys Souldyoures to stande to it, that they myghte obteyne the victory, whyche was in theyr handes, and so they dyd, wyth suche furie and violence, as the enimie fleade, and ranne themselues a ground, where they were eyther taken or burned, whiche when they that kepte the Sea, dyd see, they yelded.

Agrippa getteth the victory.

Then the Nauie of *Cæsar* sang the song of victory, the whych the fotemen on the shore aunswered with no lesse gladnesse.

Reioyce of victory by *Cæsars* men.

Pompey perceyuing the ouerthrowe, fledde to *Messina*, not remembring his forces of fotemen, the whiche by and by yelded to *Cæsar*, and shortly after the Horsemenne dyd the lyke. The whyche when *Pompey* hearde, he commaunded to put all things into the seauentéene Shyppes that were lefte, and leauing the habite of a Generall, wouldde flie to *Asiopa*, whose mother he hadde saued in lyke daunger. And that he myghte bee the better welcome, he sente to *Plennius* to bring the syght legions that he had at *Rhisbe*, whyche he, woulde leade wyth hym. But, when he perceyued that his friends and Souldyoures did continually yelde to *Cæsar*, and that the enimie was entred the narrow sea, although he was in a strong and well furnished Citie, yet he would not tarrie for *Plennius*, but fledde wyth hys seauentéene shippes. After he was gone, *Plennius* came to *Messina*, and kept that Citie.

Pompeys army yeldeth to *Cæsar*.

Pompey fainteth, and prouideth to flee.

Pompey fleeth with xvij. ships

This was the end of this last fighte by sea, in the whyche, only three of *Cæsars* ships were sonke, and seauen and twenty of *Pompeys*. The remnaut were all defeated by *Agrippa*, except viij. with the which *Pompey* fledde alone. *Cæsar* remayned at *Naulochi*, and commaunded *Agrippa* to besiege *Messina*, whiche he did with the fellowship of *Lepidus*. *Plennius* sente for peace to *Agrippa*, thoughte it good to deferre the aunswere tyll the morning. But *Lepidus* was contente, and to winne *Plennius* Souldyoures to hym, permitted halfe the people of the Citie to them, which they hauing obteyned beyonde all hope, beyng glad to haue gone with their liues that night, sacked ye citie with

Naulochi.

Messina sacked.

with *Lepidus* Souldyoures. By this meanes *Lepidus* wanne *Plennius* legions, who ſware vnto him, ſo as nowe, hauing two and twenty legions, with a great naule, was not a little proude, and thought to winne *Sicelie*, bycauſe he had gotten diuers places before, to the which he ſent his garriſons to keepe out *Octauian*.

Lepidus diuideth the ſpoyle of *Meſſana* with *Plennius*, and receyueth his army.

Lepidus thinketh to be Lord of *Sicelie*.

The nert day, *Cæſar* expoſtulated with *Lepidus* by his friendes, ſaying, he came as a confederate to reſort to *Sicelie*, and not to get ẏ Ile for himſelfe, and he alleadging, that his authoritie was taken frō him, and that *Cæſar* had it alone, he could be content to render *Africa* and *Corſica* for *Sicelie*. Then *Cæſar* was angry, and came vnto him, and charged him with ingratitude, and departed, ſo as they ſtode in doubt of each other, keping warde ſeuerally. The Shippes lay at anchor, and it was ſuſpected that *Lepidus* intended to haue burned *Cæſars* ſhips. The armies fearing a new ciuill warre, had not the like eſtimation of *Lepidus*, that they had of *Cæſar*: for him they accompted wiſe and diligente, and ẏ other remiſſe and negligent, bycauſe he ſuffered their enimies to be partakers of the ſpoyle. When *Octauian* vnderſtode this, he cauſed his friends to deale with the Captaines ſecretly, and to promiſe them liberally, and many were wonne vnto him, ſpecially of *Pompeys* band, thinking their ſtate not ſure, excepte *Cæſar* conſented to it. *Cæſar* came in perſon with many horſemen, which he left without the trench, and entred the Camp with a few, vnbeknowing to *Lepidus*, for lacke of forefight, proteſting that new warre was moued againſt his will: wherefore the Souldioures ſaluted him as Generall, and *Pompeys* parte that were corrupted, asked him forgiuenelle. To the which he ſaid, he marueiled that they ſhould aſke forgiuenelle, not hauing yet done that was conuenient for them. They vnderſtanding his meaning, toke their enſignes, and brought them to *Cæſar*. Other pulled downe their Tentes. But when *Lepidus* heard the tumulte, he came out armed, and ſtreight a fray began, where one of *Cæſars* Pages was killed, & himſelfe ſtroke through the breſt plate, but not hurte, wherefore he departed in haſt to his horſemen. A garriſon reſted at his running away, whereat he was ſo angry, as he was not quiet, till he had beaten downe that Caſtell, the which being

Lepidus army reuolteth.

Pompeys Souldyours yeelde to *Cæſar*.

Cæſar ſtricken.

A Caſtell beaten downe, vvhoſe garriſon reſted at *Cæſar*.

being done, other Castels gaue ouer in like sort, some presently, and some the nighte followinge, some neuer spoken to, some pretending some occasion, by beeyng vexed of the Horsemen: yet some abode the brunt, and repulsed the, for *Lepidus* euery where sent helpers to them, the which reuolting also, the rest that were willing to him, changed their mind. And first againe the *Pompeyans* that yet remayned with him, forsoke him by little and little, *Lepidus* caused other to be armed to kepe the in, who being armed to that intēt, toke their ensignes, & with the aid of others, ioyned theselues to *Cæsar*. *Lepidus* threatened them that went, and prayd them also, and he toke the Standerds, and sayd, he would neuer deliuer them, but whē a Souldyour said, Thou shalt deliuer them dead, he gaue place. The last that forsoke him was the Horsemen, who sente to *Cæsar* to know, if they shoulde kill him, which he denyed. Thus *Lepidus* being forsaken of all men, and hauing lost his army, changed his habite, and went to *Cæsar*, and many ranne to see that sight. *Cæsar* rose when he came, and would not suffer him to kneele, but depriuing him of all authoritie, reserning only a priestly office, in y apparell that he came, he sent him to *Rome*. Thus he that had bin many times a Generall, and sometime one of the three rulers, making officers & condemning many as good as himselfe, liued a priuate life, vnder some of the whome he had attainted before. *Cæsar* would not persecute *Pompey*, nor suffer other to do it, either bycause he would not meddle in another mans iurisdiction, or would behold *Antonyes* doings, to haue iust occasion to fall out with him. For now that al other aduersaries were taken away, it was thought ambition woulde make them two quarell, or bycause *Pompey* was none of the conspirators, as *Cæsar* did after affirme. Nowe had he an army of xiv. legions, of xxvi. M. Horsemen, and of other Souldyoures as many more, which he gathered togither. He had fiue hundred Gallyes, and many shippes of burthen, which he sent to the Riuers. He gaue the Souldyoures a reward for victory, and promised more in time to come. He distributed crownes, garlands, and other honors, and forgaue *Pompeys* Captaynes. Thus so greate felicitie, Fortune did ennie: for his owne armie fell to

Castels giuen ouer to *Cæsar*.

Lepidus vtterly forsaken.

The horsemen sende to *Cæsar*, to knowe if he vvoulde haue *Lepidus* killed.

Lepidus depriued, only a speciall liuing reserued.

The mutabilitie of Fortune.

Cæsar vvoulde not follovv *Pompey*.

Cæsars mighty armie.

Ennie follovveth Fortune.

Mutinie of Souldiours.

mutinie, desiring to be discharged, and requiring the rewarde promised at the field of *Philippi*. He answered, that thys warre was not like any of the other, notwithstanding, he woulde reward them for all, togyther with *Antonyes* Souldyers, when he should returne. But as concerning their discharge, he put them in remembrance of their oth and obedience. But seeyng them styll obstinate, he ceassed hys rebukes, leaste the Souldyoures lately yelded, should follow their trade, and promised that *Antony* and he, would discharge them in conueniente tyme, and that he would now not vse thē in any cruell warre, for by the help of God, all was ended and done, and nowe he would leade them into *Slauonie*, and other barbarous nations, where they shoulde get great bouties. They sayde they woulde not goe, vnlesse he wouldē reward them thoroughly. He sayd he would reward them, and also giue them garlandes & garmentes of honor and prayse. Then sayde *Ofilius*, one of the Tribunes, Garlandes and purple garmentes bee rewardes of Children, Souldyoures had nede of money and landes. The multitude sayde it was true. Then *Cæsar* was greeued, and came from his seate, and they that stode nexte the Tribunes, prayed him, and rebuked the other that woulde not agree wyth them. He sayde, he was sufficiente alone to defende so iuste a cause.

Ofilius rudely speaketh to *Cæsar*.

Ofilius not seene agayne.

The nexte daye he was not seene, nor coulde bee knowen where he was become. Then the Souldyoures not one at once for feare, but altogither, required to be dismissed. *Cæsar* spake as fayre as he couldē to their Captaynes, and discharged them that had serued at *Philippi* and *Medena*, as the most olde Souldyoures, and commaunded them to depart the Ile, leaste they should corrupt the rest. Thus much he sayd to them that he discharged, that though he discharged them nowe, yet he woulde reward them. Speaking to the other, he made them to wytnesse the periurie of them that departed, not discharged by the leaue of their Generall, and prayed them, and promised to dismisse them shortly, and that they should not repente their ductie done to him, and that nowe he woulde giue to euery of them fyue hundred drammes. Then he sette a taxe vpon *Sicelie* of fiftéene hundred Talentes, and appoynted Lieu-

Souldyoures dismissed.

tenants

tenantes for *Sicilie* and *Barbarie*, and diuided hys army. Fortie Shippes he sent to *Tarent*, the rest of hys army he sent partlie into *Italy*, and partly he take wyth hym, when he wente out of the Ile. Comming towarde *Rome*, the Senate receyued hym wyth all kynde of honors, permytting to himselfe to receyue, whyche he would, eyther all or some at his pleasure. He was mette a farre off wyth them that had garlandes, as well of the Senate, as of the people, of whome he was first brought to the Temples, and then to hys house.

Honoures offered to *Cæsar* at *Rome*.

The daye following, he made an Oration to the Senate and to the people, he declared hys doynges in order, and the administration of the common wealth, from hys beginning to thys day. Whiche Orations written of hymselfe, he published wyth many examples, and pronounced peace and tranquilitie after so long ciuill warres. Tributes vnpayde hee forgaue, and lykewyse the gatherers of the tolles, and the fynes for offices.

Cæsar declareth his actes to the Senate and the people.

Cæsars Orations published.

Of the honors of the Senate, he accepted a Chariot in the Theatre, and yearely solemnities of the dayes of hys victories. And an image of golde in the common place, wyth thys inscription. *For peace gotten, after so many warres both by lande and sea.* But he refused the chiefe Bysshopshippe, which the people offered hym, whyche by auntiente custome was not vsed to be taken from any man alyue, for *Lepidus* had it, and when they woulde haue hadde hym kylled *Lepidus* as an enimie, he denyed it. Then he wrote manye letters to the armyes, wyth commaundemente to bee opened all at a daye appoynted, and then to doe as they were commaunded, whyche was, to restore all bondmen in *Rome* and *Italy*, to their maisters or their heyres, that had freedome giuen them at the request of *Pompey*, all the whiche returned to their old state. The like he dyd in *Sicelie*. If any were vnchalenged, he put them to deathe in the Citie from whence they came. This seemed to be an end of ciuill warre, when *Cæsar* was eyght and twenty yeares of age, and consecrated as a God. The Citie and *Sicelie* was troubled very much wyth robbers and couers, with such boldnesse, as they openly committed their lewdenesse.

Modestie of *Cæsar*.

Inscription of peace.

Bondmen restored to their maisters.

Cæsar honoured as a God, at xxviij. yeare of his age.

Robberies in the Citie.

Sabinus.

To correct these, *Sabinus* was sent, who put many of them to the sword, and spent a yeare, before he could ridde them, and at that time (they say) the bands of watches were appointed, which continue to this day. The speedy redresse of this, brought greate estimation to *Cæsar*, who exercised many things after the olde manner by yearely officers, and burned all the letters that were written in the time of warre, and promised to restore the common wealth so sone as *Antony* returned, for he knew that he also would giue vp his offices, nowe that there was no ciuill warre. Therefore, being extolled with immortall prayses, the Tribuneship was giuen him for euer, with a meaning, by the taking of this, to leaue all other, of the which he wrote priuately to *Antony*: and he gaue his aduice by *Bibulus* going from hym, and placed *Lieutenants* in his prouinces, intending to be his companion in the warre of *Slauonia*.

VVatches appoynted in the night in the Citie.

The hope of restorement of the common state by *Cæsars* vvords.

Tribune perpetuall.

Pompey fleeing out of *Sicelie*, came to the shore of *Lacinio*, where he spoyled a rich Temple of *Iuno*. From thence he went to *Mitylene*, where his father lefte him and his mother, when he made warre with *Cæsar*. And bycause *Antony* was gone to the *Parthian* warre, he intended to yeld to him at his returne. But where it was reported that *Antony* was ouercome, and he beleeued it, he conceiued an hope to succéde him in all the prouinces, or that at the least in part, taking example of *Labienus*, who ranne ouer *Asia*. Being occupyed with these cogitations, he heard that *Antony* was come to *Alexandria*. He prepared himselfe to both courses, and wrote to *Antony*, to be his friend and fellow, only meaning to espie his doings. And secretely he sente other Embassadours to the Princes of *Thracia* and *Pontus*, minding to passe into *Armenia*, if he dio not obteyne his purpose.

Lacinio, a hill in the furthest shore of *Italy*.
Pompey spoyleth the Temple of *Iuno*.
Mitylene a Citie in *Lesbo*, nowe *Mitelene*.
Vayne hope of *Pompey*.
Labienus.

Pompey vseth double deuice.

He wrote also to the *Parthians*, hoping they would take hym for a Captayne in the warre, beyng a *Romane*, against *Antony* their *Romane* aduersary.

He prepared Shyppes and Souldyoures for the same, pretending to be afrayde of *Cæsar*, and to prepare them for *Antonyes* vse. But when *Antony* heard of hys purposes, hée sente *Titius* chiefe Captayne agaynste hym, that receyuing an armie

Titius sent against *Pompey* by *Antony*.

armie and name *Syria*, hée shoulde resiste *Pompey* with all hys power, but if he had rather receyue *Antonies* truste, hée shoulde bryng him to him honorably. The Embassadours of *Pompey* made this requeste.

Wée are sent to thée from *Pompey*, not that hée coulde not be admitted into *Spaine*, a prouince that oweth him good will for his fathers sake, if he listed to make warre, whiche holpe hym when he was younger, and now offereth him theyr ayde: but bycause hée had rather enioy peace with thée, or vnder thy banner, make warre, if néede be. Which is no new intent, but when he ruled *Sicilie*, and inuaded *Italie*, and saued and sente thée home thy mother, he desired thy friendshyp, whiche if thou haddest accepted, neyther had he bene driuen out of *Sicilie*, whereto thou diddest lende thy shippes, nor thou bene ouercome in *Parthia*, *Cæsar* not sending thée, such armie as he promised. Yea thou mightest haue brought *Italie* vnder thy power. But although he were refused when time was, he now desireth thée, not to be illuded and deceyued with so many fayre wordes and affinitie, remembryng that *Pompey* also after promise to the contrarie was iniurikly inuaded of *Cæsar*, and spoyled of his portion, whereof no parte hath redoũded to thée. Now thou onely arte the lette, why he hath not the only Monarchie, which he hath long thirsted after. For you had bin at war before this, if *Pompey* had not bene. And thou oughtest to forsée these things of thy selfe, so for the good will, whiche hée beareth thée, he had rather haue the amitie of a playne and liberall man, than of a subtill and crafty fellow. *Pompey* is not angry that thou lentest shippes agaynst him, beyng constrayned, that thou mightest haue men of him, but putteth thée in remẽbrance, how much ỹ armie not sent thée, did hinder thée. And to be shorte, *Pompey* committeth himselfe to thée, with all his shippes, with a trusty armie, whiche haue not forsaken hym though he fledde, thou shalt purchase a great prayse, if beyng in peace, thou wilt preserue the Sonne of *Pompey* the great: that if the warre be broken, whiche is feared, thou mayst haue a confederate of such might and estimation. When *Antonie* hearde this, he sayde, If *Pompey* meaneth good faith, I haue giuen commission to *Titius*

Pompeis Embassadours to *Antonie*.

Antonie to *Pompeis* Embassadours

to bryng him to me. In the meane time, *Pompeis* messengers that were sente to the *Parthians*, were taken of *Antonies* officers, and brought to *Alexandria*, of whome, when *Antonie* had learned all thyngs, he sente for *Pompeis* Embassadours, and shewed them to them. Then they excused hym, beyng a yong man and in extreme necessitie, fearyng to be reiected of him, and dryuen to proue the moste mortall enimies of the people of *Rome*: but if he were sure of *Antonies* mynde, hée should néde no furder suyte. He beléeued it as a playne man, and nothyng suspitious. *Furnius* beyng president of *Asia*, receyued *Pompey* very gently, not beyng able to reiect hym, nor sure of *Antonies* minde. But when hée sawe hym trayne his Soldiours, hée gathered an army of the countrey, and sente for *Oenobarbus*, capitayne of the armie, and for *Amyntas* a frende, who assemblyng quickly together, *Pompey* complayned that hée was vsed as an enimy. When he had sent Embassadours, to *Antonie*, and loked for answere from him. In the meane while he practised to take *Oenobarbus*, by the helpe of *Curione* hys frende, but the practise beyng discouered, *Curio* was put to death, and *Pompey* kylled hys late bondman *Theodorus*, who was onely priuie to that counsell. And because he doubted of *Furnius*, he toke the citie of *Lampsaco* by composition, where many *Italians* dyd inhabite, appoynted by *Iulius Cæsar*, whome hée allured to his pay with great promyses. Now had hée two hundreth horse, and three legions, and besieged *Cyzicus* both by sea and lande, from the whiche he was repulsed. For there was a litle bande of *Antonies*, and certen sworde players that were brought by there. And where *Furnius* abstayning from battayle, did euermore encampe nigh him, and kept him frō forraging, which he went aboute in the territorie of the *Achæans*, *Pompey* set vpon the fore parte of hys campe, and sente other aboute to do the like behinde. Whereby *Furnius* resisting him, hys campe was taken of the other, and dryuen to flée by the fieldes of *Scamandria*, where *Pompey* killed many of them, for the fielde was moyst with the shoures. They that escaped durst not turne againe to the fielde. The people of *Mysia*, *Propontide*, & other places, that were poore & consumed with payment, came to *Pompeius* seruice

Pompeys messengers taken.

Excuse of Pōpey.

Antonie a plaine man. *Furnius*.

Pompey trayneth his men. *Oenobarbus*. *Amyntas*. Practise discouered.

Curio put to death.

Theodorus killed. *Lampsaco* taken by *Pompey*. *Capsico*, a citie in the shore of *Hellespont*. He besiegeth *Cyzicus*, an Ilāde in *Propontide*, & a citie of that name of great strength.

Achæia a part of Greece.

Pompey dislodgeth *Furnius*.

Scamādria a litle towne at the porte of *Ilio*.

People resorte to *Pompey*.

ſeruice, beyng renoumed for hys late victorie. But wantyng horſemen, and beyng ſhrewdly handled in foragyng, he heard of a bande of *Italian* horſemen goyng to *Antonie* (whiche *Octauia* had ſente from *Athens*) and ſente to corrupt them with golde. The preſident of the countrey toke them, that brought the money, and diſtributed it to the horſe men. *Pompey* at *Nicea* and *Nicomedia* gathered muche money with greate ſucceſſe. *Furnius* againe comming into the fielde and encamping nigh him, there came lxx. ſhippes out of *Sicelie* in the ſpryng, which were lefte of them that *Antonie* had lent *Cæſar*. And *Titius* came out of *Syria* with a hundred and twentie ſhippes and a greate army, all the which arriued at *Proconneſo*, of the which *Pompey* being afrayde, burned his ſhippes and armed his Mariners hauing more truſt in the lande. But *Caſſius* of *Parma*, *Naſidius*, *Saturninus*, *Therinus*, *Antiſtius*, & other honorable frendes of *Pompey*, & *Furnius* molte dere vnto him, & *Libo* himſelf, his father in lawe, when they ſaw that *Pompey* was alwayes to weake, they yelded themſelues to *Antonie*. He being thus forſaken, went into ỹ midland of *Bythinia*, entending to go into *Armenia*. *Furnius* & *Titius* folowed him: he being ſecrete, departed out of his tents, and with great iourney they ouertoke him at night, and ſeuerally encamped aboute an hill without ditche or trenche, beyng late and they weary. That night *Pompey* ſet vpon them with three thouſande men as they were ſleeping, & put them to flie naked ſhamefully: but if he had aſſayled them with his whole power, or folowed them as broke, he had gotten perfect victory. But fortune would not ſuffer, and he got nothing thereby, but that he went on his iourney. They recouering horſes, folowed him, and kepte him from victuall, ſo as beyng dryuen to ſpeache, he deſired to ſpeake with *Furnius* that was ſometyme a frende of hys Fathers, and a man of greate dignitie. And ſtandyng on the banke of the riuer, he ſayde, he had ſente Embaſſadours to *Antonie*, and in the meane ſeaſon wantyng victualles, dyd that he had done. If you make warre vpon me by *Antonies* commaundement, he ſeeth not wel for himſelf, not perceyuing a greater warre to hang ouer hym. But if you do it vpon your owne authoritie,

Propontis, nowe the ſea of ſayne George.
Myſia, nowe *Beſcia* & *Seruia*.
Pompeys money taken.

He gathereth more.
Nicea, a citie in diuerſe places.
Nicomedia, nowe *Nichar*, a citie in *Bythinia*.
Proconeſo, nowe *Marmora*, an Ile in *Propontide*.

Pompeys frendes yeelde to *Antonie*.

Pompey aſſayleth his enimies by night.

Pompey loſeth occaſion.

Pompey deſireth ſpeach with *Furnius*.

‘ I pray you and beſeeche you that you would ceaſſe till my Em-
‘ baſſadours returne, or carie me ſafely to him. And to you, O
‘ *Furni*, I will committe my ſelfe, ſo you will promiſe me to deli-
uer me ſafe to *Antonie*. Thus much hée ſayde, hopyng in *An-
tonie*, as a gentle man, and ſéekyng to paſſe his iourney quietly.

Furnius to *Pom-
pey.*

To whom *Furnius* thus anſweared. If thou wouldeſt haue cō-
‘ mitted thy ſelfe to *Antonie*, thou ſhouldeſt haue done it at the
‘ firſt, or beyng quiet, haue looked for anſweare at *Mitylene*: but
‘ makyng warre, thou haſte brought thy ſelfe to this caſe, if thou
‘ repenteſt thée, blame not vs. *Antonie* hath appoynted *Titius* to
‘ receyue thée, to hym therefore, committe thy ſelfe, of whom thou
‘ mayſt require that thou requireſt of mée. For he commaunded,
‘ that if thou playeſt the parte of an enimie, to kill thée: if not, to
‘ bryng thée honorably vnto him.

Pompey hateth *Titio.*

Pompey was offended with *Titio*, as vnthankfull: bycauſe hée had made this warre agaynſt hym, whome he once tooke and ſaued hym. Therefore *Pompey* was the more grieued to come in to his handes, that was but a meane man: whoſe fidelitie he ſuſpected, eyther of his behauiour, or of the former iniurie hée had done him, before he did him pleaſure. Wherefore once againe he yéelded to *Furnius*, & deſired to be taken, but it was not graun-ted. Then he deſired *Amyntas* might take him, which whē *Fur-nius* ſayde, he ſhould not do, bycauſe it were a wrong to him that had commiſſion from *Antonie*, and ſo they brake. *Furnius* Sol-diours thought hée woulde haue yéelded the nexte day to *Titius*. But he in the night, makyng fires after the maner, and ſoun-ding the trompe at euery reliefe of the watche, with a few went out of the campe, not tellyng them what he woulde doe, for he meante to haue gone to the ſea, and haue ſet *Titius* campe a fire, whiche peraduenture he had done, had not *Scaurus* gone from him and ſignified his departure, and whiche way he went. Then *Amyntas* folowed him with fiftene hundred horſemen, to whom when he drewe nigh, his people forſoke hym, ſome openly and ſome ſecretely. When he ſawe himſelf forſaken of all ſides, he yéelded to *Amyntas* without condition, refuſing *Titius* condi-tions. Thus the yonger Sonne of great *Pompey* was taken,

Pompey yeldeth to *Furnius* vvho vvoulde not take him nor ſuffer *Amyntas* to do it.

Pompeis intent, diſcouered by *Scaurus.*

Pompey forſaken of all handes.

Pompey yeldeth to *Amyntas* vvithout condi-tion.

loſing

lyng his father when he was very yong, and his brother, when he was toward mans estate. Which two being taken away, he lay close a great whyle, and vexed *Spayne* wyth priuie robberies, tyll he hadde good resort to him, and then he professed hymselfe to be *Pompeys* sonne, and made open rodes: and when *Iulius Cæsar* was slayne, he moued playne warre, beeyng ayded wyth greate multitudes and forces of the suddayne, gayning Shippes, and publike treasure. He oppressed *Italy* wyth famine, and brought hys enimies to what conditions he woulde, and that most is, when the wicked condemnation was executed in *Rome*, he saued manye of the noble men, that enioyed theyr Countrey by his benefyte: but Fortune not fauouring hym, he woulde neuer take the aduantage of hys enimie, neglecting manye occasions, he would lye still. The comming vp of Pompey. The good actes of Pompey. Negligence vnto did Pompey.

Thys was he that now is in bondage.

Titius commaunded hys army to sweare to *Antony*, and put hym to death at *Mileto*, when he hadde lyued to the age of fortye yeares, eyther for that he remembred late displeasure, and forgot olde good turnes, or for that he had such commaundemente of *Antony*. *Titius* putteth Pompey to death at Mileto, a Citie in the endes of *Ionia* and *Caria*.

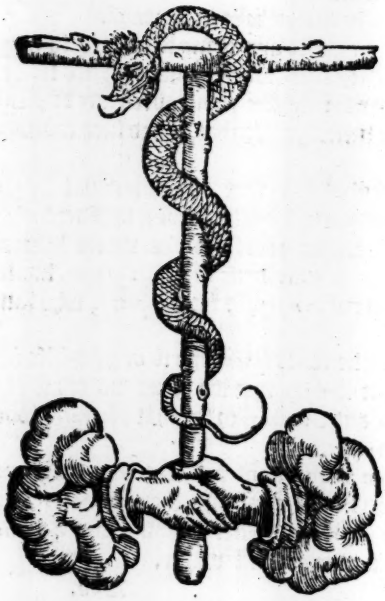
There bee that saye, that *Plancus* and not *Antony*, dyd commaunde hym to dye, whyche beeyng president of *Syria*, had *Antonyes* signet, and in greate causes wrote letters in hys name. Some thynke it was done wyth *Antonyes* knowledge, he fearyng the name of *Pompey*, or for *Cleopatra*, who fauoured *Pompey* the great. *Plancus*.

Some thynke that *Plancus* dyd it of hymselfe for these causes, and also that *Pompey* shoulde gyue no cause of dissention betweene *Cæsar* and *Antony*, or for that *Cleopatra* woulde turne hyr fauour to *Pompey*.

When hee was dispatched, *Antony* toke hys iourney into *Armenia*, and *Cæsar* agaynste the *Slauonians*, continuall enimyes of the *Romanes*, neuer obeying the *Romane* Empire, but reuoltyng in euery ciuill warre. The *Illyrians* now *Slauonians*, continuall enimies of the *Romanes*.

And because the warres of *Illyria* are not thoroughly knowen vnto me, nor sufficient to make a iust volume, and can not be declared commodiously otherwise, I haue thought it good to referre them to the time, that they were subiect to the *Romanes*, and making a compendious Treatise of them, to ioyne them with the affayres of *Macedonie*.

FINIS.



Faultes escaped in the printing of the fiue Bookes of ciuill vvarres of Rome.

Pag.	Line.	Faulte.	Correction.
1	18	shoulde	shall
3	35	*Lisbia*	*Libya*
4	1	duke of *Loma*	gulfe of *Ionia*
4	vlt.	*Colligant*	*Colliganit*
5	20	of that	of them that
13	2	*Paperius*	*Papirius*
16	33	pastime	pasture
25	25	*Hirsians*	*Hirpinians*
29	17	*Falerno*	*Ealerno*
32	16	*Canue*	*Canne.*
38	21	*Cithegus*	*Cethegus*
50	17	meanes	malice.
54	14	warres	wayes
69	vlt.	*Garinus*	*Garganus*
70	8	birdes	burdens
75	20	*Cateline*	*Catilina*
83	35	that *Milo*	*Milo* that
85	26.28.29.	*Ptotolomie*	*Ptolomie*
95	3	*Dirrachium*	*Dyrrachium*
97	2	*Sypris*	*Sycoris*
102	14	mnalye	manly
105	1	Baron	barne
106	13	feyning	seeming
107	34	of.viij.C.	sauing.8 0.
110	1	*Verona*	*Velona*
114	7	slingers	slingers
110	12	any.120.	onely.120.
115	2	fourtie	400.
115	27	so	see
126	9	*Methridates*	*Mithridates*
140	17	came	comming
161	8	40.	400.
ibid.	5	horse	hoste
ibid.	18	*Tisurius*	*Titurius*

¶A CONTINVATION of Appian of Alexandria:

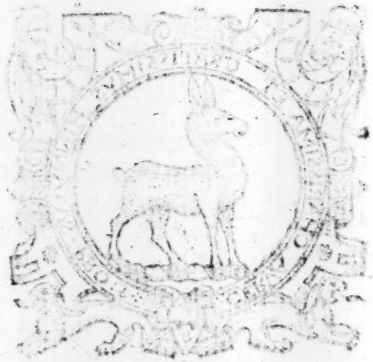
*Wherein is declared the laſt acte of the wo-*full Tragedie of the Romaines bloudie Diſſentions, in the whiche *Marcus Antonius* was ouerthrown by ſea at *Actio*, and by land at *Alexandria*: Where both he and *Cleopatra* killed themſelues, after the which, *Octauius Cæſar* was the only Monarch of all the Romane Empire alone.

In this we be taught: That Gods vengeance *is* sharp, although it be ſlovv, *and* that peoples rule muſt giue place, and princely povver preuayle.



AT LONDON,
Imprinted by Raulfe Newberry and Henry Bynniman.

Anno. 1578.



AT LONDON,
Imprinted by Rauffe Newberry
and Henry Bynneman.

¶TO THE RIGHT HONO-rable, his ſingular good Mayſter, Sir *Chriſtopher Hatton, Knight*, Ca-pitaine of the Queenes Maieſties

Garde, Vizchamberlaine to hir Highneſſe, and one of hir Maieſties moſt honou-rable priuie Counſayle.

AS the loſſe of old poſſeſsiõs, is a grieſe to the landed men: euẽ ſo the decay of aũtient bokes, is a ſmart to the learned ſort. *Titus Liuius* father of the *Romane* hiſtorie (whom to ſee, repaire was made of Gentlemen frõ farre places, vvhiles he liued) hath not eſcaped the iniurie of time, but bin left vnperfitte, to the great ſorovv of poſteritie, after he dyed, *Cornelius Tacitus* that folowed him both in matter and age, could not auoyde that iniquitie, althoughe the Emperor *Tacitus* commaunded his bokes to be written ten times euery yeare. This Authour *Appianus Alexandrinus*, hath had the like lucke, for al the eſtimation he vvas in, the halfe of his labour being loſt, and the laſt part of the vvhole ciuill tumult not now to be had frõ him, but briefly ſupplyed otherwiſe, that the end of the *Romanes* vvo, & the beginning of our ioy, might be declared, the one ſucceſsiuely folovving of the other. The vvhich it may pleaſe your honour to accept, according to your accuſtomed goodneſſe, beſeeching the liuing Lord long to preſerue the ſame.

Your Honours humble ſeruaunt. H. B.

A Continuation of Appian of Alexandria, till the ouerthrow of M. Antonius,

vvhiche vvas the laste ciuill dissention after the whiche, Octauius Cæsar had the rule of all the Romane Empire alone.

After that *Octauius Cæsar*, and *M. Antonius* had agreed with *Sextus*, the yonger sonne of *Pompey* the great, it was determined that *Antonius* shold make warre vpon the *Parthians*, to reuenge the death of *Crassus*. Wherefore presently he sent *Ventidius* to repelle the *Parthians*, and he to gratifie *Octauius*, was content to marie his sister, and to be made the holy minister of *Iulius Cæsar* that was dead, he remayning in *Rome*, ruling by common consent, with *Octauius Cæsar*, as well the matters of the Cittie as of the whole Empire. And as it befalleth betweene such Princes, to make pastymes in play and matches, *Antonie* alwayes had the worse, at the whiche he was somewhat moued. He had in his company an *Aegiptian*, after ye maner of a Southsayer, who, eyther to please *Cleopatra*, or to shew the very truth, tolde *Antonie* then, that hys fortune was obscured by the fortune of *Octauius*. Wherefore hee aduised him to go further off. For, sayth he, whē thou art abrode, thy nature is noble and corragious, but when thou art with him, it is deiect and afrayde of his. *Antonie*, whether by this motion, or his owne inclination, was content to leaue all there to *Octauius*, and to go towarde his olde loue of *Aegipt*, yet carying his new wife with him into *Grecia*, pretending an earnest desire to reuenge the iniurie that was done to *Crassus*, which was after this sorte:

Antonie marieth Octauia.

Antonies fortune is ouercome of Cæsars.

Crassus, *Pompey*, and *Cæsar*, were all suters for the Consulship in *Rome*, agaynst them stode *Cicero* and *Cato*. *Crassus* and *Pompey* were chosen, and they continued *Cæsars* authoritie in *France* for fiue yeares longer, whiche he only desired. In casting lottes for-

Crassus, Pompey, and Cæsar.

the prouinces, *Spayne* fell to *Pompey*, whereof he was glad, beyng giuen to please his wife: and the people was gladde, beyng desirous to haue *Pompey* nigh the Citie. *Syria* fell to *Crassus*, whereof he was onely gladde, and all other sory. For they perceyued he was wholy giuen to spoyle the countrie of *Parthia*, whiche was not comprehended in the law of the prouinces. Wherfore *Atteius* the Tribune of the people, forbad *Crassus* to inuade *Parthia*, but he being animated by *Cæsars* letters out of *Fraunce*, and by *Pompeys* presence in *Rome*, went forwarde, notwithstandyng that the Tribune, at the gate of the Citie did stande by, with fire and sacrifice, coniuryng him in the name of moste straunge and fearefull Goddes, not to proceede, the which kinde of execration, the *Romanes* thinke to be moste horrible, bothe to him that doth pronounce them, & to him, against whom they be pronounced: when *Crassus* had passed the seas, and lost many of his shippes, saylyng before due time, and after he had gotten some cities by accorde, and wonne one by force, he would nedes be called *Imperator*, for the which he was mocked, bicause that name was not giuen to any by the *Romanes*, before he had in a plaine batayle, ouerthrowne .x. M. and spending one winter like a rent gatherer, without any exercise of his soldiours, & in spoyling a Temple at *Hierapoli*, in the entry of the which, he & his sonne, fell one vpon an other, & being offred help of the king of *Armenia*, if he would make his iourney thorough his countrie, which was the better way, he refused it, & went rashly through *Mesopotamia*. And at the passage ouer a bridge which he had made, it thundred & lightned in his face, & blew downe a parte of the bridge, and after he was come ouer, his campe was twice set a fyre by lightning. These & many other tokens might haue moued him, but he went forth, till both he & his sonne and .xx. M. *Romanes* were slaine, .xx. M. taken, and al the despite done to them that could be deuised. Vpon this occasiõ did *Antonie* leade his army against ỹ *Parthians*, & by his Lieftenãt *Ventidius* gaue them a great ouerthrow, whiles he was at *Athens*. Wherfore he made great feastings among the *Grecians*, and being ready to go forth, he ware a garland of holy Oliue, & to fulfill an oracle, caried with him a vessel of water. In the

Crassus goeth to the vvarre against order.

Execration.

Imperator.

Hierapolis an holy citie in *Asia*, ful of maruelous things.

Tokens.

Antonie goeth against the *Parthians* to reuẽge *Crassus*.

Antonie did better by his Lieftenants than by himselfe. *Ventidius*.

the meane time *Ventidius* gaue an other ouerthrow in ỹ which *Pacorus* ỹ kings sonne was slaine, the which although it serued a sufficiẽt reuenge for *Crassus* death, yet he gaue thẽ the thirde ouerthrow betweene *Media* & *Mesopotamia*. Then *Ventidius* thought it good to stay, least *Antonie* should enuie him. And when he had subdued them ỹ reuolted, he besieged *Cõmagenna Antiochus*, in *Samosata*, who promised to giue a thousand talents & obey *Antony*, vnto whom *Ventidius* willed him to send his Embassadours, because he was at hand: which being done, he would not receyue ỹ offer, that it shoulde not seeme that *Ventidius* hath done all. But when the citie stode at defence, and would not yelde, he was sorie he had refused the condition, & was content, to take three hundreth talents, & go his way agayne to *Athens*, hauing done little or nothing in *Syria*. He rewarded *Ventidius* very well, & sent him to *Rome* to triũph, & only he had triũph of the *Parthians*, a man of base blood, & auãced by *Antonie*, who cõfirmed ỹ saying of *Cæsar* & *Cutome*, ỹ they did better preuayle by their Lieftenants, than by themselues. Now was *Orodes* the king of *Parthia*, killed by his sonne *Phraates*, frõ whom many fled away, & amõg other *Monæses* a noble mã came to *Antonie*, who cõparyng his miserie, to *Themistocles*, & his owne felicitie, to ỹ kyngs of *Persia*, gaue him three cities: euẽ as *Xerxes* gaue. iij. cities to *Themistocles*, for his bread, drynke and meate, and as some say, two more, for his lodgyng and apparell. And when the kyng sent for *Monæses* to be restored, *Antonie* was content with it, and offered hym peace, so he would render the Ensignes and the captiues that were taken at the losse of *Crassus*. Then he toke his iourney by *Arabia* and *Armenia*, where he increased his army by the confederate kyngs, whereof ỹ greatest was ỹ king of *Armenia*, who lent him. 6000. horse, & 7000. footemẽ, he mustred his army, & had of *Romane* footemẽ. lx. M. of *Spanish*, *French*, & *Romane* horsme. x. M. of other nations of horse & footemẽ, xxx. M. And this great power, ỹ did cast terror euen to the *Indians*, only the vaine loue of *Cleopatra*, brought to none effect. For the desire he had to come againe into hir companie made him do al things out of time and order. He had lefte his lafte wife *Octauia* with hyr children, and the children his had

Samosata, a citie vvhere is a tage of a marueious nature.

Antonie refuseth good offer.

Antonie returneth.

King *Orodes* killed by his sonne.

Monæses to *Themistocles* compared.

Antonies liberalitie, to cõseruayle kings of *Persia*.

Vaine loue.

Octauia.

had by his firſt wyfe *Fuluia*, with *Octauius Cæſar*. And beyng now in the Eaſte partes, was wholy gyuen to the wanton deſire of *Cleopatra*, to whome hée gaue the prouinces of *Cypres*, *Caloſyria*, *Phœnitia*, and a parte of *Cilicia* and *Iurie*, wherewith the *Romanes* were muche greeued, and alſo with his crueltie to *Antigonus* kyng of *Iurie*, and with his vanitie in the thyngꝛes hée had by *Cleopatra*, callyng the one, *Alexander*, the Sunne, and the other *Cleopatra* the Mone. Yet was *Cleopatra* not the kayreſt woman in the woꝛlde, but very wittie and full of artificiall deuiſes, and had the caſte to beguyle *Antonie*, who was eaſie to be ledde. Foꝛ haſte, hée woulde not ſuffer hys armie to reſte after ſo long a iourney: foꝛ haſte hée lefte his engines behinde him, whereof one was called a Ramme of foure ſcoꝛe foote long: foꝛ haſte hée lefte *Media*, paſſyng by the lefte hande of *Armenia* into *Atropatia*, whiche hée ſpoyled. Then hée beſieged the great Citie of *Phraata*, where hée founde hys errour, in leauyng hys artillerie behinde. Therefoꝛe to cauſe hys men to do ſomewhat, he made them caſte vp mountes. In the meane time the kyng came foꝛth with a mighty army, and hearing that the artillerie was left behinde, he ſent a great parte of his hoꝛſe men, which ſlew *Tatianus*, and ten thouſand that were left foꝛ the cuſtody of the Engines, & toke and ſpilled the munitiõ. The which did much diſcourage his Soldiours, & cauſed that the kyng of *Armenia* foꝛſoke him, foꝛ whoſe cauſe he made the warre. The *Parthians* were very bꝛagge vpon the *Romanes*, wherefoꝛe *Antonie* toke ten legions, and all his hoꝛſemen to range the countrie, thereby to pꝛouoke the enimie to fight. Whẽ he had gone one dayes iourney, he ſaw the enimies round aboute him, therefoꝛe, in his campe he determined to fight, yet would not ſo ſoone, but rayſed his campe as to goe away, commaundyng that when the foote men were at hande, the hoꝛſememne ſhoulde ſette vppon the enimie, whiche ſtode in a triangle battayle to beholde the *Romanes* good oꝛder, ſhakyng their dartes. When the tyme ſerued, the hoꝛſemen gaue ſo fierce an onſette vppon them, as they toke away the vſe of theyꝛ ſhotte, notwithſtandyng they ſtucke to it. But when the fotemen came, with ſhoute and fearefull ſhew, the

Cleopatra.

Antonie killeth the king of *Iurie*. Vanitie of *Antonie*.

Haſte maketh vvaſte.

Atropatia one part of *Media*.

The artillerie of the *Romanes* taken.

Parthian

Parthian horsemen were disordered, and turned their backes. Antony thinking to make an ende of the warre that daye, gaue them the chase, and yet toke but xxx. and kylled lxx. Whiche agayne did much discourage the Romanes, since they lost so many at their cariage, and wanne so little at this victory.

Antony gate yet but a small victory.

The next day Antony returned to his Camp, and by the way at the first mette with fewe of his enimies, afterwards more and more, and at the last all, so as being much molested with them, with much adoe he got to the Tentes, where the enimie assaulted the trench, the which, diuers for feare did forsake. Wherefore Antony punished euery tenth man, and fedde the rest with barley. The warre was greeuous to them both, for Antony could no more goe a forraging without great losse. And the king feared, that if his men shoulde lye in the fielde all Winter, they would forsake him. Wherefore he deuised this policie. The noblemen of the Parthians suffered the Romanes to carrie awaye their prayes, with great commendation of their worthinesse, and that the king woulde be glad of peace, and so riding nearer the army, would rebuke Antony for keeping them there in so straunge a countrey, out of the whiche, though the Parthians were theyr friends, it shoulde be harde for them to escape. When Antony heard of this, he caused to be enquired, whether these men dyd speake by the kings consent, which they aunswered to be. Then he sente to the king, that if he woulde restore the Captiues and ensignes, he would depart. The king sayd, he would sende them to him, if he would depart quickly. Therefore Antony made vp, and retired. At his going awaye, he did not speake to the Souldyoures as he was wont to doe, being very eloquente that way, whereat many were offended, committing the matter to be done to Domitius Aenobarbus. Being in his way, one Mardus, well acquainted with the Parthian maners, whose faith the Romanes had proued before, tolde Antony it was best for him to goe so, as he might haue the hilles on his right hande, and not to hazarde his army laden with armour to the Parthian archers and horsemen in the playne way. Antony consulted with his counsell, pretending yet not to be afrayde of the breache of peace, and accepting

Punishment. To be fedde with barly, was a punishment among Souldyoures.

Craft of the Parthians.

Antony omitteth a Generalles part.

Mardus.

the counsell as compendious. *Antony* required suretie of *Mardus*, he had him bind him, till he came into *Armenia*. So being bound, he brought him two dayes quietly.

Parthians vpon the Romanes.

The third day when *Antony* loked for nothing lesse than the *Parthians*, *Mardus* espyed the banke of a riuer to bee broken downe, and the water flowing abroade, which he coniectured to be done by the enimie to hynder the passage of *Antony*. Wherefore he wished *Antony* to loke to it, for they were not farre off. *Antony* sette his men in order, and by and by the *Parthians* came vppon him, whome he receyued with his shotte. So there was muche hurte done on both sides, till the French horsemen brake vpon them, and put them by for that day. *Antony* being taught hereby, went on with a square battel, fencing the same thoroughly with the shotte. The horsemen were commaunded to gyue repulse to the enimie, and that done, not to chace them farre. So when the *Parthians* these foure dayes had receyued as much hurt as they had done, they minded to retire, bycause the winter was at hand.

Parthians trouble the Romanes.

Fuluius Gallus taketh an euill enterprise.

The fifth daye, *Fuluius Gallus* a valiant man, desired *Antony* to haue a greater bande of shotte, and more horsemen, and he would do some notable feate, which when he had receyued, he put backe the enimie, not returning to the armie againe as they did before, but pursuing them along without feare, whiche when the leader of the rereward did see, he called him backe, but he would not obey. And whereas *Titius* toke the banner to turne backe, he put it forward againe, and badde hym meddle with his owne matters, and wente so farre, as he was compelled of the enimies, and compelled to sende for helpe, wherein *Canidius* that was in greate credite wyth *Antony* dyd not well, for he sente but a fewe at once, which were soone put backe, and vtterly hadde bin lost, hadde not *Antony* come wyth hys legions in time, and abated the courage of the enimie. Notwithstanding three thousande *Romanes* were slayne, and fyue thousande hurte, and *Gallus* wounded with foure dartes, of the which he dyed. *Antony* went about weeping, and comforting them: they desired him to be content, for all was well, if he were well. Great lone bare

Titius.

Canidius.

Romanes slayne.

Antony weepeth.

the

the souldyoures vnto him, for he was compted one of the best Captaynes of that time. The enimies were so encouraged by this victory, as they wayted at the Camp all night, thinking the *Romanes* would haue bin gone: And in the morning the number was much encreased, for the king had sent the horsemens gard of his person, but came at no fight himselfe, so as there was nowe fortie thousand horsemen. *Antony* wouldo haue gone among the souldyoures with a blacke gowne, but his frends wouldo not suffer him: so he went generall like, and prayed them that hadde done well, and rebuked them that had done otherwise. They prayed him to pardon them, and to punish euery tenth man. Only they desired him to leaue his sorrow. Then he held his hands vp to heauen, saying: If anye disdeyne of God remained of hys former fortune, he desired it might fall vpon him, so the *Romanes* army might be saued, and haue the victory. *Antony* lamenteth. *Antonyes* prayer

The next day he went more warily, when contrary to their loking, the *Parthians* came trolling downe the hill, thinking to haue gotten pray, and not to haue founde warre. The *Romanes* take in their archers and such other, into the middest of the battell, causing the to kneele, and they stouping, couered them with their shields, vpon the which the *Parthians* arrowes slided off. And the *Parthians* thinking that the *Romanes* had stouped for weerinesse, made a shoute, and came vpon them with their staues, at the whiche time the *Romanes* rose, and so encountred with them, as they droue them away. Thus were they troubled dyuers dayes, and made but little way. Policie of the *Romanes*. *Parthians* repulsed.

Nowe was there wante in the Campe, for they coulde gette no corne, and their Cattell was spente, partly by losse, and partly by carrying the wounded and sicke men. A barly lofe was solde for the waighte of siluer. They ate strange hearbes and rootes, and some that brought present death, with a kinde of madnesse, for they coulde do nothing else but roll stones, so as all the Campe was almost occupyed in picking and turning of stones. The remedye of this was wyne, whyche wanted in the host, therefore when they hadde vomited the melancolie, they dyed. Many thus lying, and the *Parthians* still comming vpon VVant in the *Romanes* Camp. Barly bread. Hearbes venemous. Frensye in the Camp. VVine.

vpon them, *Antony* oftentimes cryed, Oh the tenne thousande, meaning the tenne thousand *Greekes*, which, vnder the leading of *Xenophon*, passed safe a farre longer way, in despight of their enemies. Nowe when the *Parthians* perceyued they could not preuayle againste the *Romanes*, nor breake their order, but were alwayes put backe, they began to deale gently againe with the forragiers, shewing the strings of their bowes vnbente, and to make an ende, onely a fewe *Medians* shoulde followe the tayle, to keepe the Townes from spoyling. These wordes made the *Romanes* glad, and *Antony* minded to goe the champion way, and leaue the hilles. And being entred this way, one *Mithridates*, a cousin of that *Monesis* that fledde to *Antony*, came vnto him, and required to speake with one that coulde the *Parthian* tong. Vnto whome *Alexander* of *Antioch*, a friende of *Antonyes*, was appoynted. He tolde him that *Monesis*, for good will to *Antony*, had sent him to shew, that vnder the hilles which he saw before him, nerte vnto the which the playne way did ioyne, the *Parthians* lay in secrete, to beguile him againe by their faire wordes. Therfore if he woulde saue himselfe and his host, he shoulde not leaue the way by the hilles, where in deede he shoulde finde labours and thirst, but the other way he should not escape *Crassus* misfortune. This saide, he went his way. *Antony* communicated this with his frienders, and with *Mardus*, who affirmed it to be most like the truth. Therefore sayd it was best to goe by the hilles, though it were paynefull, and shoulde lacke water one daye. Therefore *Antony* toke this way, and commaunded euery man to carrie as muche water as he coulde: but there was lacke of vessels, and the most part carryed it in their sallets. When the *Parthians* spies had told which way *Antony* went, contrary to their maner, they came vpon him by night, and by breake of day, set vpon the rereward, wearyed with labour and watching, so they were compelled both to march, and to resist the enimie. Now was the first water come to a flood, whiche was very cleere, but salt, that whosoeuer dranke of it, was full of payne. *Mardus* gaue them warning of it, but the Souldyoures would not be ruled. Then *Antony* ranne aboute, praying them to refraine and passe on, for a little

The army of *Xenophon*.

Antony warned

Water.

Salt water.

yttle further was a flood of healthsome water, and so chose a way, that the *Parthians* could not follow them. And to cause the Souldyoures to haue some shadow, he bleu the retreat, and pitched his tents. Which being done, and the *Parthians* going backe, as they were wonte, *Mithridates* came agayne, and spake with *Alexander*, telling hym, that after the Souldyoures had rested a while, they should remoue and passe ouer the next flood, for so farre the enimie would follow. When *Antony* heard this, he take many cuppes of gold to *Alexander*, to giue *Mithridates* as many as he could carrie away. So *Antony* departed, and hadde much ado, for the enimies followed so hard, as they sacked hys carriage, and toke his tables and plate of golde, and so many as hadde ought hym, they kylled and spoyled, whereby it was thought that all the armye was disordered, and scattered, in so much as *Antony* called one of his chamber to hym, and wylled him, if he commaunded hym to kyll hym, he should do it vppon hys oth, and take away his head, that he might not be knowen when he was dead. *Antony* being in this sorrowe, *Cleopatra* did comfort him, affirming that the flood was at hande, which she knew by the coldnesse of the aire that there was felte. *Antony*, to bring all to quiet, commaunded to Campe euen there. By breake of daye, the *Parthians* againe charged vppon the tayle, in defence of whome, the shotte was sent, and the battell defended them with their shieldes. The *Parthians* durst not come to hands strokes, so as by this time the foreward was come to the flood, ouer the which, *Antony* sent first the hurt & sicke Souldyoures, and appointed all the Horsemen to encounter with the enimie, by the whiche meane, they that wente ouer, might haue leysure to drinke. When the *Parthians* sawe the flood, they vnbente their bowes, and sayde, the *Romanes* myghte nowe drinke at leysure, for they had so deserued by their seruice.

The *Romanes* beyng past the flood, did marche in order, not yet trusting the *Parthians*.

The sixth daye after they had fought, they came to the flood *Araxes*, which diuideth *Media* and *Armenia*. And because this flood was harde to passe, they were agayne alwayes of their enimies

Mithridates.

Antonyes gifte.

Antonyes treasure spoyled.

Antony in dreed.

Cold wyne taken for water.

Araxes diuideth *Armenia* from *Atropatia.*

mens handlyng (as I sayde) but passing quietly, as soone as they came to harvest they retyred thēce, as they do that set it from the sea, and embraced one another weepyng for ioy. Now followed there another inconuenience, for the Countrey being plentifull, and the Souldyoures taking to muche, fell into many diseases, and dyed. *Antony* then mustered his men, finding he wanted twenty thousand fotemen, and foure thousand Horsemen, halfe of the which dyed of diseases. From the Cittie of *Phraata*, they had bin comming seaven and twenty dayes, in the whiche they hadde fought eyghteene times with the *Parthians*, of whome they coulde not haue perfite victory, bycause the king of *Armenia* forsoke them, whose army hadde bin kinde & expert to haue dealte with the *Parthians*, wherefore euery man counselled *Antony* to be revenged of the king. *Antony* vsing policies, shewed all courtesies to the men of the Countrey, and sent to seyze messages to the king, as he came vnto him, whome he committed by and by, and carryed him to *Alexandria*, where he triumphed ouer him, which thing greeued the *Romanes*, that *Antony* woulde defraude his Countrey to please his Concubine. The winter was so greate, that he lost eyghte thousande, before he coulde come to a Castell called *Leuce*, where he was in great agonyes, till *Cleopatra* was come. Then like a foolishe yong mā, he gaue himselfe to wantonnes and riot, running from his table to the sea side euery day to see if she were come. When she came, she brought muche appareil, and money to gyue the Souldyoures. Some say, *Antony* toke them to him, to gyue the *Romanes*.

Surfet.

Losse of the *Romanes*.

Antony taketh the King of *Armenia* by slight.

Antonyes triumph wherein he sent to the *Romanes*.

Leuce.

Antonyes fondnesse.

Now was there a variance fallen betweene the kings of *Parthia* and *Media*, for the spoyle of the *Romanes* goodes. The *Median* King sent to *Antony* to come agayne, and he would ayde him with all his power which was very great. *Antony* was not a little glad hereof, bycause the helpe of the *Medians* might be the meane for him to conquer *Parthia*, and so intended to make a new iourney.

Antony called by the *Median* agayne.

At Rome *Octauia* desired to goe to her husbād *Antony*. *Cesar* was content with it, not so muche to pleasure his sister, as to take occasion by the euill handling which he suspected would follow of

Cesar seeketh occasion to vexe *Antony*.

her,

his tormoyling warres against the Parthians. When she was come to Athens, she receyued letters from Caesar, to stay there, by cause of his newe voyage. Who hearing the matter, wrote vnto him to know whether she should send the things which she had brought him, that is to saye, many coates for his Souldyours, great plenty of Cattell, money, and reuards for his Captaynes, and two thousande freshe Souldyours, for the garde of his person, all the which, were well set out to byde lyke a messenger. When Cleopatra heard this, fearing that if Octauia came, she would put her out of concept, she beate and rob her, she pined her selfe, she weepte, and mourned, and woulde needes pretende it was for Caesars sake, who sayd, he would take his journey in hand. But in deede it were that shamed Antony as ruthelesse hard harted, that he would put so louing a Lady and so great a Mistresse in danger of his life, eyther for his wines sake, or for anye other cause, in so muche as Antony was made a tame sole, and deferred vnto the next sommer his expedition, and returned to Alexandria to winter with Cleopatra. Now was Octauia returned to Rome, by her brother willing her to goe to his owne house, but she went to Antonyes house, which she kept with so good order, and cherishing, as well the children he had by Fuluia, as by her selfe, as it did aggrauate the fault of Antony, that he woulde forsake so vertuous a Romane Lady, for an Egyptian stranger. Octauia desired her brother, that if there were none other cause of warre but by her, that he would not moue it, for she should beare the blame. Therefore in all requests she did help Antonyes friends, whereby vnwillingly she hindered Antony, who was nowe so fonde, wanton, as his lyke haue Cleopatra called by the name of the Goddesse Isis, Queene of Egypt, Cyprus, Affrike, and Celosyria: and Caesarion whome they thought he had by Iulius Caesar, to be his companion in these Kingdomes. The sonnes that he made by her, he called Kings of Kings. To Alexander, Armenia, Medie, & Parthia: to Ptolomey, Phenice, Syria, & Cilicia, he appointed. In Rome Caesar accused him of this geare before the Senate. Antony by letters, accused Caesar likewise. First, that he had not made him partaker of Sicile, out of the which he had driuen Pompey. Then

Antony sendeth his wife Octauia to come to him.

Niger.

Craft of Cleopatra.

Antony doteth.

Octauia.

Modestie of Octauia.

Antonyes foolishnesse.

Isis.

Caesarion.

Accusations betweene Caesar and Antony.

he had not restored the shippes which he had lent him. Thirdly, that hauing deposed *Lepidus* his fellow in authoritie, he kept those profites and prouinces to his owne vse, and that he had diuided *Italy* to his owne souldiours, and not remembred his. To these *Cæsar* answered, that because *Lepidus* ruled out of order, he had brought him to order, his prouinces he woulde participate with him, when he would diuide with him *Armenia*. As for his Souldiours, they hadde no portion in *Italy*, no more than he in *Media* & *Parthia*. Whē *Antony* heard of this, he sent by & by *Canidius* with xvj. legions to the sea. He carrying *Cleopatra* with him, went to *Ephesus*, whither all his Nauie assembled, to the number of eyght hundred shippes of burden, of the which, *Cleopatra* gaue him two hundreth, and two hundreth talentes for the expences of the warre. *Domitius* and other of *Antonyes* counsell, woulde haue had *Cleopatra* to haue gone to *Egypt*, till the warre were ended. But she corrupted *Canidius* to tell him, that it was not honorable to remoue hir that was at suche charge for the warre, nor sure to exasperate the *Egyptians* minded, in whome was great part of his forces by sea. So *Antony* must liue with *Cleopatra*, till they were both brought to death. From *Ephesus* they went to *Samos*, where they made lusty cheere. For as all Kings, Princes, and prouinces were commanded to bring all maner of munition for the warre thither, euen so all kind of players, and people of pastime, were willed also to be there, that at what time all the world as it were was in sorrowe for the ruine that was toward, that only Iāo was in all toy & pleasure. The kings sente all prouision thither, striuing who should make greatest bāquets, in so much as it was saide, if there be suche cheering before the warre, what triumphing will there be, when the victorie is gotten. From hence they wēt to *Athens*, where were shewed all y Comedies & Tragedies, and then to *Athens*, where as kinds of newe shewes were deuised. There *Cleopatra*, for emulation of *Octauia*, to whome the *Athenians* had done great honoures, gaue a great largesse to the people, and they againe made a decree of honours to be done to hir, at the whiche, *Antony* was as a Citizen of *Athens*, and in the name of the Citie made an Oration vnto hir.

Obiections of *Antony*.

Answeres of *Cæsar*.

Canidius.

Naule of *Antony*.

Domitius.

Cleopatra laboureth to tarry with *Antony*.

Progresse of *Antony* and *Cleopatra*. *Samos*.

Pastime out of time.

Priene.

Cleopatra enuieth *Octauia*.

Antony a Citizē of *Athens*. *Antony* playeth the Recorder.

Antony

Antonie had sent to Rome, to remoue Octauia out of his house. She went from it, with all his children weeping and lamenting that she should be any cause of the warre. The people lamented, bothe hir and Antonie, specially they that had seene Cleopatra, who did not excell Octauia, neyther in beautie, nor in figure of yeares. Cæsar Octauius was afrayde, when he heard of Antonies expedition and great preparation, for he had nothyng ready, nor money to prepare, in gathering of the whiche, if Antonie had come on, Cæsar had bene in great daunger. For whyles money is so eracted, men are tumultours, but when it is gathered, they be quiet. Therefore it was thought a greate folie in Antonie, to detract the time. But what shal a man say, That that wilbe, shalbe.

Octauia is put out of Antonies house.

Cæsar in vvant.

Slackneſſe of Antonie.

Exaction of money.

Titius and Plancus two chiefe aboute Antonie, and they that gaue him aduise he should send Cleopatra away, fledde from him to Cæsar, bycause Cleopatra began to maligne at them: and they did bewray Antonies Testament, being priuie to it. It was kept of the Virgines Vestalles, to whome Cæsar sente to haue it: they would not deliuer it, if he woulde take it from them, he might. So he went, and take it away, and first by himselfe redde it, and noted what might be sayde agaynst it. Then he called the Senate, and redde it openly, whereat many were grieued, thinkyng it not reasonable that a mans minde for his death, shoulde be scanned whyles he was aliue. The greatest faulte that was founde, was this, that he had willed wheresoeuer he died, that his body should be caried to Alexandria, and sente to Cleopatra. Furthermore, one Caluisius a frende of Cæsars, obiected agaynst Antonie, That he had giuen hir the Librarie of Pergame, in the whiche was two hundred thousand bookes. That he would rise from the table, and trample vpon hir feete by compasse. That he suffered the Ephesians in his presence, to call hir Soueraigne. That when he gaue audience to Kings and Princes, he would receyue letters of loue from hir written in tables of pearle and Cristall, and readethem. That when Furnius, a man of authoritie in Rome and very eloquent, did pleade a cause before him, Cleopatra came by in a litter, & he left the court, and ranne downe to hir, and leanyng vpon the litter, went away with hir. Many

Titius, Plancus.

Antonies friends forsake him.

Antonies testament bewrayed.

Cæsar obiected agaynst Antonies testament.

Librarie of Pergame.

men thought *Caluisius* forged these crimes. Wherefore *Antonies* frends made meanes to the people of *Rome* for him. And sent *Geminius* vnto him, to warne him to take heede, that he lose not his power, and be pronounced rebell to *Rome*. When *Geminius* was come into *Grecia*, *Cleopatra* suspected he came to entreate for *Octauia*. And beyng at supper, she taunted him, and vsed him spitefully: but he bare all, till he might haue *Antonie* alone. But what it would not be, but he was commaunded to tell why he came vnat supper: he sayd that other things required a sober conference, but one thing he knew both sober and dronke, that all should be well if *Cleopatra* went into *Aegypt*. *Antonie* was angry at that. And *Cleopatra* sayde, Thou hast done well, *Geminius*, to tell the truth without any torture. *Geminius* went hys way out of hand. The Parasites of *Cleopatra* dyd cause many other to flée from them, bycause they coulde not beare their despites and contumelies, among whome was *Syllanius* and *Dellius*, who sayde he feared to be destroyed of *Cleopatra*, for so *Glaucus* the Phisitian had tolde hym. When *Cæsar* was ready, the warre was denounced against *Cleopatra*, the authoritie taken from *Antonie*, bicause he had committed it to a womans lust, and not in his right wits, beyng bewitched by hir. And lefte all the warre to be directed by hir Eunuches and Ruffians, who also had the commaundement in ciuill affayres. Diuerse vnlucky tokens were seene at the begynnyng of this warre, both in *Italie* and *Grecia*.

Geminius.

Cleopatra taunteth *Geminius*.

Answvere of *Geminius*.

Geminius telleth truth and is blamed.

Romanes fleeth from *Antonie*.

VVarre proclaymed.

Nauie of *Antonie*.

Antonie had a nauie of warlike ships to the number of fiue hundred, whereof 110. were made for triumph. He had an hundred thousand footemen, 12. M. horsemen. *Bochus* king of *Africa*, *Tarcondemo* king of vpper *Cilicia*, *Archelaus* king of *Cappadocia*, *Philadelphus* king of *Paphlagonia*, *Mithridates* king of *Comma-gena*, and *Adallas* king of *Thracia*, were present at this warre. *Polemon* king of *Pontus* sent ayde, likewise *Manchus* of *Arabia*, and *Herodes* the *Iewe*, and *Amintas* the king of *Lycaonia* and *Galatia*. Also the king of *Medea* sent him succour. *Cæsar* had 250. shippes for the warre, 16. M. footemen, & as many horsemen as the enemie. *Antonie* had rule from the floud *Euphrates* & *Armenia*, to the sea of *Rome* and *Illiria*. *Cæsar* had all from that sea to the west ocean, & from thence

Confederate kings.

Nauie of *Cæsar*.

Countries of eyther side.

to

to the *Tuscan* & *Sicilian* sea. So much of *Africa* as bent towarde *Italie*, *Fraunce*, *Spaine*, and the pillers of *Hercules*, *Cæsar* had. The rest from *Cirene* to *Aethiopia*, *Antonie* helde. So much was he thrall to this woman, that where he farre passed in good footeme, for hir pleasure he put all his strength in a nauie. And when he vnderstoode that the Captaines of the nauie found fault for lacke of good seamen, he supplied the want with roges, cariers, harnest men, and labourers of wasted *Grecia*, and yet was not the nauie furnished, but many shippes voyde and vnable to fight.

Cæsar made not his shippes huge & for ostentation & shew, but light & swift, & them well furnished, whiche he helde at *Tarent* and *Brundusc.* Frō thence he sent to *Antonie* to require him to lose no time, but to come forth, & he would giue him safe rodes & portes for his nauie, and giue him conuenient ground in *Italie*, to lande his men surely & quietly. *Antonie* on the contrary side bragging chalenged to fight with him hand to hand, which if he would not doe, then to fighte with him in *Pharsall* fielde, where *Cæsar* fought with *Pompey*. But *Cæsar*, whiles *Antonie* lay at ancor at *Actie*, whiche is now *Nicopoli*, passed the sea to get the towne of *Epirus*, whiche is now called *Toryne*. *Antonie* beyng afeard, the enimie should set vpon his shippes vnfurnished, made a shewe of great readinesse by shippyng oares on euery side, and so kept the porte. Wherby *Cæsar* being deceiued, went backe, and *Antonie* beuised to take away the water frō him, which was scant & naught. He dealt gently concerning *Domitio*, contrary to *Cleopatras* opinio, for he being sicke, toke a litle boate & fled to *Cæsar*, ỳ which although it greeued *Antonie*, notwithstanding he sent him all his goodes & seruants. The which, bicause it was openly knowē that he was fled, so greeued him, that he died. The kings *Amintas* & *Deiotarus*, went to *Cæsar* also. And bycause *Antonies* nauie was not sufficient, he was cōpelled to loke & trust to his army by land. And *Canidius* ỳ was generall of the footemē, persuaded him in any wise to send *Cleopatra* home, & go to *Thracia* or *Macedonia*, & try ỳ matter by lād. For *Dicomes* king of the *Getes* was redy to help him with great nūbers. And ỳ it shold be no shame to him to refuse ỳ fight by sea, bicause *Cæsar* had ỳ practise of it by reasō of ỳ *Sicilian* wars:

but

The maner of *Cæsars* Shippes.

Cæsar prouoketh *Antonie*.

Antonie chaleng geth combate vvith *Cæsar*.

Actio.

Toryne.

Canidius.

but it should be a great blame vnto him, not to vse his forces by lande, wherein he was moste experte, and suffer the same to be abused by sea. But *Cleopatra* urged him to fight by sea, although she despayred of the victorie, and secretely prouided all meanes to flee away. In this time *Antonie* was in some daunger, there was a certaine narow space of grounde, betweene him and his naule, ouer the whiche it was his maner to passe without feare, of the whiche, when *Cæsar* was aduertised, he layde wayte for him, he whiche, being a little to quicke, toke him that came before *Antonie*, and he hardely escaped and ranne away.

Antonie heareth not good counsell.

Antonie in danger.

When it was determined to fight by sea, they burned all the vnprofitable vessels, and kepte the Gallies of the best sorte, into the whiche he put twentie thousand footemen, and two thousand Archers. Then a certayne Captayne, that had bene a good seruitour, and was an expert Souldiour, shewed his wounded body to *Antonie*, crying, O generall, why doest thou distrust these woundes and weapons, and puttest thy trust in vnfitte vessels? Let *Aegyptians* and other like make their fight by sea, giue to the land, in the which we haue bene wonte to stande and die, or else to conquere. *Antonie* answered nothing to him, but with his hande and head, signifying he should be of good cheere, passed by, all hope layde aside, for where as the maisters of the shippes, would haue taken away the sayles, he commaunded them to be carried into the shippes, that none of the enimies should escape him, as he pretended. That day, v. xiij. daies more, the rough weather deferred the fight. The fifth day, the weather beyng fayre, they made the fight. *Antonius* and *Publicola* had the righte wing, *Celius* the left, and *Marcus* and *Insteius* the middle battayle. *Cæsar* appoynted *Agrippa* to the right, he helde the lefte. *Canidius*, had *Antonies* land Souldiours, *Taurus*, had *Cæsars*, beyng in order and quiet on the shore. *Antonie* went about hys naule in a foyste, exhorting his Souldiours, to fight without remouyng, bycause of the waight of the shippes, and commaunded the maysters, that standyng (as it were) at Anchor, they shoulde not sturre at the onset of the enimie, but auoyde the disaduantage of the place, in the mouth of the porte.

A good request of an old Capitayne, not graunted.

Antonie refuseth al good counsell.

The fight.

They

They say, that when *Cæsar* went out before day to view his naue, hee mette a man leadyng an Asse, and asking his name, he sayde, my name is *Fortunate*, and mine Asses name, is *Victorie*. The forme of this place, with the figure of the man and the Asse, he did sette vp afterwarde in a table of Brasse, in the common place of *Rome*. When hee had ouerlooked the residue of his naue, he betoke himselfe to the right battayle, and beheld his enimies quiet in the straights: For it seemed they had lien at anchor: and so helde his shippes backe a good while, beyng two miles off. At sixe of the clocke, a good gale beganne to blowe, when as *Antonies* Soldiours would tarry no longer, trustyng in the greatnesse of their shippes, moued the lefte battayle. When *Cæsar* sawe that, hee was gladde, and held still his right battaile, that he might the more get his enimies out of the straightes, and with his swifte shippes, fighte with the huge heauy vessels of his enimies, which were nothing well manned. When the onset was giuen, they did not courragiously encounter, for *Antonies* ships could not well stirre to giue a good assaylt, whiche is best done by mouyng. *Cæsars* shippes were not fitte to gyue the charge vpon the front, bycause of the others sharpe and strong beakes: nor durst do it on the sides, for breakyng of their owne beakes, for the greate tymber and pyon worke of those mighty vessels. Therefore it was like a fight on lande, or rather, as I may say it, an assault of a wall. For three or foure of *Cæsars*, did set vpon one of *Antonies*, and fought with theyr dartes, pykes, and fyred weapons. And *Antonies* menne flong downe theyr weapons from their towers out of their casting Engines. *Agrippa* began to stretch forth to compasse the rest, whiche when *Publicola* spyed, he was forced to do the same, and so diuided from the midde battayle. And the fighte beyng very sore on bothe sides, and vncertayne, to whome the victorie would fall, *Cleopatra*, with hyr threescore shippes, whiche were placed behinde the greate shippes, brake thorough to their greate disorder, and toke themselues to flight.

A token.

The diuersities of the fight.

Cleopatra fleeth.

Here did *Antonie* shewe himselfe to haue forgotten his of-

Antonie followeth.

fice,

Louer.

fice and charge, and verified the olde saying, *That the minde of a louer, liueth in an other body.* For as though he had bene annexed to hyr, and coulde neyther lyue nor die without hir, by and by, so sone as he saw hir shippe vnder saple, he forsoke all, and left his soldiours to the slaughter of his enimie, for whom they shed their bloudes, and with two companions of *Aegypt*, got into a Bygandine, folowyng *Cleopatra*, to bring both hir and himself to reprochfull death. When she did see him commyng, she sette out a flagge to call hym, so hée beyng hoysted vp to hyr, did not loke vppon hyr, nor shée vppon him, but wente and satte solitarie in the forepparte of the shippe, holdyng his hed de with bothe his handes.

Antony is hoysted into *Cleopatras* Shippe.

Shortly *Cæsars* swifte shippes that did followe hym were in sight, whome *Antonie* put backe, sauing one, in the whiche *Euricles* was, who fiercly pursued, shakyng his speare with threatnyng wordes. *Antonie* standyng still and asknyng, who is hée that folowyth *Antonie*? it is I (quoth hée) *Lacharis* sonne, that by the good fortune of *Cæsar* do pursue thée for my Fathers death. Yet did he not take *Antonies* shippe but the other that was of the same goodlinesse, in the whiche was all the riche furniture of *Cleopatra*.

Antony is pursued.

Euricles.

Silence of *Antonie.*

When hée was gone, *Antonie* satte still after one sorte and in one place, and spake not to *Cleopatra*, eyther for anger or for shame. But when hée was come to *Tanaro*, the women that were familiar to them bothe, brought them to talke, and then to borde and bedde. Entendyng to sende from thence into *Africa*, he chose one of the Quéenes riche shippes, full of Golde and Siluer, and gaue it to hys frendes, wishyng them to prouide for themselues. And when as they wepte and prayed hym to be of chére, hée desired them to folowe hys requeste, and wrote to *Theophilus* hys officer at *Corinth*, to gyue them quicke dispatch, and to helpe to hyde them, till *Cæsar* might bée pacified.

Tanaro, a forelande.

Antonie giueth his frends leaue to shift for thẽselues.

Many of the shippes of burden, and some of his frendes, were come from the sight, declaryng that the nauy was lost, but

they

they thought the army by lande was safe. Wherefore he wrote to *Canidius* to make haste by *Macedonia*, and bring his armie into *Asia*.

In this case was *Antonie*.

Cæsar had a long fighte with *Antonies* naule, the whiche at length, by the vehemencie, bothe of the rage of the Sea and courage of the enimie, gaue ouer, onely fiue thousande beyng slayne, and three hundreth shippes taken. *Cæsars* victorie.

There were but fewe, that knewe of *Antonies* fleeyng, and when they hearde it, they wondred, as at a thyng incredible, That he, hauyng ninetene legions of fotemen, and twelue thousande horsemen, woulde forsake all and runne away, as though hee had not knowne the vnstablenesse of Fortune, and had not proued the chaunce of warre, full many a tyme. The Souldiours thought still hee woulde come among them, in so muche as when *Cæsar* sente messengers to them, they retired them, and so continued seuen dayes, but when their Capitayne *Canidius* was stolne away by night, and they left comfortlesse, they yelded to the Conquerour, who sayled vnto *Athens*, and makyng vnitie with the *Gretians*, distributed corne among them, being afflicted before, with all kynde of eraction and seruitude. When *Antonie* had sent *Cleopatra* into *Aegypt*, from *Paretonio*, hee wente into *Affrica*, with two frendes only, the one a *Gretian*, and the other a *Romane*, and there lyued solitarily, till hee heard that hys Lieftenauntes there, hadde forsaken him: Then he would haue kylled himselfe, but hys frendes did stoppe him. And so hee wente againe to *Cleopatra*, who was diuising by great expenses to carrie hyr naule into the mouth of the strayghtest place of the Sea, that is thought to diuide *Affrike* and *Italy*, that she might bee safe from inuasion. But, bycause the first shippes that came, had euill lucke, and for that *Antonie* hoped hys fotemenne were safe at *Actio*, hee caused hyr to leaue off, and fenced the mouthes of the fludde *Nilus*. This beyng done, *Antonie* buylded him an house in the Sea at the Lanterne, and tarried it aboute, separating himselfe from the company of men: Men amazed at *Antonies* madnesse.

Soldiours good opinion of *Antonie*.

Antonies footemen yeldeth.

Paretonio a porte towne.

Antonie in despayre.

A deuise of *Cleopatra* for hyr safetie.

Antonie solowyeth the trade of *Timon*.

Affirmyng hée woulde folowe the trade of *Timon*, that was surnamed, *Hater of men*. For when as he was forsaken of his frendes, and decepued of suche menne, as he had brought to aduauncement, hée toke this ingratitude so to the herte, that hée woulde refuse all mens societie: euen as *Timon* dyd, who was a Citizen of *Athens*, and called that house *Timons* Tabernacle. The firste that brought hym newes of the losse of hys fortemen at *Actio*, was *Canidius* hymselfe. And shortly after it was tolde hym that *Herode* the *Iewe* was gone to *Cæsar* with certayne legions, and that other Princes dyd the lyke, none of these thyngs dyd moue him, but as beyng well willyng to leane bothe hope and care, contented hymselfe with *Timons* Tabernacle. But beyng otherwise perswaded by *Cleopatra*, he came to the courte to *Alexandria*, and there gaue hymselfe to feasting and banquettyng, so as the *Alexandrians* dyd nothyng else a great whyle, but make good chéere. This maner of felowship, vsed among them that woulde lyue, they forsoke and beganne an other, whiche was called, of them that woulde die together, the whiche was not inferiour to the other, in delicacie nor superfluitie, and as many as had swoorne to dye togither, made suche feastes in order by course, one to an other.

Timons tabernacle.

Euill newes one after an other.

Antony renueth his rior.

Feastes of the dying sorte.

Cleopatra beside all this gaue hyr selfe to the searche of moste spéedy poyson and venom, and caused not onely suche growyng thyngs as were accompted moste effectuous to be sought, but also the lyuing beastes and Serpentes, and made a proofe of them all, in some of hyr folkes. Then bothe shée and *Antonie* sente to *Cæsar*. Shée requyred that the kyngdome of *Aegypt* myght be entayled to hyr chyldren. *Antonie* desired hée myght lyue a priuate lyfe in *Athens*, if hée might not doe it in *Aegypt*. For lacke of other frendes they were fayne to sende *Euphronius* their Schoolemaister to him. For *Alexas* of *Laodicia* had decepued *Antonie*, and by the meane of *Herode* the *Iewe*, gaue hymselfe to *Cæsar* who dyd not accepte hym, put him in chaynes, and sent him to die in his countrey. This reward had he for hys vnfaithfulnesse to *Antonie*.

Cleopatra seketh for poyson.

Request of *Cleopatra*.
Requestes of *Antonie*.

Euphronius.
Alexas of *Laodicia*.

Infidelitie punished.

Cæsar

Cæsar would not heare *Antonyes* requests, but promised *Cleopatra* all kinde of courtesie, if she would reiect *Antony*. He sente his Liberte *Thyrenus* a learned man, that might moue that magnificall Lady with the hope of so lusty a yong Emperoure. He vsed so long and pleasing oration, that *Antony* had him in suspition. Therefore he toke him, and caused him to be whipped, wighting to *Cæsar*, that he was stirred by his pride and insolencie, which would moue a man though he were in miserie. And if this (quoth he) doth greeue you, take my Liberte *Hipparchus* & is with you, and whippe him, and then we shall be euen. Nowe *Cleopatra* that she might wipe away all suspition, honoured hym maruellously, and celebrating hir owne birth daye, meanely, as hir case required, she honoured his, so nobly and princely, that many that came poze to the feast, went rich away.

Cæsar promiseth much to *Cleopatra*.

Antony whippeth the messenger of *Cæsar*.

Scornefull message of *Antony*.

Birth day.

At this time *Agrippa* wrote to *Cæsar* from *Rome*, that in anye wise he should repaire thither, for the case required his presence. By this occasion the warre againste *Antony* was deferred tyll the nert sommer, when *Cæsar* sent forces againste his Captaynes in *Affrike*, and went himselfe against him in *Asia*. And when he had taken *Peluſio*, it was suspected that *Cleopatra* was contented that *Seleucus* shoulde deliuer it, but she to purge this crime, toke the wife and children of him to be punished. She had a goodly sepulchre made, ioyning to the Temple of *Isis*, in the whiche she had placed all hir treasure, and princely things. And *Cæsar* being afrayd, that if she were driuen to desperation, she would set all on fire, put hir in great hope alwayes. Now was he come with his army to the Citie, and his horsemen lay at the horserace, vpon the which *Antony* came out so fiercely, as he droue them to the Camp. Then he returned into the Court, and toke *Cleopatra* in his armes, and kissed hir, and recommended him vnto hir, that had fought best, and she gaue him an head peece, and a coate armour of golde. Yet he that night fledde to *Cæsar*. Then *Antony* challenged *Cæsar* once againe to fight hande to hand. *Cæsar* aunswered, there were many wayes for *Antony* to dye. Then seing there was no way so honourable to dye, as in fight, *Antony* determined to set vpon *Cæsar* both by Sea & land, and at supper bad

Cæsar goeth to *Rome*.

Peluſio a part of *Egipt*.

Cleopatra in suspition.

Sepulchre of *Cleopatra*.

Antony issueth out of *Alexandria*, and repulseth *Cæsars* horsemen.

Cleopatra rewardeth the valiant Souldyoure.

The seconde chalenge of *Antony* vpon *Cleopatra*.

Antony cheereth his men.

his mē dr̄inke & make merry, for he coulde not tell if they ſhould do ſo any more, or ſerue other Lords, for as for himſelf, he ſhuld not liue. And whē they wept at the words, he ſayd, he would not leade thē to a fight, by ẏ which he might rather hope for a glorious death, thā a ſure & triumphāt victorie. About midnight, was heard ouer al ẏ citie ſuch a pleaſant noyſe & muſicke, as is wont to be vſed in ẏ ſacrifice of *Bacchus*, the which wēt forth of ẏ Citie into the enimies Camp. It was expounded, that the God, whom he had moſt ſerued, did now alſo forſake him. In ẏ morning, he brought forth his footemen, & placed thē vpō the hilles about the citie, where he ſtood to ſée ẏ ſucceſſe of his naule, the which comming nigh to ẏ enimie, ſaluted thē as friends, & they did the like, & ſo yēlded to thē.

A noyſe in the Citie in the night of ſweete muſicke.

Antonyes ſhips forſake him.

His horſemen forſake him.

When this was perceyued, *Antonyes* horſemē fled to *Cæſar* alſo: his footemen did fight it out, & were ouercome, which being done, he retired into ẏ citie, crying, he was betrayd of *Cleopatra* to thē, againſt whome he had made war for hir ſake. She being afrayd of his furie, got hir into hir Sepulchre, cauſing the brīdge to be drawne, & to be kept cloſe and ſhut. This done, ſhe ſent one out to tell him that ſhe was dead. Whē he heard it, he ſayd, Why tēpteſt thou *Antony*? Thē he wēt into his Chāber & vnharnelled him, ſaying, O *Cleopatra*, I am not tormented that I am without thée, for I wil ſone be with thée, but that I being ſo great a Captayne, ſhould be preuēted of thée, ẏ art but a womā, in ſuch a caſe of fortitude. *Heros* his faithful ſeruāt was with him, whom before he had ſworne to kill him whē he ſhould commaund it: Now (ſaith he) is the time for thée to do it, and take him his ſword. He turned his face and killed himſelf, and fell dead at *Antonyes* fēete. Ah god *Eros* (quoth *Antony*) where thou couldeſt not abide to doe it to me, thou haſt taught me to do it my ſelfe, and ſo he thruſt the ſword into his belly, and layd downe vppon his bed. The ſtroke was not ſo great, as it could diſpatch him, there fore he commaunded them that were by, to make an end of him, but they went out of the chamber, leaning him crying and lamenting, til *Diomedes* came from *Cleopatra*, to bring *Antony* to hir, to ho hearing ſhe was aliue, commanded to be caried to hir in their armes to ẏ doze of the monument, which *Cleopatra* would not open, but let downe chēstes & lines to heaue him vp, whyche ſhe

Antony greeſe.

Heros. Antonyes man, killeth himſelfe.

Antony thruſteth his ſword into himſelfe.

Dromedes.

Antony is caried halfe dead into the Sepulchre.

she and hir two women did, that onely were with hir there. It was a pitifull sight to see him all bloudy, and yelding the ghost, to be hailed vp so hardly, holding forth his hands, and stretchyng himselfe toward hir, as well as he could, the poore wome not hauing strength ynough to do it, till *Cleopatra* with both hir hands, bending downeward as much as might be, got him vp, they y were below, crying vpon hir to haue pitie vpō him. Whē she had him in, she layde him vpō a bed, lamenting and tearing hir mourning weede, & wiping the bloud frō his face, called him Lord, husband & Emperour, forgetting hir owne sorow, for cōpassion of him. He being somewhat cōforted, desired a cuppe of wine, eyther for that he was a thirst, or y he might the soner be dispatched. Whē he had dronke, he wished hir to prouide for hir selfe, so wel as she could, hir honor being saued, & among *Cæsars* frends, to trust *Proculeius* most: and that she should not afflict hirselfe for him, in this great alteratiō, but rather comfort hirselfe, y she had dealt with him y was most mighty & ful of power, who being a *Romane*, was not thorough cowardise ouercome of a *Romane*. This said, he yelded y ghost, whē as *Proculeius* was come frō *Cæsar*, for whē *Antony* had stickē himselfe, & was drawē vp to *Cleopatra*, *Dercetem* one of his gard toke his bloudy sword, & caried it to *Cæsar*, telling him how it stood: which whē he heard, he went into his closet, & wept for *Antonyes* chance, that had bin a valiāt mā, & his cōpanion in many battels. Then he red his letters to his frendes, declaring how proudely & arrogātly he answered to his gentle letters, & he cōmanded *Proculeius* to do all y he could, to get *Cleopatra* aliue, for he feared the destructiō of hir treasure, & thought it would be no smal honor to him, if he might bring hir in triūph. She wold not talke vō *Proculeius* vōn, but far of, so as hardly hir voyce could be heard. Hir request was, that hir kingdome might be established to hir children. *Proculeius* bad hir be of good chēre, and remit al to *Cæsar*, and marking y place, sent word to *Cæsar*, who sent *Gallus* to talke with hir, and he of purpose prolōged the cōunication, till *Proculeius* hauing got stalling ladders, with two more, got into y window where *Antony* was taken in, & went streight to y place wher she was talking vō *Gallus*. Thē one of y womē cryed, O vnhappy *Cleopatra*, thou art takē aliue. Thē she would haue stickē

A pitifull sight.

VVords of *Antony* at his death

Proculeius.

Antony dyeth.

Dercetem.

Cæsar vveepeth for *Antony.*

Request of *Cleopatra.*

Gallus.

Proculeius getteth into the secret Sepulcre of *Cleopatra.*

hir

Proculeus stayeth Cleopatra from killing hirselfe.

hirselfe, for she ware a dagger: but *Proculeus* ranne quickly, and embraced hir with both his handes, saying: O *Cleopatra*, you doe iniurie both to your selfe, and to *Cæsar*, in taking from him the acte of clemencie, and casting an infamie of vnfaithfulnesse. Then he toke the dagger from hir, and cut hir garments, that she shoulde haue no poyson about hir. Then *Cæsar* sent his freemade man *Epaphroditus*, with commaundement, that he shoulde in anye wise see hir kepte aliue, in all other thinges, doing most gently and curteously. Then he entred the Citie with *Arrius* the Philosopher, holding him by the hande, that the Citizens might see in what honor he had him. Being come into the comunen hall, and the Citizens lying prostrate for feare, he willed them to rise, saying, he forgat them firste for *Alexanders* fame that builded the Citie, then for the beautie of it, thirdly, for *Arrius* sake. The body of *Antony*, *Cæsar* was contente that she shoulde burie, which she did with hir owne hands, by the labour whereof, getting an agew, she was glad she hadde suche a cloke, to refrayne from meate, and kill hirselfe with hunger, whiche, when it was perceyued, *Cæsar* threatned hir the losse of hir Children. Then she was contente to be releaued againe. And after a fewe dayes, *Cæsar* came to see hir, and comforte hir. She lying very homely in hir night gowne, lept out of the bedde, and fell downe at *Cæsars* feete with trembling voyce, and beauie chere. Hir body was deformed with hir owne stripes, whereof the printes were seene: hir eyes were sonke, and hir coulour swart: yet dyd hir behauiour declare, that hir grace was not extinct, whiche dyd appeare out of that forepined and wasted corpse. *Cæsar* willed hir to sit, and he sate by hir, she making excuses, that she had done al for feare of *Antony*, all the whiche when *Cæsar* had reproued, she gaue hir wholly to his mercy, and toke him a note of suche treasure as she had. The which, when one of hir Treasurers *Seleucus* had corrected that she had bidde somewhat from him, she lepte vnto him, and knocked him aboute the pate, whereat *Cæsar* smyling and blaming hir, O *Cæsar* sayd she, is it not a greate, that seing thou doest not disdeyne to visit me in this wofull estate, to be accused of my seruants for keeping a fewe womens thynges,

Epaphroditus. Care of *Cæsar* to keepe *Cleopatra* aliue.

Cæsar honoureth a Philosopher.

Cæsars mercy to the *Alexandrines*.

Cleopatra buryeth *Antonyes* body very princely.

Cleopatra kept from killing hir selfe by hunger.

Cæsar commeth to *Cleopatra*.

Cleopatra submit to *Cæsar*.

She beateth one of hir seruants.

where-

wherewith I would winne thy wife *Livia*, and thy sister *Octauia*, to make thée the more fauourable to me. *Cæsar* was glad of these words, thinking she had desire to liue, and granted hir al that and more to, beyond all hope, thinking he hadde deceyued hir, but she deceyued him. *Cornelius Dolabella* a noble yõg mã in *Cæsars* camp, had a great desire to *Cleopatra*, to whom *Cæsar* gaue leaue to come and tell hir, that he would go home by lãd through *Syria*, and that she and hir children should be sent to *Italy* by shippe. When she vnderstode it, she desired *Cæsar* she might first celebrate *Antonyes* funerall, wherwith he was content. She came to the graue with hir women, and sayde, Of late (noble *Antony*) I did burie thée, being frée: now I honor thy burial, being captiue, and garded, that I should not consume this wretched body with too much lamenting for thée, whiche is reserued to be shewed in triumph of thée. Other honours at my hand thou shalt not looke for, being ready to be caried away from thée. Nothing did separate vs lyuing, but now in death we must be parted: thou a *Romane*, must lye héere, and I vnhappy *Egiptian*, in *Italy*, so farforth to be partaker of thy Countrey: but if the Gods there can do any thyng, (for oure Gods haue deceyued vs héere) forsake not thy wife, which is aliue, neyther suffer in me a triumph to be made of thée, but burie & close me héere with thée. For of infinite grefes, there is none so great to me, as this shorte time that I haue lyued without thée.

Cæsar granteth all things to *Cleopatra*.

Dolabella is sent to *Cleopatra*.

Cleopatra celebrateth *Antonyes* funerall.

VVords of *Cleopatra*.

When she had ended these laments, and put on garlands, and kissed the graue, she commaunded a bath to be made readye for hir. When she was washed, she wente to meate, and had greate chére: then a chest was brought out of the Countrie to hir by a man, and the gard asking what it was, he toke away the leaues, and shewed them the figges. They maruelling at the fayrnesse and greatnesse of them, the man smiled, and desired them to take thé. They suspecting nothing, bad him carrie them in. After this, she sent *Cæsar* hir writings sealed. When all other being remoued, but hir two women, she shut the doores. When hir letters were come to *Cæsar*, he redde them, and founde hir onely requeste to be with greate petition, to be buryed by *Antony*, whiche when hee

Cleopatra deceyueth *Cæsar*.

The Gard is deceyued.

Cleopatra hir requeste to *Cæsar*.

saw, he suspected by and by what was a doing, and was mynded to haue gone streight thither hymselfe, yet first sent to see what was done, but she was dispatched suddaynely. For they that ranne thither, founde no alteration in the Gard, and opened the doores, and found hir dead, lying in a bedde of gold most royally. One of hir women called *Iras* lay dead at hir feete. The other, whose name was *Charmium*, being ready to fall downe dead, trimming the Crowne vpon hir head, to them that cryed, is this well done *Charmium*? yea very well (quoth he) for one that is descended of so many progenitours Kings. When she had said thus much, she fell downe dead by the beds side. They say a Serpente called *Aspis*, was brought among the figges, and couered with the leaues, the whiche did sting hir to death, whose nature is, to giue an heauinesse and slæpe, without any shrinking or marke in the skinne, onely putting forth a gentle sweat out of the face, as one were in a trance, and hard to be wakened. Some saye, there were two little spots in hir arme, whiche *Cæsar* either beléeued, or else would so haue it beléeued, for in hir Image by hir brought into triumph at *Rome*, he set forth the Serpent, and two markes in hir arme. Howsoeuer it was, *Cæsar* was sory it was so chanced, yet did he highly commend hir noble mind, and caused hir to be royally layd by *Antony*, and hir women to be nobly buryed also. *Cleopatra* was .xxxix. yeares of age, and hadde raigned .xxij. whereof .xiij. was with *Antony*, who lined .liij. yeares, or at the most .lvj. *Antonyes* Images were throwen downe, *Cleopatras* were not remoued, for *Archibius* hir friend had obteyned that of *Cæsar* for a thousand talents. *Antony* had seauen children by three wiues, whereof *Antilus* the eldest was only killed of *Cæsar*, the rest *Octauia* brought vp with hirs. *Antilus* was betrayed of hys Scholemaister *Theodorus*, who tooke a goodly iewell from hys necke when he was killed, the which being required, and denyed of him when he had it, caused that he was hanged.

Cleopatra is found dead vpon a bed of gold, and hir two women by hir.

Aspis brought among the figges, did sting hir to death.

Age of *Antony* and *Cleopatra*.

Antonyes children.

Cæsarione, whom *Cleopatra* had by the first *Cæsar*, beyng also betrayed of his scholemaster, who she had sent with him, & a great treasure into *India*, was slayne, after she was dead. Hir doughter called *Cleopatra* of hir name, he maried to the flourishing king

Cæsar destroyeth *Cleopatras* children.

Iuba.

Iuba. He promoted *Antonie*, that was sonne to *Fuluia*, to so high fauour, that next *Agrippa* and *Liuias* children, he was chief. He had by *Marcellus* two daughters, and one sonne named *Marcellus*, whom *Cæsar* did adopt & made him his sonne in law. The other daughter was giuen to *Agrippa*. *Marcellus* dying shortly after this mariage, *Octauia* desired that *Agrippa* might marrie hys daughter, & *Antonie*, hys sister. Hir other daughters were bestowed vpon *Domitius Aenobarba*, & *Drusus Liuias* sonne, and stepsonne to *Cæsar*, of whom came *Germanicus* and *Claudius*. *Germanicus* died, & *Claudius* was Emperoure. Of *Germanicus* came *Caius* who was Emperour also. *Agryppina* that had *L. Domitio* by *Aenobarba*, did marrie with *Claudius* the Emperour, who adopted *Domitius*, calling him *Nero Germanicus*, and was Emperour. Thus of *Antonies* race diuerse Emperours issued. Albeit himselfe had the lamentable end that you haue heard, and was the only cause why the *Romane* state was not restored to a common wealth againe as the noble *Brutus* protested when he died, al whose execrations came vpon *Antonie* before he died. Either for that God would plague *Antonies* euill life: or that he would chaunge the state of that mighty cõmon wealth, whiche had all the worlde at suche a becke, as they might doe what they would, whose outragious dealings as wel in forreine as ciuill murders, it pleased God to punish with so great alteration, or else for some secrete determinatiõ for the nativitie of hys only sonne Iesus Christ our Lord. For now is *Cæsar* the only Monarche without any competitor at all, and yet had no childe to whom to leaue it, but adopted *Tiberius* his wiues sonne, whome, that she might see Emperour, it is thought shee holpe to dispatche *Cæsar* before his time, who had the title of *Augustus* giuen him, a thing neuer done before to any *Romane*, not onely for augmenting and enlarging the Empire of *Rome*, but also for the declination and destinie by which it was assigned vnto him. And after hee had shutte the gates of *Ianus* temple, for that a generall peace followed throughout the worlde, he disposed himself to set good orders in the citie, and made many good lawes for the preseruation of the same, in the whiche time diuerse tokẽs appeared of the cõming of a greater Prince.

He weddeth one of *Antonies* sonnes in great fauour.

Chaunge of mariage.

Emperours of *Antonies* issue.

Antony, the cause of the alteration of the *Romane* estate.

Augustus.

Ianus temple shutte onely twyce before in token of generall peace.

Byrth of Iesus Christ.

than he, the Prince of Princes & king of kings, who was borne into this worlde in his time, to the glory of God in the highest, and the peace of the earth to men of good will.

Enuie.

The great enuie that *Iulius Cæsar* his great vncle had procured, neuer fell vpon him, either because men were weary of tumultes, or for that they saw such modestie in him, as he would attempt no such matter that was so odious, that is to say, to be called a kyng: Eyther for that both he and the people had in memorie the malediction & cursing of the old Decree, against al the that should bring in the name of a king againe, which his father *Iulius* did not vtterly refuse, or for that he passed not of the name, hauing the rule, or for that the name of Emperour was then so great, as *Dictator* was wont to be, whiche before was no otherwise than a gratification of the Soldiours to their Capitayne, when he had broken a battell manfully, and slaine ten thousand enimies, at which time it was lawfull for him to be called *Imperator*, as among all other, *Cicero* was in *Asia*, when he ouercame the *Amanianes*, at *Isso*, where *Darius* was ouercome, of *Alexander*. The which name hath continued euer since to that soueraine Magistrate, as well, when the whole Empyre was in the hands of one Monarche, as when it was diuided into twoo, the one of the East, and the other of the West. The which begamne with *Charles* the Great, and hath continued vnto *Rodulphus* that now is Emperour among the *Germane* nation in the weast Empire, and ended in the East, about. 118. yeares since, when the Citie of *Constantinople* was taken by *Mahumetes* the sonne of *Amurrates* that made himselfe a Turkishe Monke, and the Emperour *Constantine* slayne, and all the villanie in the worlde, shewed to the poore Christians. So as to him that will haue a Register of the whole number of Emperours, reckening *Iulius Cæsar* for the first, shall finde them to be. 118. Whereof. 42. haue bene *Germanes*.

The name of Emperour.

Imperator.

Cicero was called Emperour in *Asia*.

Greeke Emperours.

Mahumetes.

Amurrates.

Germane Emperours.

FINIS.

Faultes escaped in the printing of the Bookes of Ciuill vvarres.

Page.	Line.	Faulte.	Correction.
1	18 (for)	should (reade	shall
3	35	Lisbia	Libya
4	1	Duke of Loma	Gulfe of Ionia
4	vlt.	Colligant	Colligault
5	20	of that	of them that
12	13	Paperius	Papirius
16	33	paſtime	paſture
25	25	Hiſſians	Hirpians
29	17	Ealernio	Falerno
32	16	Caune	Canne
38	21	Clthegus	Cethegus
50	17	meanes	malice
54	14	warres	wayes
69	vlt.	Garinus	Garganus
70	8	birdes	burdens
73	20	Cateline	Catiline
83	20	that Milo	Milo that
85	35	Ptotolomie	Ptolomie
85	26.28.29	Dirrachium	Dyrrachium
95	3	Sypris	Sycoris
97	2	that any	that only
100	22	mnaly	manly
102	14	Baron	Barne
103	1	of. viii. C.	ſauing. 800.
107	34	Vetona	Velona
110	1	ſingers	ſingers
114	7	ſoztie	400.
115	18	ſo	ſee
115	27	Methridates	Mithridates
126	9	which	with
128	33	Gorta	Cirta
129	5	caue	comming
140	17	40	400.
161	2	hozſe	holie
ibid.	5	Titurus	Titurius
ibid.	18	Phaberius	Taberius
167	14		
172	33	Theſe wozds, but as a ſucceſſor of his tyrannie, muſt be red in the text, after thys wozde. (thinke)	
174		ſhe	thy

Page.	Line.	Faulte.	Correction.
175	1	hither	hithers
178	1	hart	hall
210	3	left	hutt
ibid.	22	louting	folowing
212	30	Craſſus	Criſpus
223	19	Cornut himſelf	Cornutus killeth himſelfe
232	33	leaue out all the line	
248	27	for by	for
271	7	Ciceronians	Cizicenians
285	7	Caldeins	Calcidonians
ibid.	25	of Saporea	for Saporea
289	3	of	with
ibid.	21	Caſe	Thæſe
290	9	ſlocke	ſlanke
292	17	legates	legion
294	21	yet	after
296	11	Achia	Achaia
ibid.	vlt.	Generalles	Generall
305	18	naue	none
307	30	Pergama	Pergamo
309	8	adde this, other Tributes were commanded to Kings & Princes & free Cities, according to euerye ones habilitie	
ibid.	25	Galace	Galaceam
ibid.	22	Paleſtia	Paleſtina
ibid.	31	Sinna	Sicinna
315	17	adde this, that the Conſulles ſhoulde rule after the auntient manner, without any lette of the three men.	
324	2	ennies	enemies
326	4	and ſtate	eſtate
339	21	Bithinus	Bithinicus
341	15	wife	neeſe
343	11	Menedorus his	Menedorus as one ruling his
358	2	cingle	circle
359	10	adde	but Pompeis part was ſad
380	19	ſight	ſierght
378	14	Antioch	Antioche
379	vlt.	of	that
382	1	ſent	lent
ibid.	38	as	all

A Table to the fiue Bookes of the ciuill warres of Rome.

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FINIS.

The ſecond part of Appian of Alexandria.

Wherin be contained ſo manie of the Romanes expeditions againſt forraine Nations, as haue bene defended from the ſpoyle of War, or the decay of time, and bin brought into light and come to our handes.

That is to ſay:

1 *Againſt* Mithridates *King of* Pontus, *with his miſerable end.*

2 *Againſte the* Hiberians, *nowe called* Spaniardes, *and among many notable things, the pitifull ouerthrow of the Citie of* Numantia.

3 *Againſte the* Carthagies, *with the lamentable deſtruction of that Citie.*

4 *Againſte* Antiochus *the Great, who after manye loſſes, made a diſhonorable peace.*

5 *Againſte the* Parthians, *where* Craſſus *was ſlaine, and* Antonie *foyled.*

6 *Againſte the* Illyrians, *of whoſe Conqueſt* Octauius Cæſar *glorieth.*

7 *A fragment of the war with the Frenche, with whom* Iulius Cæſar *fought tenne yeares togither, and triumphed of them.*

Tranſlated into Engliſh by W.B.

Imprinted at London by Ralph Newberie and Henrie Bynniman.

Anno. 1578.

TO THE RIGHT HONO-rable, his singular good Mayster, Sir *Christopher Hatton, Knight*, Capitaine of the Queenes Maiesties Garde, vicechamberlaine to hir Highnesse, and one of hir Maiesties most honourable priuie Counsayle.

THe first translatour of this Author into Latin, did make his dedicatiō to two sundry Princes: but we haue thoughte good to make your Honor the vvhole patron of our englisḥ *Appian*, as vvholy as vve could set him forth.

In the former parte hee shewed to youre Honoure, the conquestes that the Romaynes made one of another. In this parte hee sheweth the conquestes that they made of other nations: vvherein they vvente so farre, that at laste they fell dovvne, beeyng ouerpreste vvith their ovvne vvayght. To these tvvo kindes of conquests, a thirde is to be added, vvhen a man conquereth himselfe, as *Alexander* did in conteyning from *Darius* most faire vvife and daughters, and *Cesar*, in sparing to punish his greatest enimies. To vvhom *Cicero* sayde, that in other victories, fortune, policie, and souldiours, might claime a parte, but in this, he alone should haue al the glorie. And vvhen *Darius* died, and vvas holpen therto, by *Polycrates*, he sayd, for thy paines *Alexander* shal giue thee thanks, but the Gods immortal, shal giue *Alexander*

Alexander thankes for his magnanimitie shewed to my mother, wife and childre. By such maner of conqueste, your honour shall attaine to moste sure triumphe, the guide of whose Chariot, shal be Grace giuen from aboue, that shal neuer fayle you. How worthy this author is to be read in these matters, his testimonie may be ynough to proue, that

Stephanus in his Greeke addition to the Greeke Preface,

vvisheth him to be read in the same, afore all other.

Then may it please your Honour to accept him at the hands of your moste humble seruaunt, that cõtinually prayeth for your increase of fame and honour, to the seruice of your Prince, and the glorie of God.

Your Honors moste bounden seruaunte:

H. BYNNIMAN.



¶ The Authours Preface to the bookes of the Romane wars, with forraine Nations.

BEginning to write the Hiſtorie of the Romaines, I haue thought it neceſſary to declare fyrſt, the borders of the nations that the Romanes ruled. In the mayne Sea, the moſte parte of the Brittaines is theirs. And goyng to the ſea, by the pillers of *Hercules*, and ſayling aboute theſe pillers, they bee Lordes of al the Ilands, and the firme land, that is inhabited alongeſt the ſea.

The firſte on the right hande of that ſea, be the *Maraueſians*, the other be the nations of the *Lybians* as farre as *Carthage*, beyonde whome be the *Nomadians*, whome the Romaines call *Numidians*, and the Countrey *Numidia*. The other *Lybians* do inhabite about the ſhallowe ſeas, to *Cyrene*. Then *Cyrene*, the *Marmaridans* and *Ammonians*, and they that dwell at the lake of *Mores*, and the great citie which *Alexander* did build in *Egipt*, with *Egipt* it ſelf, as farre as a man may ſayle in *Nilus* to the Caſte *Ethiopians*, and by ſea, to *Peluſio*.

Then tourning the courſe to *Syria* and *Paleſtina*, and beyond them, you go to parte of the *Arabian*. The *Phanitians* bordure vpon the *Paliſtines* at the ſea, and beyond the *Phanitians*, the holow part of *Syria*, vnto the flonde *Euphrates*. From the ſea aboue the porte *Minaris*, and the ſandes of *Palmiria* to *Euphrates*. They had the *Cilicians* of *Syria*, and the *Cappadocians* their neighbours, & parte of *Armenia*, called *Armenia* the leſſe. And all the nations about *Euxinus Pontus*, obeyed the Romaynes. And the *Syrians* and *Cilicians* that be toward the ſea. The *Armenians* and *Cappadocians* inhabitting the nations of *Pontus*, & they of the miodle land, whiche they

Theſe pillers or hylls of *Hercules* be in the ſtraightes of *Gades*, beyõd the vvhiche it vvas thought no mã could go.

Moores inhabite *Mauritania* vveſt vvarde.

Libia, otherwiſe called *Affrica*, is the third part of the vvorld, diuided frõ *Aſia* by the flonde *Nilus*, and from *Europa*, by the ſea, that is called *Medus terraneum*.

Nomades vvere they that alvvai followved theyr flocks, and chaũged their places of paſture

There be tvvo ſhallovve ſeas called *Syrtes*.

Marmaridans bee thoſe people of *Affrica*, among vvhych be they that be called *Pſilli*, vvhoſe ſpettle killeth ſerpents, as *Cato* proued vvhen he vvent againſt *Iuba*. The holloyve parte of *Syria*, is called *Caloſyria*. *Peluſium* is the furtheſt Cittie of the coaſte of *Egipt*. *Palmyra* is a free Cittye in the confines of the *Romane* and *Parthian* kingdomes.

they call *Armenia* the great, of the whyche the Romaines take no tribute, but they receiue kings by their appointment. From *Cappadocia* and *Cilicia* to *Ionia*, is the great lande like an Ilande whiche hathe *Pontus Euxinus* and *Propontis*, and *Hellespont* on the right hande, and the *Aegean*, *Pamphilian*, and *Egiptian* sea on the lefte side, for they say it maketh almost an Ilande on both sides, and as men go to the *Egiptian* Sea, there be the *Pamphilians*, *Lycians*, and after them *Caria* to *Ionia*, and the *Galatias*, *Bythinians*, *Mysians* and *Phrygians* be aboue *Euxinus*. In the midde land, the *Pisidians* and *Lydians*. So many nations inhabite *Cherronesus*, of all the whiche the Romaines haue rule. On the other side of that sea, they goueme the nations about *Pontus* and *Mysia* in *Europe*, and the *Thracians* that be aboute *Euxinus*. From *Ionia* beginneth the Gulfe of *Aegeo*, and the other from the sea of *Ionia*, and the narrowe sea of *Sicelie*, and the *Tuscane* sea to the pillers of *Hercules*. So great is the length from *Ionio* to the *Ocean* sea, and in that coaste, these be the Romaine prouinces. All *Grecia*, *Thessalia*, *Macedonia*, and al ꝑ ioyne vpon *Thracia* and *Illyria*, and the nations of *Pannonia*. Then *Italie* it selfe, the longeste of them all, reaching from the *Ionian*, to the moste parte of the *Tuscane* sea, to the *Celtians*, which they call *Galatias*, and of the people of the Galls, some belong to this sea, and some to the north *Ocean*, and some at the riuer of *Rene*. And all *Iberia* and *Celtiberia*, that ende in the weast and north *Ocean*, and *Hercules* pillers. I wil declare euidently of all these Nations, when I shall wryte of euerye Nation by it selfe.

Prophis is nowe called *Mare di San Georgio*.

Pamphilia is in *Asia* the lesse, named as some thinke, of the plentye of trees.

Euxinus is the sea that beginneth at *Bosphorus Thracie*, and goeth easte and northe: it was first called *Anemine*, that was *Inhospitalis*, bicause the inhabitaunts dyd kyll and eate the passengers: but after beeing made ciuill by the *Grecians*, it was called *Euxinus*.

Nowe we haue tolde with howe great bozders their Empire is compassed by sea. To him that will trauaile on the land, ther is a parte of *Mauritania* that goeth towarde the Weaste to the *Aethiopians*, then the other moze desert, and wylde parte of *Lybia*, to the Easte *Aethiopians*. Thys is the bozdure of the Romaines in *Lybia*.

Ebrus is the floude that diuideth *Germany* from *Trauncia*. *Iberia* &c. nowe *Spaine*.

Of *Asia*, the floude *Euphrates*, and the hill *Caucasus*, and the kingdome of *Armenia* the great, and the *Colchians* that be about the Sea of *Euxinus*, and the rest of that sea. In *Europa* two floudes *Renus* and *Histers* doth chiefly diuide the Romane Kingdome. Of

Euphrates is a floude of *Mesopotamia*.

Caucasus an hyll diuiding *India* from *Scythia*.

theſe, *Renus* runneth to the north *Ocean*, and *Hiſter* into *Euxinum Pontus*. And in ſome place they goe beyond, and rule the nations that bee beyonde *Rene*, and the *Getes* that bee beyonde *Hiſter*, whom they call *Dacies*. Theſe be their boundes by land, as neare as I coulde gather. All the Ilandes that be in the Sea, *Cycladei*, *Sporades*, *Hiades*, *Echinades*, and *Tyrrenides*, & *Mueſie*, or whatſoeuer other name they haue, about *Libya*, *Ionia*, *Aegipt*, *Myrto*, [or *Sicilie*, or what otherwiſe they be called in the Sea: Al theſe be ſubiect to the *Romanes*, and they that for their excellencie, be named of ẏ Romanes great Ilands, as *Cyprus*, *Creta*, *Rhodes*, *Leſbus*, *Euboia*, *Sicelie*, *Sardus*, and *Cyrnas*, and whatſoeuer other elſe. Then paſſing the north *Ocean*, into ẏ Ile of *Britaine*, which for ẏ greatneſſe maye ſerue an other continent, they haue ẏ beſt parte of it, more than halfe, the reſte they paſſe not of. For that parte which they haue, is not fruitfull to thē. As great as al theſe natiōs be, was ẏ greateſt labour to thē to conquere *Italy*, which they could hardly do after. 500. yeares, halfe of ẏ tyme being vnder kings.

But when they had expulſed their kings and ſworne that they woulde no more receiue them, they vſed the rule of the beſt meane, and hadde them yearely choſen two hundred yeares after the .v. C. Their Empire ware moſte greate, and they were Lordes of infinite forraine power, and ſubdued the moſt natiōs. Thē *Gaius Caeſar* getting the vpper hand, made it a lure ſtate, he kept ſtill the ſame and name of a Comunō wealth, but made himſelfe a Monarchie ouer all, and ſo the rule hath continued in oure to thys daye, whome they call not Kings, as I thinke to anoide their olde othe, but name them Emperoures, whiche is the title of them that rule armies for a tyme: but in all purpoſes they be kings. And Emperours haue continued to thys tyme aboute two hundred yeares more, in the whiche the Citty hath bin chiefly beutified, and the reuenue moſte encreaſed, & all things being in long and ſure peace, brought to perfect felicitie. For the Emperoures haue made ſome of theſe to be of their dominion by force, and haue holden in, them that reuolte. Therefore by god ſkill they hadde rather kepte that be moſt profitable aboute the Sea, and encreace them, than to extende their dominion to barbarous nations, poore, & vnprofitable

Hiſter, is the ſame flood in *Illyria*, that *Danubius* is in Germanie the greateſt flood in *Europe*.

Dacia nowe *Walachia*, the people vvere called *Daci* or *Dani* ioyning to the *Getes*, of vvhom the *Athenians* toke their names of ſe rvaunts in *Comedie* as *Dauus*, *Geta*.

Cyclades. be the Iſles in the *Aegean* Sea.

Sporades be Iles about *Creta* in the *Carpathian* Sea.

Echinades, be big Iles next to *Acarnia*.

Tyrrenides be the lands in the *Tuſcane* Sea.

Myrtoan ſea, is part of the *Aegean* ſea.

Britaine nowe England ſo great as it ſeemeth a mayne lande.

Ariſtocratia is a rule of the beſt ſort of men.

C. Caeſar.

Kings.

Emperours.

Emperor is hee that is generall of an army.

table, of whome I haue seene Embassadoures come to *Rome*, to yelde themselues subiect, and not receyued of the Emperoure, as unprofitable to him. To other many nations they appoint kings, because the Empires hadde no nede of them, some subiectes must be kepte, for a shame to forsake them, though they be poore. Greate armyes be in euery place, as in a circle, by the which they kéepe so greate lande and sea, as one place. There was neuer Monarchie that was so great, or continued so long.

The state of *Grecia*, if a man will begin frō the time of *Darius* army, in the which they most flourished, vnto the time of *Philip*, *Amyntas* sonne, though he put togither the power of the *Athenians*, *Lacedemonians*, and *Thebanes*, shall not appeare so mighty a thing, for they contended rather for dignitie among themselues, thā to get dominiō, and thought no matter so noble, as to maintein their libertie againste strange kings that molested them. If some of them sayled as farre as *Sicelie* in hope of rule, they were ouerthrowen. If any went into *Asia*, they did little there, and returned. And to cōclude, the power of the *Grecians*, though it were cōtētious for ỳ rule, it proceded not surely out of *Grecia*, but shewed they would kéepe it from seruitude, & vnconquerable as muche as they could, but after *Philip* & *Alexander*, I thynke they haue done very euil, & vnworthy thēselues. The Empire of *Asia*, is not to be cōpared to the leaste of ỳ feates and vertue of *Europe*, for the weakenes & faintnesse of their nations, the which this present wrighting shal declare, for the *Romanes* with a few battels got so many nations of *Asia*, as now they cōmaund, although they were defended by ỳ *Macedonians*, but they had great labour about *Europe* & *Libya*, the dominiō of the *Assyrians*, *Medians*, & *Persians*, three of the greatest powers, til *Alexander*, *Philips* sonne, though he recken ỳ iv. C. yeares ỳ they cōtinued, can not cōpare with the *Romane* Empire as it is now, and ỳ greatnes of their Empire, is lesse by halfe I thinke, if it be well considered, for the *Romanes* reach frō the West *Ocean*, to the hill *Caucasus*, & the flood *Euphrates*, and to the *Aethiopians* that be about *Aegipt* and *Arabia*, to the East *Ocean*. And their boundes is, the *Ocean* of the sunne rising and setting. They rule all the inwardes, all the Ilands, and the *Brettanes* that be in the *Ocean*.

Grecia.

Darius the first king of *Persia*, that had *Cyrus* daughter for wife.

The *Athenians* were ouerthrowen in *Italy*.

The power of *Grecia*.

The rule of *Asia*.

Europe.

Asia.

¶ iij. The

Persicus Sinus from the east hath the red sea and from the west *Arabia.*

The *Medians* and the *Persians*, when they had most of the sea, it was no further than the Gulfe of *Pamphilia*, and one Ile of *Cypres*; nor verie little of the *Ionian* sea, for the sea of *Persis* which they had, was no greate matter.

Macedonia. Philip.

The *Macedonians* before *Philippe*, had very little power, and to some they were subiects. The labour and trauaile of *Philippe*, is not to be accompted light, but it was onely about *Grecia*, and one region.

Alexander.

Under *Alexander*, for the greatnesse, multitude, felicitie, and spéedynesse, this dominion in a shorte space, became infinite, and incomparable, but bycause of the short time, it was like a bright lightning. The whiche beyng diuided into manye Prouinces, part of them continued noble a good whyle. But our kings only dyd maintaine two hundred thousande fotemen, fortie thousand horsemen, thrée hundred Elephants vsed to the warre, two thousande armed Chariots, and so muche armoure as woulde serue thrée hundred thousande. Besides this prouision for the lande, they had two thousande of the small vessels, and of galleys little and greate a thousande fyue hundreth, with double furniture: eyghte hundred shippes of shewe, whiche they vsed for pompe, with stems, and sternes of golde, seauen hundred and fortie talents of *Egipt*, in their treasure, al the whiche appeareth by the Princes recordes, which be yet extant.

The power of the kings of Aegipt.

Ptolomaus Lagus, was the mightiest after *Alexander.*

The seconde king of *Egipt*, after *Alexander*, who of al other, was moste able to spende, most bountifull to bestow, & most desirous to get, lefte this behinde him: Other Princes were not muche inferiour, but by mutuall discorde of their posteritie, which is the onely destruction of great kingdomes, they came to nothing.

At Trebbia. At the lake of Perugia. At Canne nowe Berleta.

But the *Romane* Empire passed for greatnesse and felicitie, for continuaunce, and wisedom in the Senate, neither wanted they manhode, nor patience, nor painefulnesse, til they had established their power, nor gaue place to misfortune: they lefte sometime twenty thousande, sometyme fortie and fiftye thousand at a battaile: diuerse tymes the Citie was in daunger by famine, pestilence and sedition. Yet all this woulde not abate their ambition,

by

by the space of seauen hundred yeares, stryuing with paine and perill, till they brought their dominion, (kéeping still one trade,) to this heigth, as they receyue moste ample fruits of their wisedome and happinesse.

These things many *Gretians* and *Romanes* haue put in writing, and the Hystorie is farre exceeding the *Macedonians*: and where as I haue considered their valiauntnesse, and would see it in euery nation, my penne hath carried me, from *Lybia* to *Iberia*, & from *Iberia* into *Sicilie* or *Macedonie*, or to embassages & confederacies of sundrye nations, and then brought me againe as a forced man to *Sicilie* and to *Carthage*, and eftsoones carried me away from these vnperfect, til I had gathered by partes, howe they sent ambassadours or armyes into *sicily*, and what they did in that Iland, til they had conquered it. Thē how many embassages, how many leagues were made betwéen them, what ouerthrowes on both sides were giuen, till *Carthage* was ouercome, and *Africa* made a prouince, and then *Carthage* restored againe, to the state that it is nowe. I haue done the like in euerye prouince, bycause I would know, what the Romaines did euery where, that I might see the manhode or sapyntnesse of al natiōs, and the vertue and fortune of them that conquered, and whatsoeuer other matter chaunced: Thinking this woulde be acceptable to other also, to vnderstand the Romaines actes, after thys sorte, I haue written of euery nation by it selfe, leauing to write what was done in the meane time of other, placing them seuerally.

To set the times to euery thing I thought it too much, the moste notable, I will expresse by their distance of time.

At the firste the Romaines had one name, as al other: after came another, and at length, the thirde also was added to some of them, to be knowen by some marke of body or vertue of mind, as the *Grecians* had surnames ioyned to their names. Some time I wyll put all, chiefly of the noble men, that they may be the better knowen, the most I will name by the one or the other, as shal be moste fitte. And where there be thrée bokes that declare the Romaines doings in *Italie*, I call them thrée, the Romaines

The Romaines haue diuerse names.

The diuision of the vvorkes.

Actes.

acles with the *Italians*, and for the multitude of matter, [illegible] thus diuided. The firſte, contepneth the reignes of the ſeuen kings, therefore I call them, *The Hiſtorie of the Romane Kings*.

Then followeth the Booke of matters done in *Italy*, by them that dwell in the coaſt of *Tuſcia*, the which Booke for a difference is called, *The Romanes warre after the Kings*. The [illegible] of all in that land were the *Samnites*, next the *Ionian* ſea, a nation moſt fierce and warlike fighting with the *Romanes* foureſcore yeares, till they and the *Grecians* their fellowes that inhabited *Italy*, were ſubdued, and this booke for the difference from the other two, is called, *The Romanes warres with the Samnites*. All the other haue their ſeuerall titles, as, The *Romanes* warre with the *Galles*, the *Sicilians*, the *Iberians*, with *Hannibal*, with *Carthage*, with *Macedonie*, and ſo forthe. The order of the whiche [illegible] after the order of the time in the which they were done, though that many other things happened by the way.

Samnites, nowe *Abruzo*, part of the Kingdome of *Naples*.

The ciuill ſeditions and warre among themſelues moſt horrible of all the reſt, ſhall be declared by their names that were chiefe doers of the ſame, as *Marius* and *Sylla*, *Pompey* and *Caeſar*, *Antony* and *Caeſar Auguſtus*, and the killers of *Caeſar* the elder.

Then ſhall be ſhewed of *Antony* and *Caeſar*, whiche made the end of ciuill warre, when *Egypt* came vnder the *Romanes* dominion. So all the warres are diuided into bookes of their nations or to the names of the Captaines, if they be ciuill.

The laſt booke ſhall declare what armies they haue, what tribute they take of euery Nation, what charges they be at to kepe their ordinarie garriſons by ſea, and ſuche other. And ſeeing I ſhall write of their vertue, it ſhall be fitte to begynne of their originall. Who I am that haue written theſe things, my name, & I haue ſhewed it before, and to tell it more playnly, I am of *Alexandria*, accepted in my Countrey, and exercyſed in *Rome* the cauſes of Iuſtice, touching the Emperoures, til it pleaſed them to thinke me worthy their ſeruice. So that will know the reſt, may learne it of the Bookes that I haue written.

Appian a counſellour to the Emperoures in ciuill cauſes.

The

¶ The *Romanes* warre with Mithridates King of Pontus: by Appian of Alexandria.

When the *Romanes* had ouercome *Mithridates* the King, after. xiij. yeares warre, they made *Bithinia*, *Cappadocia*, and other nations, bordering vppon thē, inhabiting the sea called *Euxinus*, subiecte vnto them. And in the same warre they wonne of *Cilicia*, those that were not yet of their obedience, and of *Syria*, *Phœnicia*, & *Cœlosiria*, and *Palestina*, and the middle land, to the flood *Euphrates*, not being vnder *Mithridates*, but by the violence of that victory. And to some they put tributes by and by, & to some afterward. *Paphlagonia*, & *Galatia*, and *Phrygia*, and *Mysia*, ioyning to *Phrygia*, and after them *Lydia*, and *Caria*, and *Ionia*, and all the rest of *Asia*, that is aboute *Pergamo*, and old *Grecia*, and *Macedonia*, whiche *Mithridates* hadde gotten, they recouered some agayne: and to many of them appointed tributes, that neuer had payd any. For ỹ which I thinke they call this chiefly the greate warre, and the victory of it also greate, and the Captayne of it that was *Pompey* in their proper language they name greate to this day: for the number of the nations that they toke or recouered, and the long time of fortie yeares, and the boldenesse and paynefulnesse of *Mithridates*, might (as appeared) at all assayes. He had aboue foure hundreth shippes of his owne. He had fiftie thousand horsemen, and two hundred and fiftie thousande footemen, engines, and munition accordingly. Kings and Princes were his confederates. The *Armenian*, the *Scythian*, and *Pontus*, and the fenne of *Meotis*, and from thence to the streightes of *Thracia*. He sente to the *Romane* Captaynes that were at warre together, and to stirre *Spayne* against them, he made amitie with the *French* to moue agaynste *Italy*. He filled the Sea with Pirates from *Cilicia*, to the pillers of *Hercules*, whiche made, that no traficke nor sayling could bee

Cœle is one of the partes of *Syria*, the vvhich is hollovv, for so signifieth the vvord.

Thracia, hath nowe the streightes of *Constantinople*.

from one Citie to another, and wrought a great famine in euery place. And generally, he lefte nothing vndone or vndeuised that coulde be done, to stirre vp the greatest motion among all men, from the East to the Weast. For either they made warre, or sent ayde, or robbed or vexed their neyghbours. This warre was variable, and in the end brought the *Romanes* to greatest dominions, for by this, their rule stretched from the Weste, to the flood *Euphrates*. It was not easie for me to deuide it by seuerall nations, being done togither, and one wrapped with another. Those that could be separated, be told particularly. The *Greekes* thinke, that the *Thracians* did serue at *Troy* vnder *Rhesus*, and that *Rhesus* was killed by *Diomedes* in the night, the whiche matter, *Homere* telleth in his Verses, and that they stedde to the mouth of *Pontus*, which is most streight to saple into *Thracia*, and that they that wanted Shippes, did remaine there, and toke the lande named *Bebrycia*. They that had shippes, wente beyonde *Byzance*, to that part of *Thracia* called *Bithinia*, and did inhabite at the flouue *Bithia*, and being driuen by famine, returned to *Bebricia*, and named it *Bithinia* in stead of *Bebricia*, of the flood at the whiche they dwelled, and so the name not vnlike in time to be changed, because there is not much difference betweene *Bebricia* and *Bithinia*. So do some thinke. Other suppose that *Bythis* the sonne of *Iupiter* and *Thrace*, did first raigne here, and so the name was gyuen to both the lands. This I thought good to shew firste of *Bithinia*. Of the Kings that were before the *Romanes*, in number nine and fortie in order, it is meete for me to make some mention in these matters of the *Romanes*. *Prusias* that was called the hunter, maried the daughter of *Perseus* kyng of *Macedonie*, and the *Romanes* and *Perseus* making warre not long after, *Prusias* stode as neuter.

Rhesus King of *Thracia*. 10. Iliad.

Bebrycia in *Asia* the lesse.

Byzantium is nowe *Constantinople*.

Some call hir *Seta*, that was sister to *Rhesus*.

Prusias Cynegus.

Perseus being ouercome, he mette with the *Romane* Captaines, wearing a *Romane* garmente called *Toga*, and hauyng shoes after the *Italian* manner, and hys head shauen, with a cappe, after the whyche manner they goe which be made free by testamente, beeyng an euill fauoured man to beholde, and a little shorte one. Meeting with them, he spake in the *Romane* tong, *I am a freemade*

The *Romanes* were called *Togati*, and the *Greekes Palliati*.

MAN.

man of the Romanes, which they call Libertus. He appearing a sighte to be laughed at, was sent to Rome, where being langhed at also, he had pardon. Not long after, vexing Attalus the King of Asia that is about Pergame, he wasted hys lande in Asia. Whyche when the Senate of Rome heard, they sente to Prusias, that hee shoulde not molest Attalus, a friend and confederate to the Romanes. And when he thought muche to obey, the Embassadours sharply commaunded him to obey the Senate, and to come with a thousande Horsemen to the confynes to decide the matter, and willed Attalus to bee there with as many.

The behauioure of Prusias disguised.

Libertus that of a seruant is made free.

He despising the small number that was with Attalus, and thynkyng he myghte entrappe hym, sente hys Embassadoures afore, as though he woulde followe with his thousande horse, but bringing all his army, went as to a battell. When Attalus and the Embassadours hearde of it, they fledde, euerye man where he coulde. He toke the carriage of the Romanes, and destroyed the towne of Nicephore, and burned the Shippes that were there, and besieged Attalus in Pergame.

The craftie acte of Prusias.

When the Romanes heard of thys, they sente other Embassadoures, who commaunded Prusias to restore Attalus his losses. Then Prusias was afrayde, and obeyed, and wente hys waye. The payne that they put vpon him, was this, that hee shoulde presently gyue hym twentye armed Shyppes, and in time, fiftie talentes. The Shyppes he gaue out of hande, the talentes he payde in time. He was hated of his subiects for his cruelties, and his sonne Nicomedes well beloued of the Bithinians. Wherefore Prusias suspecting him, sent him to lyue at Rome. And vnderstandyng that he was well beloued there, he wylled hym to obteyne of the Senate, a release of the money he ought to Attalus, and sent Mena to deale with him, and commaunded Mena that if he coulde gette hym discharged of the money, he shoulde spare Nicomedes, but if he coulde not, he should kill him. Hee sente to thys purpose certayne greate Shyppes, and two thousande Souldyoures. Mena, bycause the penaltie was not forgiuen (for Attalus hadde sente Andronicus to tell, that the payne was lesse than the people) neyther durst hyll the

Prusias is forced to recompence Attalus.

Prusias practiseth to kill his sonne Nicomedes.

yong man, whome he sawe to be worthy to be loued and honoured, nor goe agayne into *Bythinia*. The yong man, knowing of his tarrying, came to talke with him with his good will, and conspired againste *Prusias*, and toke to their practise the Embassadour of *Attalus*, that he should persuade him to get *Nicomedes* to the Kingdome of *Bythinia*. They met togither in *Bernice*, a little Citie of *Epirus*. In the nighte they wente into a Shippe, there they consulted what was to be done, and were secrete all nighte.

Nicomedes sheweth himselfe as King.

When day was come, *Nicomedes* came forth of the Ship, cladde with a Kings robe of purple, with a crowne on his head. *Andronicus* meeting with him, saluted him as King, and sent him forth with fiue hundreth Souldioures, which he had ready. *Mena* dissembling, as though he had not seene *Nicomedes* till then, came to the two thousand, as though he had bin discontented. Beeyng come to the talke, he sayde:

Mena to the Souldyoures.

‘You haue two Kinges, the one at home, the other going on.
‘You must needes forese saftie, and coniecture your well doing,
‘as in this, to establish you securitie, by well appoynting, whyeh
‘of the two you will haue raigne. The one is olde, the other is
‘yong. The *Bithinians* hate the olde, but they loue the yong: and
‘the chiefe of the *Romanes* loue this yong man: and *Andronicus*
‘being his defendoure, hath promised *Attalus* friendship, hauyng
‘a greate Kyngdome ioyning to *Bithinia*, and an olde enimie of
‘*Prusias*.

When he had sayde thus, and withall declared the cruelitie of *Prusias*, and what mischiefe he had done to all men, and the common hatred of the *Bithinians* againste him, and perceyued that they abhorred the wickednesse of *Prusias*, he ledde them straight to *Nicomedes*, and was the seconde after *Andronicus* that called him King, and garded him with two thousand. *Attalus* receyued the yong man gladly, and required *Prusias* to giue the yong man some Cities to dwell in, and landes to finde him. He answered, he would shortly giue him all *Attalus* Kingdome, for whose sake he had inuaded *Asia* before. When he had said thus, he sente to Rome to accuse *Attalus* and *Nicomedes*, and to call them into iudgement: but *Attalus* wente with his armie into *Bithinia*, to whome

whome the *Bithinians* by little and little reuolted. *Prusias* diſtruſting all men, and hoping that the *Romanes* woulde deliuer hym from this danger, obteyned fiue hundred *Thracians* of *Diegelles* hys father in lawe, and to theſe onely he committed his body, fleeyng into the Caſtell at *Nicæa*, the Pretor of *Rome* not bringing *Prusias* meſſengers to the Senate ſpeedily, bycauſe he fauoured *Attalus*, but at laſt being brought, and the Senate commaunding him to chooſe Embaſſadors that might ende the warre, he chooſe three men, of the whiche one had his head ſtricken with a ſtone, and had an euill fauoured ſcarre left: another had his feete feſtered with a ſore: the thyrde was compted an ydiot. In ſo muche as *Cato* ieſting at this Embaſſage, ſaide, it had neyther minde, feete, nor head. The Embaſſadors went into *Bithinia*, and commanded them to ceaſſe warre. *Nicomedes* and *Attalus* diſſembling to obey the Senate, the *Bithinians* being ſet on, ſayde, they coulde not any longer beare the crueltie of *Prusias*, now eſpecially that they were knowen to be againſt him. The Embaſſadors bycauſe the *Romanes* hadde not yet heard of this matter, departed, doing nothing. *Prusias* deſpayring of the *Romanes*, in whome he had moſt truſt, no help comming by them, he went to *Nicomedia* to get the Citie, and to defend himſelfe againſt his enimies, but they forſoke him, and ſhutte the gates againſt him: and *Nicomedes* came with his army, and certayne of *Nicomedes* hoſt being ſent of him, killed *Prusias*, fleeing to the Temple of *Iupiter*. Thus *Nicomedes* raigned in *Bithinia* for *Prusias*, and he in time ending his life, hys ſonne *Nicomedes* that was called *Philopater*, ſucceeded the *Romanes*, giuing him his fathers kingdome, by decree of Senate. Thus wente the ſtate of *Bithinia*, and if we will learne all, the nephewe of this another *Nicomedes*, lefte the *Romanes* hys heire by teſtament.

Nicæa vvas firſt called *Antigonia*, aftervvard *Nicæa*, of *Liſimachus* vvife.

Embaſſadors to be laughed at.

Cato.

Nevv *Nichea*, and of fayleres *Comidia*.

Prusias killed.

The *Romanes* made heyres of *Bithinia* by teſtamente.

Who ruled *Cappadocia* before the *Macedonians*, I can not well tell, whether they were vnder a King of their owne, or vnder *Darius*. It ſhould ſeeme that *Alexander* left theſe nations tributarie to the rulers, when he went againſt *Darius*: and ſo it ſemeth that *Amiſus*, a Citie of the *Athenian* kind, did bring in the peoples rule, according to the Countreys manner. And it is ſayde

Amiſus a fayre tovvne in the confines of *Paphlagonia* and *Cappadocia*.

Hieronimus vvas an Hiſtorievvriter of *Rhodes*.

of *Hieronimus*, that he did not ſubdue all theſe Cities, but by the coaſt of *Pamphilia* and *Cilicia*, turne another way againſte *Darius*. *Perdiccas* that ſucceeded *Alexander* in *Macedonia*, did put to death *Ariarathe*, ruler of *Cappadocia*, eyther for that he revolted, or woulde haue made it for the *Macedonians*, and appoynted for theſe nations *Eumenes* of *Cardia*. When *Eumenes* was deſtroyed, being iudged an enimie to the *Macedonians*, *Antipater* that after *Perdiccas* ruled the Countries that *Alexander* had gotten, ſente *Nicanor* to rule *Cappadocia*. And the *Macedonians* not long after beeyng at ciuill debate, *Antigonus* gote *Syria*, and expulſed *Laomedonta*. *Mithridates* beeyng hys familiar, and of the bloud royall of *Perſia*. *Antigonus* dreamed that he did ſowe the grounde wyth golde, and that *Mithridates* dyd carrie the golde to *Pontus*, when it was reaped, wherefore hee toke hym, and woulde haue kylled hym, but he fledde wyth fyre Horſe, and fenced a place in *Cappadocia*, many revolting to hym.

Dreame of *Antigonus*.

In thys tumulte of *Macedonie* by little and little, he gotte *Cappadocia*, and the Nations confynes to *Pontus*, and greately enlarging hys Realme, hee lefte it to hys Chyldren. They raigned one after another, tyll the fifth after the fyrſte *Mithridates*, whyche made warre with the *Romanes*. Of this flocke the Kynges of *Cappadocia* and *Pontus* comming, I thynke it to bee knowen who diuided the Kingdome, ſome reigning in *Cappadocia*, and ſome in *Pontus*.

Thys *Mithridates* was firſt a friend to the *Romanes*, and ſente Shyppes and ſome little helpe againſte the *Carthaginiens*, that was called *Energetes*, whyche ouerranne *Cappadocia* as a ſtraunger. And *Mithridates* hys ſonne ſucceeded, who was named *Dionyſius* and *Eupater*. The *Romanes* commaunded hym to gyue place in the Kingdome of *Cappadocia* and to *Ariobarzanes*, that fought to them, and thought himſelfe to be nyghter to that Kingdome, than *Mithridates*, or elſe becauſe they ſuſpected the Kyngdome of *Mithridates* growyng ſo greate, and vnder the hande, woulde diuide it into more partes, and hee ſuffered it, but againſte *Nicomedes*, that was of *Nicomedes Pruſſe* hys ſonne, and by the *Romanes* appoynted to reigne, as in

Energetes is beneficiall.

his

his fathers kingdome, he sent *Socrates*, brother to *Nicomedes*, that was called *Chrestus*, with an armie, & *Socrates* toke the kingdome of *Bythinia* to himself. At this time, *Mithrias* and *Bagoas*, expulsing *Ariobarzanes* whom the *Romanes* had set in the kingdome of *Cappadocia*, put *Ariarathes* into it. The *Romanes* did restore bothe *Nicomedes* and *Ariobarzanes* into their proper kyngdomes, sendyng certaine Embassadours for that purpose, whereof *Manius Acilius* was chiefe: and commaunded *Lucius Cassius* that had a litle armie in *Pergamo* in *Asia*, to helpe to it, and also *Mithridates Eupator*. But hée beyng offended with the *Romanes* for *Cappadocia*, and by them beyng put from *Phrygia*, as wée haue shewed in the Gréeke matters, did not helpe. *Cassius* and *Manius* with that armie they had, and gatheryng a greater of the *Galatians* and *Phrygians*, sent *Nicomedes* into *Bithynia*, and *Ariobarzanes* into *Cappadocia*, and persuaded them bothe, beyng neyghboures to *Mithridates*, to molest hys countrey, and prouoke hym to warre, and the *Romanes* woulde be their mayntayners in it. But bothe they alyke affected, durst not prouoke *Mithridates* fearyng hys mighty power. But the Embassadours beggyng them, *Nicomedes*, that had promised to gyue the Embassadours muche money for hys restitution, and to the Souldiours, which yet hée ought, and beyng in debte further to the *Romanes* for money lente hym for hys other matters, vnwillyngly hée inuaded *Mithridates* lande, spoyled as farre as the Citie *Amastris*, none resistyng hym or méetyng with hym. For albeit *Mithridates* had hys armie ready, yet hée refrayned, to haue the more and fuller cause of warre.

Chrestus, good or profitable.

Amastris, the chiefe citie so called of a vvoman of Persis, before beyng named *Cromna*.

When *Nicomedes* was returned home with a great pray, *Mithridates* sente *Pelopida* to the *Romane* Capitaynes and Embassadours, not ignorant that they were his enimies and causes of this inuasion, yet he dissembled, & sought more manifest causes of the warre to come. *Pelopida* told them that *Phrygia* was taken frō them, and *Cappadocia*, that had alwaies bene his auncestours and left him of his father: *Phrygia* was giuen him of your generall, as a reward for the victorie gotten of *Aristonico*, & neuertheles redéemed of the same generall with a great summe of money.

The Embassador of *Mithridates* to the *Romanes*.

Pow

'Nowe you see (sayde he) that *Nicomedes* shutteth the mouth of
'*Pontus*, and spoyleth his land as farre as *Amastris*, and carried a-
'way so great a bootie as your selfe well know. My King, hauing
'power & will, sufficient to reuenge, doth suffer that you may be
'witnesses of sight of his iniuries. The which bycause you know
'and see, *Mithridates* desireth you, friends and confederates, as a
'friende and confederate, for so do the couenants tearme vs, that
'you woulde helpe vs against *Nicomedes* that dothe vs wrong, or
'forbid him to do vs any more. Thus sayd *Pelopida*.

Embassadors of Nicomedes.

'*Nicomedes* Embassadors making answere to the contrarye,
'sayde, that *Mithridates* had long layd traynes for *Nicomedes*, and
'sent *Socrates* with an army for that kingdome, which would haue
'bin quiet, and iustly suffered his elder brother to raigne. Thus
'did *Mithridates* against *Nicomedes*, whome you (O *Romanes*) ap-
'pointed King of *Bithinia*. Whereby it is manifest, that these
'things be done not more against vs, than against you. By the
'like authoritie, it being commaunded to the Kings of *Asia*, that
'they should not meddle with *Europe*, he hath taken much of *Cher-*
'*roneſus*, and these be his actes against you, of despighte, disdeyne,
'and disobedience. His great preparatiō and so great furniture,
'as to a great and notable warre, as well of his owne armye, as
'of confederates of *Thracia* and *Scythia*, and other nigh nations.
'He hath married with the King of *Armenia*. He hath sente into
'*Egypt* and *Syria*, to allure those Kings. He hathe three hundreth
'armed Shippes, and is making more. He hath sent for mayſters
'and gouernoures of Shippes into *Phenitia* and *Egypt*. All this is
'not against *Nicomedes*, but against you (O *Romanes*) done by *Mi-*
'*thridates*, disdeyning euer since you haue commaunded hym to
'leaue *Phrygia*, as no right possession, which by decepte he bought
'for money of one of youre Generals. Being greeued also that
'*Cappadocia* is giuē by you to *Ariobarzanes*, fearing your increase,
'and taking occasion against you by vs, and if he can, to deceyue
'you. It is wisedome not to tarrie, till he confesse to make warre
'against you, but rather to loke to his actes than to his wordes,
'nor to be decepued with his counterfet name of frendship, and
'to forsake youre true and firme friendes in deede, neyther to se

Cherroneſus a land almoſt an Iland, as this was at *Pontus*.

your

your iudgemente of our kingdome to be despised of him that is an enimie both to vs and you. Thys sayde *Nicomedes* Embassadours,

Pelopidas came agayne to the *Romanes* audience, once more accusing *Nicomedes* of the things that were done of old, and prayd the *Romanes* to be Iudge. These things that now be done (sayde he) he hath done in your sight. *Mithridates* kingdome he hathe diminished, the Sea he hath shutte, spoyles he hathe carryed away. This needeth no debating or consultation, but we once agayne pray you, eyther to correct that is done, or to helpe *Mithridates* that hath suffered the wrong, or lastly (O *Romanes*) not to forbidde hym to reuenge himselfe, but let them two trye it out. This aunswered *Pelopidas*.

It was certayne that the *Romanes* fauoured *Nicomedes*, and for a fashion heard their controuersies: but somewhat they were moued at the wordes of *Pelopidas*. And bycause *Mithridates* was yet in league with the *Romanes*, and stode in doubt what to aunswere presently, and hauing with wisedome considered the matter, they aunswered thus. Neyther will we haue *Mithridates* suffer any thing wrongfully of *Nicomedes*, neyther suffer warre to be made vpon *Nicomedes*, for we thinke it not good for the *Romanes*, that *Nicomedes* should be hurt. When they had thus sayde, and *Pelopidas* woulde haue made aunswere to their sentence so doubtfull, they wente from the seate. When *Mithridates* sawe that he was manifestly iniured of the *Romanes*, he sent his sonne *Ariarathes* with a great army, to reigne in *Cappadocia*, and he expelled *Ariobarzanes*, and had the kingdome. *Pelopidas* comming agayne to the *Romane* officers, said thus:

The *Romanes* aunswere.

What *Mithridates* hath borne at your hãds (O *Romanes*) being spoiled of *Phrygia* and *Cappadocia*, you haue heard. What hurt *Nicomedes* hath done him, you see, & let it passe, we appealing to your amitie and leage. And as though we were the accusers, and not accused, you aunswere, that you thinke it not profitable for the *Romane* state, that *Nicomedes* shoulde be hurte, as though he were iniured. You (O *Romanes*) are the cause that things be done in *Cappadocia*, against the state of *Rome*. For thorough youre con-

tempt of vs, and your subtill aunsweres, *Mithridates* hathe done thys, and now he sendeth Embassadoures against you to youre Senate, to whome he sendeth you worde to aunswere: and that you attempt not, begin any thing to kindle this warre, without the common consent of the *Romanes*. And that *Mithridates* hathe in his fathers kingdome conteyning in length twenty thousande furlongs, gotten many nations about hym, *Colchos* a warlike nation, and the Grekes that dwel at *Pontus*, and the *Barbarians* that be next them. He hath friends ready to do his commaundement, *Scythians*, *Taurians*, *Basternians*, and *Sarmatians*, and all that be about *Tanais*, and *Hister*, and the fenne of *Maotis*, *Torbanes* of *Armenia* is his sonne in lawe, and *Arsaces* the *Parthian* hys friende. He hath a nauie of Shippes, whereof some be readye, and some to be made, and a furniture conuenient in all poyntes. The *Bithinians* dyd not nowe saye untruely to you, of the Kynges of *Egypt* and *Syria*, who be lyke, not onely to take oure parte, if warre be made, but also *Asia*, that you haue lately gotten: *Grecia* and *Libya*, and many nations of *Italy*, that can not beare youre ambition, do make an endlesse warre with you, which because you can not ceasse, you sette *Nicomedes* and *Ariobarzanes* vppon *Mithridates* by turne. You say you are friends and confederates, and you aunswere so, but you vse hym as an enimie. Nowe then go to, if of things past you repente you, eyther forbidde *Nicomedes* to molest your friends, and if you doe this, I promise you that *Mithridates* shall ayd you against the *Italians*, or breake that fayned friendship, or let vs goe to be iudged at *Rome*. This sayde *Pelopida*. And because it seemed to presumptuous, they commaunded that *Mithridates* shoulde not deale with *Nicomedes*, nor *Cappadocia*, and that they woulde sette *Ariobarzanes* in his kingdome agayne, and that *Pelopidas* shoulde depart frō their Camp, and no more returne as Embassadoure, except the king woulde stand to this order. Thus they aunswered, and sente hym awaye with kepers, that he shoulde corrupte none as he wente.

Eight of these furlongs maketh a mile.

Maotis the great fenne in *Scythia*.

The Embassadors make warre without the consent of the Senate.

When this was sayde, not tarrying the Senates will for the warre, or the peoples consente, they gathered an army of *Bithinia*, and *Cappadocia*, and *Paphlagonia*, and *Galatia* in *Asia*. They owne

owne armye which *Lucius Caſſius* had in *Aſia* was ready, and all their confederates gathered togither, whyche they diuided into diuers Campes. *Caſſius* in the middeſt of *Bithinia* and *Galatia*, *Manius* that way that by *Bithinia* was againſt *Mithridates*. *Appius* with another army at the hylles of *Cappadocia*, hauing horſe and fotemen, to the number of fortie thouſand. They had a nauie of Shippes, whyche *Minutius Ruſus*, and *Caius Popilius* gouerned, kéeping the mouth of *Pontus*. *Nicomedes* came to them with fiftie thouſand fotemen, and fiue thouſand horſemen. So greate an army had they ready. *Mithridates* had of his owne two hundreth and fiftie thouſande fotemen, fortie thouſande horſemen, three hundred armed Shyppes, and a hundreth Gallyes, with munition accordingly. His chiefe Captaynes were *Neoptolemus*, and *Archelaus* brœthren, the greateſt parte he ledde himſelfe. His ſonne *Arcadius* brought the aid of tenne thouſand horſe out of *Armenia* the leſſe. *Dorilaus* ledde thē that were in order of the mayne fotemen, and *Craterus* broughte a hundred and thirtie Chariots. So greate prouiſion was on both ſides, when the *Romanes* and *Mithridates* began the warre, the CLXX. Olimpiade. In the large field at the flood *Ammeum*, did *Mithridates* and *Nicomedes* Captaines ſée one another, and prepared for the fighte. *Nicomedes* ſet al in order, *Neoptolemus* & *Archelaus* the light harneſed only, and ỹ horſemen ỹ *Arcathius* brought, & ſome Chariots. The fotemē wer yet cōming. They ſent a few to take a ſtony hil ỹ was in ỹ playne, ỹ they ſhoulde not be cōpaſſed of the *Bithinians* which were the greater nūber. Whē they ſaw them beaten frō the hill, *Neoptolemus* fearing to be enclaſed, came to the reſcue with ſpéede, calling with him *Arcathia*, *Nicomedes* ſéeing that, ſet vpon them, and there was a great fight and ſlaughter. But *Nicomedes* fiercely following, *Mithridates* men fledde, till *Archelaus* comming on the righte ſide, did repulſe the chacers. Then they cōming all vpon him, he gaue place a little, that *Neoptolemus* & his might returne frō the flight. And whē he ſaw that to be done in déede, he ſet the armed Chariots vpon the *Bithinians*, which with their violence, did teare ſome of thē into two partes, & ſome into more. This acte did muche diſcourage *Nicomedes* hoſt, when they ſaw men cut aſunder yet breathing, or borne in many péces, or

The Romanes force.

Mithridates forces.

Ammius a flood.

The fight.

violently carried of the Chariots. The vnpleasantnesse of the fighte, rather than losse by the fight, discovered their battell for feare. Vpon them being thus broken, came *Archelaus* on the front, and *Neoptolemus* and *Arcathias* returning from the fyght vpon the backe. They resisting on both sides, defended themselues a good whyle, but after many of them were slayne, *Nicomedes* fleeth. *Nicomedes* fledde with the rest into *Paphlagonia*, the fotemen of *Mithridates*, not being at the fight. The Camp, and the money, and many prisoners were taken, all the which, *Mithridates* vsing gently, *Mithridates* vseth courtesie. gaue them conduct money, and sent them home, making a shew to his enimies of humanitie. This first feate of the great warre with *Mithridates*, affrayd the *Romane* Captaynes, as begunne rashly, without the common consente. For a fewe did ouercome many, without any help of the place, or fortune of the fighte, but by the vertue of the Captaynes, and valiantnesse of the Souldyoures. *Nicomedes* Camped by *Manius*. *Mithridates* wente to the hill *Scoroba*, that is, the boundes of *Cappadocia* and *Pontus*. Hys *Scoroba.* scoutes being a hundreth horsemen of the *Sauromatanes*, metyng with eyghte hundreth Horse of *Nicomedes*, toke diuers of them, whome *Mithridates* agayne suffered to goe to their Countrey *An other courtesie of Mithridates.* with money for the way. *Manius* going backe, *Neoptolemus* and *Nemanes* an *Armenian* metyng with him, about the towne *Pachim*, constreyned hym to fighte, *Nicomedes* being gone to *Cassius*, *Pachim a towne at Propontid.* hauing four thousand horsemen, and tenne times so many fotemen, of whome they killed tenne thousande, and toke three hundred prisoners, whome *Mithridates* being brought to him, did let goe to winne the hearles of his enimies. *Manius* campe was taken, he fledde to the flood *Sangaris*, and passed ouer by night, and *A third courtesie of Mithridates.* *The Romanes discontented.* *Sangaris is otherwise called Coralius.* *Lentocephale.* fryed himselfe at *Pergamo*. *Cassius* and *Nicomedes*, and the *Romane* legates, sette their Camp at *Leontocephale*, which is a very strong towne in the further part of *Phrigia*, and trayned the people that thyther had of newe bin Souldyoures or artificers, and ioyned more to them of the *Phrigians*. And when both these people were vnwilling, they durst not meddle with men expert in battell, therefore they licenced the, and departed, *Cassius* into *Apamea* with his army, *Nicomedes* into *Pergamo*, and *Manius* to the *Rhodes*. They that kept

kept the mouth of *Pontus*, hearing of this, forsoke it, and the keys & ships that *Nicomedes* had in *Pontus*, were deliuered to *Mithridates*. Thus he at one brunt, getting all *Nicomedes* land, went to it, and set order in the Cities. Going into *Phrigia*, and comming to an Inne where *Alexander* rested, he toke it for a lucky token, that *Mithridates* might lye where *Alexander* had lodged. And he gote the rest of *Phrigia*, and *Misia*, and *Asia*, that the *Romanes* had lately wonne. And sending to the places there aboute, he got *Lycia* and *Pamphilia*, & so as farre as *Ionie*. And to the *Laodiceans* that inhabit about the floud *Lycus*, and resisted, for *Q. Oppius* a *Romane* Captaine hauing Horsemen and some fotemen hyred, got into the Citie & kept it, he sent his Trumpet to the walles, commanding hym to say, that King *Mithridates* did giue surtie to the *Laodiceans*, if they would bring *Oppius* to him. When they hearde this Proclamation, they lette the hired Souldiours goe frely, and brought *Oppius* to *Mithridates*, with his mace-berers in scorne: and *Mithridates* did no hurt to him, but ledde him lose aboute with him, shewing he had a *Romane* Generall in Captiuitie. Not long after, he toke *Manius Acilius*, that was best of ỹ Embassadors, & chiefe cause of this warre, and ledde him about, being set vpon an Asse, and telling them that loked vpon him, that he was *Manius*, till he came to *Pergamo*, wher he put molte gold in his mouth, reprouing the *Romanes* for taking of giftes. Appoynting rulers in the countrey, he came to *Magnesia*, *Ephesus*, and *Mitelene*, euery one receyuing him without resistance, and the *Ephesians*, throwing away the Images of the *Romanes* that were there, for the whiche they were punished afterward. Going from *Ionia*, he toke *Stratonicea*, and punished it in money, and set a garrison in the Citie, and seeyng a fayre mayde, he made hir one of his wiues, and if any man be desirous to know hir name, it was *Monime*, ỹ daughter of *Philopæmenos*. The *Magnesians*, *Paphlagonians*, & *Lycians*, yet resisting, he ouercame by his Captaynes. And thus did *Mithridates*.

Mithridates lieth in an harborough, vvhere great *Alexander* once did lye.

Lycus.

Q. Oppius.

Laodiceans betray *Oppius*.

Oppius ledde prisoner.

Manius is despighted of *Mithridates*, and cruelly handled.

Mithridates taketh a vvife at *Stratonicea*.

Monime is made a Queene.

The *Romanes* hearing of thys first force, and inuasion of *Asia*, determined warre against hym, although they were troubled with ciuill strife incessantly in the Citie, and *Italy* was occupyed with great warre at home almost in euery place. The Consuls

h iij. takyng

C. Sylla appoynted to the roome.

takyng their charge, *Asia* fell to *Cornelius Sylla*, and the warre agaynst *Mithridates*. And where they had no store of money, they enacted to sell the things, that *Numa Pompilius* the kyng had appoynted for the Sacrifices of ỹ Goddes. So great want was ther then, & so great ambition. Some of these thyngs were sold, whereof was rayled.xx.thousande pounde waight of golde, and gaue no more to so great a warre. But *Sylla* was long kept with sedition, as wee haue shewed in the ciuill dissentions. In this meane time, *Mithridates* made many shippes agaynst the *Rhodians*, and wrote secretely to all Princes and rulers of Cities, that they shoulde at the thirtie day, beyng obserued, kyll all *Romanes* and *Italians*, men, women and chyldren that were free, and when they had killed them, to caste them out vnburied, and to diuide halfe theyr goodes to the kyng *Mithridates*, and halfe to themselues. He appoynted a payne to them that buried any or hidde them, and a reward to them that bewrayed or killed them that were hidde. To seruaunts, libertie, to kill their Masters: to debtours, halfe their debte, to kill their creditours. These *Mithridates* sente secretely to all at once. The daye beyng come, diuerse calamities were seene in *Asia*, where of these were some.

VVant of treasure in *Rome*.

Mithridates decree of murder.

The *Ephesians* dragged them that were fledde into the Temple of *Diana*, and embraced the images, and killed them. The *Pergamenians*, shotte them to death that were fledde into the temple of *Aesculapius*, and woulde not be pulled from the images. The *Adramiteans* killed them that swamme into the Sea, and drowned their chyldren. The *Cauneans* beyng made tributarie to the *Rhodians* in the warre of *Antiochus*, and restored by the *Romanes* a litle before, pulled the *Italians* out of their holy common place, whether they were fledde, and first killed the children before the mothers faces, then the mothers, & laste the fathers. The *Trallians*, to keepe themself from the infamie of murderers, hyred *Theophilus* of *Paphlagonia* a cruell man, to do this acte. And *Theophilus* killed them beyng shutte in the temple of peace, & cut of the hãds of some, that embraced the images there. The *Italians* and the *Romanes* suffred these calamities in *Asia*, men, women, chyldren,

Adramitte, a cittie of the coaste of *Mysia*.

Cruelty in *Asia*, agaynst the *Romanes*.

Caunus, nowe *Roxa*, a towne of *Caria*.

childzen, frée & bonde that were of the *Italian* generation. Wherin it was cuidēt that *Asia* did not this so much for feare of *Mithridates*, as for hate of the *Romanes*. But they suffred double punishment, *Mithridates* shortly after vsing them cruelly contrary to his fayth, and after him, *Cornelius Sylla*.

The *Romanes* hated.

Mithridates sayled to *Coo*, the *Coanes* receyuing him willingly: and he toke the sonne of *Alexander* that reigned in *Aegipt*, lefte in *Co* with much money of his grandmother *Cleopatra*, & brought him vp princely. And of *Cleopatras* treasure, he sent much riches, workes, stones, womens aray, and plenty of money into *Pontus*. In this time the *Rhodians* fortified their walles & their portes, & prepared al defence, some *Telmissians* and *Lycians* being confedered with thē. All the *Italians* ỳ fledde out of *Asia*, came to the *Rhodes*, among whom was *L. Castius*, the gouernour of *Asia*. *Mithridates* cōming thither, they pulled downe their suburbes, that ỳ enimie should take no profite by thē, & prepared for the fight by sea, some at the front & some at the sides. *Mithridates* cōming with his galies, cōmaunded his men to extend thēselues into winges a flote, that by their swifte rowyng they might inclose their enimies which were fewer. The *Rhodians* being afraid of cōpassing, gaue place a litle, then turned & fledde to their porte, & shutting it with barres, they resisted *Mithridates* from the walles. He encamping at the Citie, & drawing nighe the porte, & attemptyng the same, tarried for fotemen to be brought out of *Asia*. And there was shorte and continuall skirmishing with them at the walles, in the which the *Rhodias* hauing the better, were a litle encouraged, and had their ships at hande to encounter the enimy when occasion should serue. A great shippe of the kings passed vnder sayle, the *Rhodians* sent a litle galie against it, and either side helping other diligently, a great fight began on the sea, *Mithridates* beyng superioyr in anger of minde, & multitude of shippes, the *Rhodians* with arte setting vpō his nauy, & disordering thē so, as they toke one galie with the men, & much munition & spoyle, & brought hir into the hauen: and being ignorāt ỳ a great Galie of theirs was taken of the enimie, they sent .vj. of their swiftest to recouer hir, & *Damagoras* their admiral wēt with thē. *Mithridates* sent .xvj. after him,

Co. Ilandnovve Logo.

Of *Caria* and of *Lyria*.

The vvarre of *Mithridates* agaynst the *Rhodes*.

hym, who gaue place till it was night. Waxing darke, the kings shippes retourned, and he set vpon them and toke two, and chased other two into *Lycia*, and returned by nighte. This was the ende of the fight betweene *Mithridates* and the *Rhodians*, done against all hope to the *Rhodians*, for their fewnesse, and to *Mithridates* for his multitude. In the fight the king saying aboute to encourage his men, a shippe of *Chio*, in hys naue, crushed the kings shippe in the confusion, the whiche the kyng not dissembling, punished both the Captaine and the Maister, which offended all the *Xians*.

The Kings Shippe crushed by chaunce.

At thys time, the kings kotemē being brought in great ships, & a Pery rising vpon them, they were driuen to *Rhodes*, & the *Rhodians* quickly comming vppon them, being yet troubled with the storme, they toke some, they crushed some, and some they burned, and toke four hundred prisoners. *Mithridates* preparyng for to fight by sea againe, and to force the towne, he made a certaine engin called *Sambuca* carried in two ships. The fugitiues tolde him, there was a side of an hill that might be scaled, where the Temple of *Iupiter Tabyrius* was, with a weake wall. He put his army in the ships by night, to other he gaue scaling ladders: He commaanded both to goe with silence, till a fire was made from the Temple, and then with a crye as loude as coulde bee made, some to assaulte the towne, and some to force the Porte, and they with silence drewe nighe. The watche of the *Rhodians* knowing this, made a fire, and the army of *Mithridates*, thinking this had bin the fire at the Temple, from deepe silence they cried all togither, as well the Scalers, as the Marriners. The *Rhodians* cried as fast chearefully, and came togither to ỹ wal, so as the Kings men did nothing that night, and in the daye, were putte backe, althoughe the Sambuke, affraid the *Rodians* much, casting out at once, many dartes, arrowes and shotte, beeing broughte againste the Temple of *Isis*, and the Souldiours with many scalyng ladders, from their shippes, came forth as they woulde haue giuen an assaulte. The *Rhodians* defended themselues manfully, till the engine brake for waight, and a vision of *Isis* was thought to caste a greate fire vpon it. *Mithridates* des-

Sambuca, was an engine vsed at the siege of Cities, bycause the ropes were so stretched in it as the strings in the instrument of Musicke that is so called.

The *Rhodians* put the kynges men awaye.

Isis is a Goddesse in *Aegipt*.

pairing

paying of this enterprise, sayled from the *Rhodes*.

Being at *Patara* at siege, he cut down the holy wode of *Latone* to make engins, till he was feared with a vision: then he left the wode. Leauing *Pelopida* to continue the warre in *Lycia*, hee sente *Archilaus* into *Grecia*, to winne it by force or friendship so much as was possible, and committing many things to his Captains, he trayned and furnished his army, and passed the time with his woman of *Stratonicede*. He sate in iudgement of them that were thought to watch him, or make any mutinie, or helpe the Romaines. And whiles hee was thus occupied, these thinges were done in *Grecia*. *Archelaus* sayling with a great nauie well victualled, he toke *Delos* that was reuolted from *Athens* and other places, by violence and power, killing twenty thousande men, of the whiche the moste were Italians, the places he appointed to the *Athenians*; by the whyche, and by other meane they extolling *Mithridates*, and greatly praysing hym, he brought them and other to his friendship. He sent the holy money of *Delos* to them by *Aristion* a man of *Athens*, and two thousand with him for garde of the mony, the which *Aristion* vsing to his purpose, played the Tiranne in his country, and some of the *Athenians* he killed oute of hand, as fauourers of the Romaines, and some he sent to *Mithridates*: yet was he a scholer of *Epicurus* learning. And not he alone in *Athens*, nor *Critias* that was before him, and they beyng professours of Philosophie with *Critias*, were tyrannes, but in *Italy* they of *Pythagoras* schole, and in the other *Grecia*, they that were called the seauen Wise men, when they had rule, they toke vpon them and vsed tyranny more cruelly, than the vnlearned tyrannes. Therefore there is a doubt and suspition of other Philosophers, whether for vertue, or for pouertie, or for lacke of experience, they comforted themselues with Philosophie: Of the whiche now, many being priuate & poore, & couering néede by fashion, they speake bitterly againste rich men and Princes, not for contempt of riches, and rule in their opinion, but rather for enuy being caried thereunto. But they that bée slaundered of them, do more wisely contempne them. This one maye thinke to bée spoken of *Aristion* the Philosopher, as by occasion of matter

Patara, a Citye of *Lycia*.

Delos an Ile in the *Aegian* sea.

Aristion by occasion of money plaieth the tyrant.

Philosophers Tirannes.

moued by him. The *Acheans*, and *Lacedemonians* did relent to *Archelaus*, and all *Bœotia*, except *Thespia*, whome he besieged.

Thespia a free Towne in *Bœotia*.

At this time *Metrophanes* being sente of *Mithridates* with another armye, did make warre vppon *Eubea* and *Demetriades*, and *Magnetia*, that resisted *Mithridates*. And *Brittius* comming from *Macedonia* with a small nauie did fight with him by Sea, and sinking one greate Shippe and a foyste, he killed all that were in them. *Metrophanes* beholding it, he being afrayde, fledde, and hauing a good wind, *Brittius* could not ouertake him, but tooke *Scyathus* that was a receypt for the *Barbarian* rouers, he hanged vp the slaues, and cutte off the hands of the free men. Then turning to *Bœotia*, a thousand other Horsemen and foremen comming out of *Macedonia*, at *Cheronea* he foughte three dayes with *Aristion* and *Archelaus*, with equall and indifferent fortune on both sides: but when the *Lacedemonians* and *Acheans* were come in ayde to *Aristion*, and *Archelaus*, *Brittius* thinking himselfe to weake to match with them all, went to *Pireo*, till *Archelaus* came and kept it.

Scyathus an Ile.

Cheronea.

Pireo, nowe *Porto Iione*, The port of *Athens*, able to hold four hundred Shippes.

Sylla beyng chosen generall for the warres against *Mithridates*, then toke his iourney out of *Italy* with fyue legions, and some other bandes and companyes, and arriued in *Grecia*, gathering money and men and victuals from *Aetolia* and *Thessalia*. When he thought he was sufficiente, he wente into *Attica* against *Archelaus*, and as he came, all *Bœotia* saue a fewe reuolted to him, and so did the greate Citie of *Thebes*, very lightly taking *Mithridates* parte against the *Romanes*, and nowe more swiftely turning from *Archelaus*, to *Sylla*, before they came to tryall. He went to *Attica*, and sending one parte of his armye against the Citie to besiege *Aristion*, he wente to *Pireo*, where *Archelaus* was within the walles, the heygth whereof, was foure cubites, beeyng the worke of *Pericles*, made of greate stone and square, when the *Athenians* made warre with the *Peloponesians*: and bycause he putte all the victory in *Pireo*, he made it the more strong. *Sylla* being come to the wall, gaue the assaulte forthwith, where muche hurte beeyng done on both sides, the *Cappadocians* manfully defendyng, beeyng weery, he wente to *Eleusina*, and *Megara*, and made engines against *Pireo*, by mounted

Thebes in *Bœotia*.

Pireus was made of pinacles, walled two myles of length.

Megara is in *Achaia*. *Eleusina* in *Attica*.

and rampires. Artificers, and stuffe, yron, and slings, and suche other, were brought hym from *Thebes*. He cut downe the woode of *Academia*, and made greate engines, and toke away the long sides, to cast stones, timber, and earth vppon the rampire.

Academia vvas a shadovvie place, a mile from *Athens*.

There were two slaues of *Athens* in *Pyre*, fauouring the *Romanes*, or foreseeyng theyr safetie if anye thing shoulde happen they wrote in pellets of leade euer what shoulde be done, and threw them to the *Romanes* with their slings.

Fidelitie of slaues to the *Romanes*.

Thys beeyng often done, and come to knowledge, *Sylla* hauyng regarde to the matter, founde it thus written, To morrowe, the footemen shall come vppon the face of youre labourers, and the horsemen shall sette vppon the sydes of the *Romanes*. Therefore he layde an ambush ready, and when the enimie had thought to haue come on ꝑ suddayne, he more suddaynelye dyd sette vppon them, kylled many of them, and droue the other into the Sea. And thys was the ende of thys attempte.

Nowe many greate towers beeyng sette vpon the mounte, *Archelaus* dyd make the lyke on the other side, furnished with weapons. He sente for more power out of *Chalcidonia*, and other Ilandes, and armed hys mariners, as he that woulde hazarde all. *Archelaus* hadde a greater armye than *Sylla*, and nowe it was muche bigger. At midnighte he issued with lyghtes, and burned one of the greate engines, with all that belonged to it. *Sylla* in tenne dayes made another, and sette it where the other was, and *Archelaus* erected a Tower against them on the wall. Another army beyng come vnto hym from *Mithridates*, whiche *Dimoxenes* ledde, he brought them all forth to the fighte, with whome he mixed hys flotte, and stode vnder the wall, that the warders myghte throwe vppon the enimies. Other stode at the gates with fyre, lokyng for the token to sallie forthe. The fyghte was a long tyme equall, and nowe one and then another gaue place. The *Barbarians* beganne to flee, tyll *Archelaus* commyng vppon them, made them turne agayne, whyche greatelye afrayed the

Romaines flee and returne a gayne.

The reproued sorte, were noted of some cowardlinesse, and called *Vituperati*.

Romaines, so that they fledde from them, but *Murenas* met them and returned them, and an other bande was come from *Foregyne* with them, they that were reproued, which seing the fighte so hotte, gaue a couragious onset vpon *Mithridates* menne, and killed two thousand of them, and droue the other into the walles. *Archelaus* would haue tourned them backe againe, and in the fyghte tarrying long because of his earnestnesse, he was shutte oute, and taken in by a rope. *Sylla* released them of rebuke that were noted, because they had fought valiauntlye, and rewarded the Souldioures wyth gyftes accordingly.

Eleusine.

Winter being come, hee placed hys army in *Eleusine*, and made a ditche from the highe places to the Sea, that the enimies horsemen shoulde not easilye breake vppon them. The whyche hee working euerye daye, there were diuerse skirmishes sometime aboute the ditche, sometyme at the walles, the enimyes commyng & dyng stones, dartes and pellets. *Sylla* wanting Shippes, sente to the *Rhodes*, and where the *Rhodes* coulde not passe, because *Mithridates* helde the Sea, hee commaunded *Lucullus* a Noble manne of *Rome*, and Generall of thys warre after *Sylla*, to goe priuilye into *Alexandria* and *Syria*, and to gather an armye of the Kynges and Citties, and to sende it to the *Rhodians*. Hee not fearing the Sea beseti wyth Shyppes, toke a light vessell, and chaunging Shippe after Shippe, to be vnknowne, he came to *Alexandria*.

Lucullus diligẽce

The bewrayers at *Pireo*, wrote againe in the pellets, that the nighte following *Archelaus* would sende to *Athens* being in want, corne vpon souldiors backes. *Sylla* laying in wayte, toke the corne and carriers.

Chalcide nowe *Negroponte*, chiefe citie of *Euboea*.

The same daye *Minutius* dydde hurte *Neoptolemus* an other Captaine at *Calcide*, and killed a thousand fiue hundred, and toke moe prisoners.

Not long after in *Pireo* in ẏ night, ẏ watch being asleep, the *Romanes* brought their scales frõ ẏ next mounts, & got the wal, and killed the watch ẏ was next: wherfore some of ẏ *Barbarias* leapt down, forsaking the wall, as though al had bene takẽ: other turning to force, killed ẏ leader of thẽ that scaled, and flung downe the

the other headlong: other getting out of the gates, hande to hande burned one of the *Romaines* towers, had not *Sylla* come with the army, and fought with them all that night, and the day after, and with greate labour saued it. *Archelaus* made an other tower at the wall against the *Romaines*, that they might fight together vpon the towers, whiche they did so ofte and so furiously, as it was harde, till *Sylla* did caste twentye greate pellets out of his sling, and killed many, and so beate *Archelaus* tower, as it was vnprofitable, & *Archelaus* was fayne to lie behinde the wall for feare. And they in the Citie being more & more pressed with hunger, the slaues signifyed againe in the pellets, that victuall shoulde be sent that nighte into the Cittie. *Archelaus* suspecting some treason in bewraying the carying of the victuals, sente the victuall, and set some at the gates with fire, to runne vppon the *Romaines* if *Sylla* woulde force the victuall: and both happened, for *Sylla* toke them that carried the corne, and *Archelaus* burned certaine of the engines.

At this time *Arcathias Mithridates* sonne inuaded *Macedonia* with an other army, and easily ouercame the fewe *Romaines* that were lefte there, and subdued all *Macedonia*, and appointed rulers, then he marched against *Sylla*, and falling yet sicke at *Tidæo*, died. At *Athens* the citie being in great daunger of famine, *Sylla* made many forts about it, that none shoulde flee, but remaining there, be the more vexed for the multitude, and erecting the mount at *Pireo* very hygh, he planted his pieces vppon it. *Archilaus* digging vnder the mount, and taking away the earth long before it was knowne, they made the mount to sincke, whiche being sone perceiued, the *Romanes* toke away the engines, and filled vp the earth againe: and they vsing the like waye in vndermining the wall, they met together, and fought with their short weapons as much as might be in such a darkenes. Whiles this was a doing, *Sylla* went against the wall with many engines, till parte of it fel, and made way to burne the nerte tower, and carried many lightes to caste vppon it, and commaunded the boldest men to go to the assault. Which beyng done on bothe sides the tower was burned, and *Sylla* had cast downe a parte of the wall, to the which he set a garde by and by. The foundations of the wall being cast

Acathias dieth at *Tidæo*.

A fight in the night.

downe which was bound with wode, and being ful of sulphure, pitche & flare, it was sone burned, one perce fel after an other, and ouerthrew them y stode vpon it. This tumult beyng sodeyn and great, troubled all the warders, as though that had fallen alle wher vpō they were. Wherfore turning euerywhere hastily, being doubtful in minde for feare they resisted their enimies faintly. And *Sylla* came vpon the tyl being thus affeared, & cheered his owne me, euer putting fresh to them that were weary, & he went to the assault, giuing thē courage by voyce & person, & threatning thē that were vnwilling, y in this short labour they might make an end of all. *Archelaus* likewise came forth with freshe men for them y were afrayd, exhorting & stirring all, as by y onely paine to worke their weale. The great courage & boldnesse being a gaine on either side, great slaughter on both sides was equall & alike, till *Sylla* comming forth & very warp, blewe the retreate, & praysed the soldiours vertue. *Archelaus* by & by in the night repayred the breaches, making vp y was broke, against the which *Sylla* brought his whole army, thinking he might easily beate downe y which was new made & soft. But being tyred againe in that straight place, & beaten both at the face & the side, as in slippery places, left of the getting of *Pirem* by assault, & entended to winne it by famine, & to continue the siege. And when he vnderstode that they in the citie, were in greater want, & had spent all their beasts, & sodde their skinnes & hides, and vsed the broth for meate, & that some did eate dead flesh, he commaunded his army to cōpasse the citie, that not one should escape: & when this was done, he went straight to the assault, & wonne the wall. And the weake men being sledde, he entred the Citie. And againe great slaughter & murder was in *Athens*, for they could not flee for weakenesse, there was no pitie, neither of children nor women, *Sylla* cōmaunding to kill euery man that they mette, for anger, that so sone, without cause, they had reuolted to the *Barbarians*, & resisted him so obstinately. In so much as many hearing the proclamation, did cast themselues willingly to be killed. A few met no great pace into the castle, & among them in *Aristio*, the place of pastime being first burned that *Sylla* should make no matter of it, for to force the fort. He would not suffer y citie to be burned,

The assaulte of *Pirae.*

Athens gotten by assaulte.

Sylla vseth the *Athenians* cruelly.

Odeum vvas the name of the place, in the vvhiche they sang and daunced, & rehersed their verses, and vvente vp to it, as to a vsed Theatre.

but

but gaue the spoile to the soldiours. They found mans flesh ready dressed for sustenance in many houses. The next day *Sylla* sold the seruãts to the freemen, that escaped frõ the murder by night, which were very few. He sayd he gaue libertie, and that libertie their posteritie should haue, & also in free elections which he for had to thẽ that were alyue. Thus was the towne of *Athens* filled full of misserie. *Sylla* besieged the castle, the which he easily tooke. *Aristion* & they ỳ were fled in with him, being ouercõm with hunger & thirst. Of the which, *Sylla* put to death *Aristion*, & the that serued him, & such as had borne any office, or done any thing contrary to the *Romanes* order, since the taking of *Athens*. The other he pardoned, & restored them laws to al, & also all such that were gilten them before, of the *Romanes*, hereto vnto the value of .v. hundred pound waight of golde, & of siluer .ij. M. This was done at the castle a little after. *Sylla* immediatly after the cite was taken, not delaying to take *Pirey* by siege, he brought engines & munition, and many men ỳ should vndermine the wall with their instruments and beate down many of them that kept the wall by shooting & darting vpon them, & somtime with the diuising pece of the wall, which was more & more weake, being new made. Whyle *Archelaus* thinking before, made many ỳ like within, that *Sylla* might neither haue some what to do, finding a new one like ỳ other. But he vsing cõtinual assault vñ incessable violence, going vnder them, & vpholding thẽ to ỳ matter, as a thing of great importance & prayse, in ỳ which al the hope that they had done, but lie. They of themselues being redy inough, for ỳ glory of so great weat as to win ỳ wal, wẽt to it so fearcely, ỳ *Archelaus* being astonished at their vehement motion beyond reason, left the wall into the cite, & came to the strongest parte of *Pirey*, that was compassed with the sea, the which *Sylla* for lacke of shippes could not attempt. From thence *Archelaus* sayled into *Thessalia* by *Boetia*, and gathered at *Thermopyle* the rest of all his stone army, and that was brought of *Syndromichate*. He called also thyder that came into *Macedonia* with *Archatias* the kings sonne, a fresh & lusty bande, besides them that *Mithridates* continually sent, for he neuer left sending: and this was done with great vehemencie.

Mans flesh dressed for sustenance.

Libertie giuen to the posteritie of the *Athenians* not to thẽselues.

Aristion put to death.

Thermopyle is the greate hill that diuideth *Grecia*, & be the streyght of it vvith hote vvaters.

Sylla burned *Pirey*, which was greater labour to him than *Pirey* burned.

the

the Cittie not sparing, nauy, munition, nor other preparation and then he went against *Archelaus* into *Beotia*. Being nigh together, they went from *Thermopyle* to *Phocida*, they being *Thracians*, and *Scythians* of *Pontus*, and *Cappadocians*, *Bithynians*, *Galatians*, and *Phrygians*, and al other that fauored *Mithridates*, al the which were CCC. M. euery one had their chiefe captaines, & *Archelaus* was the generall ouer all. *Sylla* hadde *Italians*, *Greekes*, and thole *Macedonians* that were reuolted from *Archelaus*, and some other of the borderers, not the thirde parte of the enimies number. Being encamped togither, *Archelaus* setting his men in order, alwayes prouoking to the battayle, *Sylla* delayed, considering the places and multitude of the enimies, and followed *Archelaus* that went into *Beloide*, expecting time and place, when he saw him conquered at *Cherinea* in hilly places, from the whiche they that wer ouercome could not flie. He being in a plain very nigh, set his men redy, to prouoke *Archelaus* to fight against his will, the playne being for him commodious to marche forth, or to retire at his pleasure, whereas *Archelaus* was beset with the hils, so as he could not vse his men as he would, nor altogither plate them for the inequalitie of the ground. And if they should turne, the harde plate wouide hinder their flight. He waying the matter with these difficulties, gaue the onset, knowing that that great multitude would litle profit *Archelaus*, who did not think the *Romanes* would haue fought, therfore kept his campe negligently. When the battel was begon, then he felte the hardenesse of the place, and perceyued it to late, and sente his horsemen to kepe him of, but they returning, and being driuen to the hils, he sent out his armed Chariots, to see if he could, by their violence, breake and cut the maine battel of the *Romanes*, the which they suffred to passe the front to the rere, diuiding themselues where they were ouerthrowen of the shot, they being vnweldy to turne again. And though *Archelaus* might thus haue kepte his campe, being sone at the hils for their defence, yet he set the whole multitude in order, & came vpon *Sylla* on the sodeyne in these streight places, bycause now he was at hand. First he brought forth the horsemen with great violence, and cut asunder the *Romanes* battayle, and easilye compassed both, for their small number.

Phocis a litle region of *Grecia*.

Cherinea.

Sylla taketh the aduantage of the place.

The armed chariots defeated.

They

They fighting very valiātly, kept themselues in a ring. They were in greatest daunger that fought vnder *Galba* and *Hortensius*, against whome *Archelaus* fought himself, and the *Barbarians* in his sight, shewed great manhode, till *Sylla* came thyther with his horsemen. *Archelaus* thinkyng *Sylla* was hée that came, by the shewe of the Ensignes, and the raysing of so much duste, leauyng hys compassing, went to hys battayle. But *Sylla* brought his horsemen that were beste, and two newe bandes that lay in ambushe, and charged vpon them as they were settyng themselues in order, (for they were not yet al come from compassing, nor in due forme at the fronte,) and brake them, so as they were confounded, and turned to flée, the whiche he followed. Beginnyng the victory thus, *Murena* in the leste wing, furthered the same, very lustily, and with encouraging of his men, manly followed the chace. When the wings of *Archelaus* were turned, the midde battayle did not holde, but fledde also. And then all that *Sylla* had forseene, fel vpon the enimie, for not hauing a fré place to turne them, nor a playne to flée, at the hilles they were slayne of them that followed them: some fell into his hãdes, some that were wiser, got to their campe, whom *Archelaus*, ignorant of the feates of warre, commaunded to turne vpon the enimies, when there was no way. They obeyed readily, but wãting captaines, to set them in order, not knowing their proper Ensignes, and beeing foully disordered, wanting place bothe to fighte and to flée, beeing driuen into a straighte by them that chaced, they were killed with ease: some of their enimies, whom they could not kill againe: some of themselues, as in a cõfusion in so straight a place. They went againe to the gates, and there gathered together, rebukyng them that shutte them out, rehearsing their countrey Goddes, and other naturall familiaritie, that not so much of their enimies, as of their disdayne they were destroyed, till *Archelaus* seeyng the néede, opened the gates to late, and receyued them runnyng in with disorder. The *Romanes* perceyuing this, callyng one an other, with vehemencie & swiftenesse gotte into the cãpe with thẽ that fled, & brought the victorie to an end. *Archelaus* & the other fledde as they could, & saued themselues at

The ouerthrowe of *Archelaus*.

Calcide, of a hundred & xx. M., not many more than x. M. remayning of the *Romanes*, they say there died but xv. & two of them returned, this was the end of the field betwene *Sylla* and *Archelaus* capitain general of *Mithridates* at *Cheronea*, chiefly by ỳ wisedom of *Sylla*, & the folishnesse of *Archelaus*, this happe had they both. *Sylla* hauing got much armure & spoyle, & taken many prisoners, ỳ vnprofitable things gathered on an heape, being girded after the *Romane* maner, he burned to the Gods of warre. Resting his army a while, he went to *Euripus*, with ỳ light horse against *Archelaus*, who wãdred the Ilandes without dread, the *Romanes* hauing no ships to folow him, & toke the coast townes. And going to *Zacynthus* he cãped, as to besiege the citie: & where certen of ỳ *Romanes* tãpe, came vpõ him by night, departing in hast, he went to *Calcida*, more like a Rouer thã a warriour. When *Mithridates* heard of this losse, he was troubled againe, & afrayde, as in such a case he might, & gathered an other army of all natiõs about him in hast. And thinkyng ỳ many would now forsake him for this ouerthrow, or for some other occasion, he gathered togither all thẽ ỳ he had in suspitiõ before the warre did ware sharper. First he killed the gouernours of the *Galatians*, which were with him as frendes, & not yet subiect to him, with their wifes & children except three that fled. To some he layd traynes, some he killed in a night at a banquet, thinking none woulde kepe their fayth, if *Sylla* came, & confiscating their goodes he made *Eumachus* president of that nation. The rulers that escaped gatheryng an army of their tenaunts of the countrey, droue him & his garrisons out of *Galatia*, so as *Mithridates* had nothing of that nation but money only. And being angry with ỳ *Chians*, euersince their ship crushed the kings shippe in the battaile at the *Rhodes*, he came secretely vpon them, & first sealed vpõ their goodes that were fled to *Sylla*. Then he sent to inquire of them that toke the *Romanes* parte in *Chio*. And *Zenobius* that ledde the third army, as though he would haue hasted into *Gretia*, came to the walles of *Chio* & other naked places by night & toke them, and setting a garde at the gate, proclaymed that strangers should not stirre, & assembled the *Chians*, as to say somwhat to them from the king. Whẽ he was come he

Cheronea is a towne in *Beotia* where *Plutarch* was borne.

Euripus is the streight sea that flowyeth seuen times a day.

Zacynthus an Ile of the *Ionian* sea.

Cruelte of *Mithridates* against the *Galatians*.

Chio, now *Scio*.

Mithridates spite against the *Xiãs* for a smal cause.

sayd

sayde the king had the citie in suspition bycause they fauoured the *Romanes*. Your ease must be, to deliuer your armure & your best children for pledges. They seing they? citie already taken, deliuered both. The which *Zenobius* sente by & by to *Erithea*, commaunding the *Chians* to tarrie for the kings letters. *Mithridates* letter came to this effect. You be yet frends to the *Romanes* whom many of your Citizens be, & you enioy the Fermes that they haue let you, for the which you pay nothing to vs. Further a Galley of yours at the fight at *Rhodes* did shake and crushe my shippes, which fault I would put onely vpon the gupders of the ship, if you could be recouered by loue. But secretly you haue now sent your chief men to *Sylla*, & you haue accused none of thē, as doyng it without cōmon consent, nor you haue punished any of them, as not priuie to their doyngs: and whereas I might punish you by death, beyng so counsayled by my friends, as sekers of my life, and traytours to my kingdome, I punish you in two thousand talents. This was the tenor of the letter. They would haue sent Embassadours to him, but *Zenobius* woulde not suffer them. And when their armure was gone, & their chiefe children taken away, & so great an army of *Barbarians* at hād, with heauy hearts they toke the treasure out of the temples, & their wiues Jewels, that they might make the .lx. talents. Whē they had done this, & *Zenobius* finding fault with the wayght, he called thē al into ỳ Theatre, & setting his soldiours about ỳ Theatre with their weapons drawne, & the waies downe to ỳ sea side, he called thē out seuerally & put them in the ships, the men by thēselues, ỳ womē likewise, & the children by thēselues, barbarously scoffing at thē. Thus being spoyled of their countrey, they were sent into *Pontus Euxinus* to *Mithridates*. After this sort were ỳ *Chians* vsed. The *Ephesians* required *Zenobius* ỳ was come to thē, to leane his army at ỳ gate, & to come in with a few. He did so: and went to *Philopœmen* father to *Monime*, whō *Mithridates* loued, & had made ouerseer of the *Ephesians*, & willed the *Ephesians* by proclamatiō to come togither in their assembly. They lokyng for no good at his hāds, deferred it till the nert day. And in ỳ night gathering togither & erboryng one an other, they toke *Zenobius* & killed him.

Erythea is a citie of *Asia*, not far from *Scio*, of the vvhich vvas one *Sybilla*.

Mithridates letter to the *Chia*.

The lamentable destruction of the *Chians*.

The *Ephesians* kill *Zenobius*.

in prison. They fenced their walles, they put their people in order, they gathered in their corne, & kept all the Citie by strength.

Tralles, at the flood Meander. Capene of Trio phylia.

The *Trallians*, *Capenians*, and *Mesopolitans*, and some other afrayed by the calamitie of *Chio*, did as the *Ephesiãs* had done. *Mithridates* sent his army against them that reuolted, and vsed them cruelly whom he toke, and fearyng the rest, he made the cities of *Greece*, free. He proclaymed forgiuenesse of debtes, and the seruours he made Citizens, & the bondmen, free, hoping, as it was in deede, that the released of debt, the new made citizens, & freemen, would be sure vnto hym, thinkyng these things could not be sure vnto them, but by *Mithridates* rule. In the meane season *Mynio* and *Philotimus* of *Smyrna*, and *Clisthenes*, and *Asclepiodotus*, *Lesbians*, al frendes to the king, and *Asclepiodotus*, sometime captayne of the straungers, did make a conspiracie against *Mithridates*. Of the which *Asclepiodotus* was the bewrayer: & for the more credite, he brought to passe, that the kyng, vnder a bedde, hearde what *Mynio* sayde. The cõspiracie being bewrayed, they were cruelly killed. The like suspition was vpon many moe. The *Pergameneans* doyng the like, foure score of them were takẽ, and other, in other cities, *Mithridates* sending searchers to euery place, who finding out his enimies, killed a thousãd fiue hundred men, the accusers of the which, not lõg after, were some punished of *Sylla*, some killed themself, & some fled to *Mithridates* into *Pontus*. Now had *Mithridates* gathered an army of. lxxx. M. the which *Dorilus* did leade into *Grecia* to *Archelaus* that had. x. M. left. *Syllas* had his army nigh to *Archelaus* at *Orchomeno*, & when he saw so great a nũber of horsemen, he digged many pittes in the plaine, x. foote broade. And had his army in order to receyue *Archelaum*. And when the *Romanes* did fayntly come to ỹ fight for the multitude of horsemẽ, he rode about, & exhorted them, & beside threatned thẽ. But whẽ he could not so bring them to the matter, he lept of his horse and toke the Ensigne & ranne to the enimies with his garde, cryng: If any man aske you (O *Romanes*) where you betrayed your generall, *Sylla*, say, when he fought at *Orchomeno*. The Capitaines ranne frõ their bandes to hym beyng in this daunger. Then the multitude beyng ashamed, chaunged their feare into courage.

Orchomenus at the flood of that name.

The boldnesse of *Sylla*.

Mithridates releaseth debtes, maketh free.

A conspiracie bewrayed.

And

And when the victory began to appeare, he mounted on horse a- The victory of the Romanes.
gayne, and rode about the host, prayling them, and in euery place exhorting them, till he had brought it to end. There dyed of the enimes aboute fifténe thousande, whereof the most part were horsemen, & among them *Diogenes*, that was *Archelous* son. The footemen fledde to the Campe, and *Sylla* fearing least *Archelous* woulde flée againe to *Thalcida*, he hauing no Shippes, all that night he set watches in ỳ playne, and in the day, not fully a furlong frō *Archelous*, he cast a trench (he not comming forth,) & exhorted earnestly his army to finish the rest of al this battel, seing their enimies durst not come out, and brought them to the trēch of *Archelous*. The like mutation was among the enimies, for necessitie the Captaynes running aboute, shewing the presente daunger, and rebuking them, if they woulde not defende theyr Camp against their enimies that were fewer than they. Force and crye being made on eyther side, there was great might shewed on both parts. The *Romanes* couering themselues with their shields, did now digge downe a corner of the Campe, but the defendours put them backe with their shorte weapons, and none durst enter, till *Basillus* the Captayne of that legion firste lept in, The valiantnes of *Basillus*.
and killed him that resisted him, al the army followed, then slight and slaughter was made of the *Barbarians*, of some as they went, of other being driuen into a lake that was nigh, and where they coulde not swimme, made prayers in their *Barbarian* tong to the killers of them that vnderstoode them not. And *Archelous* was hidde in a Fenne, where getting boates, he sayled to *Chalcida*, and gathered togither all the rest of the Kings army with diligence. *Sylla* the nexte daye gaue *Basillus* a garland, and rewarded others with giftes accordingly, and then spoyled *Bœotia* that was euer wauering. And being come to *Thessalia*, wintered, and tarried for the Shyppes that *Lucullus* hadde. And bycause he could not tell where *Lucullus* was, he made other Shippes. In this time, *Cornelius Cinna* and *Caius Marius* his enimies in *Rome*, proclaymed him Rebell, spoyling his house and his Villages, and destroying his friends. He not withstanding did all thinges as with authoritie, hauing an army valiant and obedient. *Cinna* chose *Flaccus* for his fellow

This garland or crowne was called *Vallaris*, which was giuen to him that first scaled the trench.

Sylla is proclaymed Rebell at *Rome*.

Flaccus.

fellow in the Consuls office, and sente him into *Asia* with two legions in the place of *Sylla* that was declared an enimie to be ruler of *Asia*, and make warre with *Mithridates*. *Flaccus* being unexpert in the warres, a man of the Senate, of good will, and beloued of the army, named *Fimbria*, wente with him. They saylyng from *Brundusc*, many of their shippes were lost by winters weather, and a nauie sent of *Mithridates*, burned their shippes, that went in espiall. All the army forsoke *Flaccus*, being a malitious, couetous, and cruell man, and part of them that were sente into *Thessaly*, turned to *Sylla*. The rest, *Fimbria* being thought of them a better Captayne, and of a more gentle nature than *Flaccus*, stayed from reuolting, and chancing that there was a cõtention for a lodging betweene him & a treasurer, and *Flaccus* leauing the matter vniudged, and somewhat touching the honor of *Fimbria*, he being disoeynefull, threatned to returne to *Rome*, and *Flaccus* appointed a successour to him for ỹ things that were to be done. Then *Fimbria* wayting him as he went to *Calcida*, first toke the maces from *Therme*, whom *Flaccus* had made officer against him as so receyuing the charge by the cõsent of the army, & following *Flaccus* with anger, til he droue him into an house, out of ỹ which escaping by night, he fledde first into *Calcide*, & then into *Nicomedia*, and shut the gates. But *Fimbria* came vpon him, and killed him, being crept into a pitte, being Consull of the *Romanes*, and generall of the warre, where he was but a priuate mã, and was come with him as his friend at his requeste. He cut of his head, and threwe it into the Sea, his carcasse he cast out vnburied: so making himselfe Generall, he foughte diuers fightes valiantly with *Mithridates* his sonne, and droue the K himselfe frõ *Pergame*, whither he followed him to *Pitane*, where he beseged him, till by shippe he fledde to *Mitylene*. *Fimbria* inuading *Asia*, punished ỹ faction of *Cappadocia*, and spoyled the lands of them that woulde not receyue him. The *Ilians* being beseged of him, fledde to *Sylla*, who promised thẽ to come, and willed thẽ to say to *Fimbria*, that they were yelded to him. When *Fimbria* heard this, he prayed them as frendes to the *Romanes*, and desired them to receyue him as a *Romane* also, iestingly shewing that the *Ilians*

Fimbria.

Fimbria killeth *Flaccus.*

A rare crueltie of a *Romane.*

Pitane a Citie of *Aeolide.*

Ilium, where Troy was.

the *Romanes* were of affinitie. Being entred, he killed all that he mette, and burned euery thing, and the Embaſſadors that were ſente to *Sylla*, he tormented diuers wayes, neyther ſparing holy things, nor them that were fledde into the Temple of *Minerua*, whome he burned in the Temple.

Crueltie of a *Romane*.

The next day he let downe the walles, and went about to ſee, if any thing ſtode in the Citie, which was worſe vſed by hym a man allied, than it was in *Agamemnons* time, no houſe, no temple, no image being left. The Image of *Minerua* which they called *Palladium*, ſent from heauen as they thinke, ſome ſuppoſe was vnbroken, being couered with the walles that fell, excepte *Diomedes* and *Vliſſes* carried it away at the warre of *Troy*. Thys did *Fimbria* againſt *Ilio*, the .CIIJ. Olimpiad the ending, which ſome thinke was a thouſand and fifty yeares after *Agamemnon*.

Troy worſe vſed of a *Romane*.

Palladium the Image of *Minerua* ſcate from Heauen.

When *Mithridates* heard of the loſſe at *Orchomeno*, conſidering the multitude he hadde ſente into *Grecia*, and the continuall and greate ouerthrowes, he ſent to *Archelous*, to make truce in as good manner as he could, and being come to the parley, ſayde to *Sylla*. *Mithridates* being an auntient friend to you (O *Sylla*) hath made warre for the couetouſneſſe of other Generalles. He is content to leaue warre for thy vertues ſake, by the which thou wilt commaund him that ſhall be iuſt. *Sylla* for wante of Ships and money, none being ſent him becauſe of his enimies that had iudged him a Rebell, hauing gathered money of the *Pythians*, *Olimpians*, and *Epidaureans*, and giuen them, by reaſon for their holy things, halfe the *Thebans* land that ſo oft rebelled, and hauing an army valiant and experte, to leade againſte the Rebellion of hys enimies, he was bent to peace, and ſayd:

Archelous to *Sylla*.

If *Mithridates* had bin iniured, he ſhould haue ſent Embaſſadours, but doyng iniurie, he hath inuaded many lands of other mens, he hathe ſlayne very many, the common and holy thyngs of Cities, and the proper goodes of them he hathe ſpoyled, beyng alike vnfaythfull to his friendes and to vs, of whome he hathe killed many, and ſlayne the Princes that were at a banquet with him in the night with their wiues and children, and hath ſhewed to be rather cruelltie of nature, than neceſſitie of warre, and

vſed

vsed the *Italians* in *Asia* with all kindes of euils, destroying and murthering men, women, children, and slaues that were of the nation of *Italy*, so great an hate had he against *Italy*. He alleadgeth now auntient amitie for a fashion, but not before he hathe lost a hundreth and threscore thousand men by me, he maketh any mention of it. Wherefore reason would, we should take him for vnfaithfull, yet for thy sake, I will vndertake to get him forgiuenesse of the *Romanes*, if he repente his doynges: but if he dissembleth now also, loke thou wel to it *Archelae*, and consider the present state, as well for thy selfe, as for him. Consider howe he hath vsed his friends, and how we haue vsed *Eumenes*, and *Massinissa*. Yee speaking thus, *Archelaus* disdeynefull brake his tale, as spoken to proue him, and sayde, that he woulde neuer betray the army that was committed to him, yet hope I for peace at thy hand, if thou makest reasonable cõditions. *Sylla* reasling a while, sayd, *Archelae*, if *Mithridates* doe deliuer vnto me all the Nauie which thou hast, and deliuer our Captaines, Embassadours, prisoners, fugitiues, and slaues fledde frõ vs, and let go the *Chians* beside forth, and all other that he hath made Captiues in *Pontus*, and take his garrisons from euery place, except those which he had before the breaking of peace, and defray the charges of the warre whereof he hathe bin the cause, and conteyne himselfe within the limits of his fathers dominions, I truste to persuade that the *Romanes* will no more remember what he hathe done. Thus he said. *Archelaus* by and by toke his garrisons from euery place, and of the rest sent to the king. *Sylla* to do somewhat in this vacation, spoyled the *Enetanes*, *Dardaneans*, and *Eiutians*, nations nigh the *Macedonians*, and alwayes maleshing *Macedonia*, he exercised his souldyoures, and gotte money likewise. Embassadoures were nowe come from *Mithridates*, who agreed to all things, hauing then excepted *Papplagonie*, saying that *Mithridates* might haue more, if he would make peace with the other generall *Fimbria*. *Sylla* was angry at that, and said, he would punishe *Fimbria* well ynough, and whē he was come into *Asia*, he would see whether *Mithridates* hadde more neede of warre than peace. When he had said thus, he went into *Cyssela* by *Thracia*, and sent

Talke of peace.

The people of Papplagonia.

Lucullus

Lucullus afore to Rhodes, whether he was now come, being in daunger of rouers many times. He brought a Nauie of Shyps from Cyprus and Phœnicia, frō Rhodes and Pamphilia, spoyling many coastes of the enimies, and skirmishing with the Kings Shyppes. Sylla from Cypselos, and Mithridates from Pergame, mette agayne to talke, and commyng both into the playne with a fewe. Mithridates recorded his, and his fathers amitie and confederacie, and accused the Romane Embassadoures and Lieutenantes, whiche hadde vsed him vniustly, setting Ariobarzanes into Cappadocia, and taking Phrygia from hym, and winking at Nicomedes, that dyd hym open iniurie. And all this they did (quoth he) for money, taken as well of me as of them. In this thyng (O Romanes) are you most to be blamed, becauſe you will be corrupt with money. The warre being broken by youre Generalles, what soeuer I haue done in defence, it hathe bin rather of necessitie, than of will. When Mithridates had sayde thus, he ceassed. Sylla thus aunswered. Although thy comming is for peace, and yet doest renue other matter, I will not refuse to speake briefely of it. When I was lieutenant of Cilicia, I sette Ariobarzanes into Cappadocia, by decree of the Romanes, and thou didest obey. Thou shouldest then haue spoken against it, and not wrangled afterwarde, or swarued from the order. Manius gaue thee Phrygia for money. The iniustice is indifferente to you both, and by this thou doest confesse, that thou gottest it vnlawfully, by giuing of money. Manius, both in this, and other things done for money, was reproued of vs, and the Senate dissolued all that he had done, by reason whereof, they wouldde not make Phrygia tributarie vnto them, beyng gyuen vniustly to thee, but lefte it free. Then by what reason doest thou vsurpe the things that we haue taken by warre, and wyll not yet haue thee to rule? Nicomedes accuseth thee and Alexander for woundyng hys bodye, sendyng Socrates Chrestus into his Kyngdome. He to reuenge this, inuaded thy Realme. If he dyd thee wrong, thou shouldest haue sente Embassadoures, and haue tarried for aunswere. If thou dyddest make spedy reuengeance on Nicomedes, why dyddest thou inuade Ariobarzanes that hadde

Talke of peace betwene Sylla and Mithridates.

Manius actes reproued.

done thée no wrong, for when thou hadst begunne with him, the *Romanes* were compelled by their couenantes to restore hym, and beeyng restored, to defend him. Thou madest warre, beeyng thus persuaded, and in hope, that if thou didst ouercome the *Romanes*, thou shouldest reigne ouer all, making these pretences of thy purpose, of the whyche we haue thys coniecture, that before there was any warre, thou madest league wyth the *Thracians*, *Scythians*, and *Sauromatians*, and sendest to the Kings thy neyboures. Thou madest Shippes, and gatheredst maisters and mates, and the time doth bewray thyne intente. For when thou hardest that *Italy* was reuolted frō vs, wayting for our trouble, thou didst inuade *Ariobarzanes*, *Nicomedes*, the *Galatians*, and *Paphlagonia*. Thou dydst inuade *Asia* our lande, and when thou hadst got it, what didst thou against the Cities, ouer which thou madest slaues and fellowes in debt, rulers, by giuing of libertie, and releasing of debte and agaynst the *Grecians*, of whom, for a small occasion, thou didst kill sixtéene hundreth: or the princes of *Galatia*, whome being at a feast with thée, thou didst murther: And the *Italian* nation, in one daye thou didst kill and drowne, with their wiues and childrē, not sparing them that were fledde into the holy places. Howe greate crueltie, how great impietie and extremitie of hate, didst thou shew agaynste vs, gathering euery mans money? Thou didst sayle into *Europe* with greate armyes, we forbiddyng all kyngs of *Asia*, to enter into *Europe*. When thou wert come, thou didst ouercome *Macedonia* ouer prouince. Thou tokest from the *Grecians* theyr freedome. Neyther didst thou repente thée, or make *Archelous* the meane for thée, tyll I hadde recouered *Macedonia*, and deliuered *Grecia* from thy violence, and slayne a hundreth and sixtie thousand of thyne army, and taken thy Campes with theyr munition. Therfore I maruell now thou doest withdrye thy selfe in thyse thynges, which thou desirest to be forgyuen by *Archelous*, whyche I being farre off, thou didst graunte, but being nigh, thou doest call into question whose tyme is past, thou making warre, and we resisting mightily, and will resist thée to the ende.

Sylla speaking this with anger, the King was afrayde, and graun-

graunted and confyrmed the conditions made by *Archelaus*, and deliuerynge the Shyppes, and all other things, he went into *Pontus* his fathers Kingdome onely. Thus the firſte warre betweene the *Romanes* and *Mithridates* ceaſſed.

Sylla encamping two furlongs from *Fimbria*, commaunded hym to deliuer the army whiche he helde agaynſt the lawes. He taunted him again, that he did not rule lawfully, and being beſeged of *Sylla*, and many openly forſaking him, he called the reſt to a counſell, and exhorted them to tarrie: and when they ſayde they woulde not fyght with their Countreymen, he tore his garmente, and beſoughte them: and when they refuſed that alſo, and many ſtill went from him, he went to the tentes of the Captaines, and winning ſome with money, he called them agayne to a counſell, and commaunded them to ſweare: and when the *Ænitans* cryed, that he muſt call them to ſweare by name, he called them that had bin benefited by hym, and firſt *Nonius*, that was priuie to all his doings. But when he refuſed to ſweare, he drewe hys ſworde, and threatned to kill hym, tyll a crye was made of all, and then he ceaſſed for feare, and hyred a ſlaue, for hope of libertie and money, to goe as a fugitiue and kyll *Sylla*. He beyng about the thyng, and troubled, beyng thereby ſuſpected, was taken, and confeſſed it. And *Sylla*s army with rage and diſdeyne, ſtanding aboute *Fimbria*s hys trenche, dyd reuile hym, and call him *Athenion*a, who a fewe dayes was a King ouer the ſeruantes in *Sicelie* that rebelled. By the which *Fimbria* deſpayring of all, came to the wall, and deſyred to ſpeake wyth *Sylla*. He ſente *Rutilius* in his place, that chiefly greeued *Fimbria*, that he would not ſpeake with him, which is not denyed to enimies, and deſired pardon, if he hadde offended, being yet a yong man. *Rutilius* ſayd, *Sylla* would let him goe quietly to the Sea, if he would giue place in *Aſia*, in the which *Sylla* was Lieutenant. He ſayde, he would find a better way, and went to *Pergamus*, and in the Temple of *Aeſculapius* kylled hymſelfe, and the wounde not beyng ſufficiente, he badde hys Page diſpatche, who kylled hys Maiſter firſte, and then himſelfe.

VVarre betweene *Fimbria* and *Sylla*.

Fimbria is forſaken.

Nonius refuſeth to ſweare.

Athenion.

Sylla will not ſpeake with *Fimbria*.

Fimbria killeth himſelfe.

Thus ended *Fimbrias*, doing muche mischiefe in *Asia* after *Mithridates*, whome *Sylla* gaue to his freemade mē to bury, saying, he woulde not follow *Cinna* and *Marius* in *Rome*, who killed many men, and woulde not suffer them to be buried, receyuing *Fimbrias* armye that came vnto hym, and sette them with hys owne, and commaunded *Curio* to restore *Nicomedes* and *Ariobarzanes* into *Cappadocia*, and wrote to the Senate of all thynges, not fearyng he was declared a Rebell. Then setling his prouince, he recompenced the *Ilians*, the *Chians*, the *Lycians*, the *Rhodians*, and the *Magnesians*, and others that were confederates, or that for their good will, had suffered, for the whiche cause he dismissed them free, and registred them friendes of the *Romanes*. To the rest, he sent his army, and proclaymed that all seruantes that hadde freedome by *Mithridates*, shoulde be restored to theyr maisters. Whereof manye disobeying, and some Cities rebelling, there followed great slaughters, of free, and bond, for diuers occasions, the walles of manye were pulled downe, and made seruile people very many. They that were of the *Cappadocians* faction, both men & Cities were sharply punished, and chiefly the *Ephesians*, which did impudently reuile the *Romanes* cōmandements. After this, was there a proclamation made, that the chiefe of euery Citie should come before *Sylla* at *Ephesus*, who being come into the common hall, he thus sayd vnto them.

Hi body is giuen to be buryed otherwyse than Marius vsed at Rome.

The rewardes of the faithfull people.

The punishment of the reuolting people.

Sylla to the Ephesians.

Halys floud running out of Taurus.

"We first came into *Asia* with our army, when *Antiochus* king "of *Syria* did ouerrunne you, and driuing him away, and making "*Aly* and *Taurus* the limits of his Kingdome, we toke not from "you that was made ours by him, but lefte it free, excepte some, "which we gaue to *Eumenes*, and the *Rhodes* our confederates, not "to be tributaries, but tenants. In proofe whereof, we toke the *Lycians* from the *Rhodians*, making their complaynt. Thus did we "for you. And you did help *Aristonicus* four yeares against vs, after *Attalus Philometer* had left his kingdome to vs by testament, "till *Aristonicus* was taken, and many of you came againe for ne"cessitie and feare. Thus doyng, and in foure and twenty yeares "comming to great riches and substance as well publike as pri"uate, thorough peace and abundance, you wrangle againe,

and

and wasting our trouble in Italy, some of you brought in Mithridates, and some receyued them when he came. He the moste cruell of all men, in one day killed all the Italians with the children and mothers. And you did not spare them that fledde into the temples to your Goddes: For the whiche some punishment you haue had by Mithridates, beyng vnfaythfull to you, and slying you with murders and banishments, makyng diuisions of your landes, and releasing of debtes, and liberte of slaues: and to some putting tyrannes, and cauling many robberies both by sea and land, that by your experience you may know, by comparison, what gouernour you haue receyued, & what relieued. The beginners of these things haue bene partly punished by vs, but the payne must be publique to you that haue done the iphe, that it may be correspondent to that you haue done. But the Romanes will not vse wicked murders, or sudden confications, or rifflings of seruants, or other barbarous things which the minde abhorreth. Regarde shalbe had to the nation and name of Greece, and to the glorie of Asia, & to the frendes of the Romanes for honours sake. We put vpon you the tribute of fiue yeares onely to be brought presently, and the expences of the warre which I haue bestowed. For the rest I will take order, and make the diuision accordyng to the Cities, & I declare frendship to them that shall kepe these orders, and to them that will not, I appoynt punishment, as to enimies.

When Sylla had sayde this, he diuided the payne to the Embassadours and sente them for mony. The Cities beyng poore & oppressed with debte, some did let to Ferme their Theatres to creditours, some their common houses, their wals and portes, and any other thing that was publique, not without despite of the Souldiours that gathered it. This money was brought to Sylla, and Asia had inough of vsure: for it was full of manifest robberies, rather like to armies than to pirates. For Mithridates not long before had set the in the sea, when he wasted all things, as not long to kepe it, then beyng moste abounde, not onely troubling men on the sea, but spoyling portes, townes and cities euidently. Issus, Samos, Clazomene, and Samothracia, Sylla being

Inconueniences in Asia. Issus, an Ile of Cane.

there, were taken, and the Temple of *Samothracia*, was robbed of the value of a thousand Talents. He eyther willingly, or leauing to punishe the offendoures: or bycause of the sedition at *Rome*, wente into *Grecia*, and from thence to *Italy*, with all his army, & what he did, we haue writtē in ỳ bookes of Ciuil dissentiō.

The seconde warre vvith Mithridates. Colchus is next Pontus.

The second warre with *Mithridates* begaune of this occasion: *Murena* being lefte of *Sylla* with two legions that were *Fimbrias*, shewed certayne formes of warre for desire of Triumph. *Mithridates* being gone to *Pontus*, made warre vpon the *Colchians* and *Bosphorias*. The *Colchians* desired his sonne *Mithridates* might be giuen them for king, whome when they had receyued, they oppressed forthwith. But the king hauing his sonne in suspitiō, that he coueted the whole kingdome, sent for him, and held him with cheynes of gold, & after killed him, when he had done him muche good seruice in *Asia* against *Fimbria*. Against the *Bosphorians* he gathered a gret army, and made a great nauie. The mightinesse of the whiche preparation, raysed an opinion, that it was not against the *Bosphorians*, but against the *Romanes*, for he had not restored all *Cappadocia* to *Ariobarzanes*, but kepte parte of it styll, and had *Archelaus* in suspition, that he granted more in *Grecia*, than he néeded to *Sylla*, in making the peace: the which *Archelaus* perceyuing, and fearing, fledde to *Murena*, whome he incensed, and persuaded againste *Mithridates*. *Murena* by and by entered through *Cappadocia*, to *Comana*, the greatest Citie vnder *Mithridates*, hauing an holy temple and treasure, and killed certaine horsemē of *Mithridates*: and when the Embassadors alleaged ỳ leage, he answered he had none such, for *Sylla* did not wright it, but confirmed it by word, and so left it. Whē *Murena* had sayd thys, he fell to spoyle by and by, not refrayning from the holy money, & wintered in *Cappadocia*. *Mithridates* sent to *Rome* to the Senate, & to *Sylla*, to cōplayne of *Murenas* doings, who in ỳ time passed the flood *Aly* that was great, and thē very deepe, bicause of ỳ raine, and spoiled 400. of *Mithridates* townes, the king not yet meeting with him, but lokyng for his Embassadors from *Rome*. Hauing got a great botte, he went into *Phrigia* & *Cappadocia*, whither *Calidius* came to him from *Rome*, touching *Mithridates* complaynes,

Archelaus fleeth frō *Mithridates*.
Comana, a Citie dedicate to *Bellona*.
Murena cauilleth.

Calidius commeth from *Rome* with counterfet commaundement.

but

but brought him no decree, onely layde vnto him in the midst of the hearers, that ỹ Senate cõmanded him to spare the king their confederate. When he hadde said thus, he was sene to speake to him alone. And *Murenas* ceassed not of his inuasion, but still molested ỹ land of the king, who euidently perceyuing that he was vsed as an enimie of the *Romanes*, he bad *Gordius* to take the nigh townes. He gathered many beastes of cariage & munition, & priuate men and souldyours, and camped at the flood ouer against *Murena*. Neither of them began ỹ fight, til *Mithridates* came with a great army, then was there a mighty fight at the flood. *Mithridates* by violence passed the flood, being otherwise ful good for *Murena*, who fled the kings force into a strong hill, and hauyng lost many, departed by the mountaynes without anye way into *Phrigia*, being followed & oppressed. This victory being euident & quickly gotten, was sone spred abroade, and turned many to *Mithridates*. He putting out *Murenas* garrisons of euery place wt great spæde, did make his sacrifice to *Iupiter* ỹ warriour, after ỹ maner of his coũtrey, in ỹ top of an hil, wher they make a great pile of wood, to ỹ which the kings bring the first stick. Then they make another selle in a circle. Vpon the higher, they put hony, milke, & wine, & oyle, & all kind of perfumes, they giue bread and meate of the best to them that be present. And they make ỹ pile after ỹ fashiõ of the *Persian* kings sacrifice in *Rarsardis*, the which for the greatnes, is euidently sene to many a thousand furlongs off, and ỹ one cã not come nigh the place many days after, ỹ aire is so hote. This sacrifice did he make, after the outcome of hys countrey. *Sylla* not cõtent ỹ *Mithridates* being in league, should haue war made vpõ him, sent *Aulus Gabinius*, to cõmand *Murena* not to molest *Mithridates*, and that he should agree *Mithridates*, & *Ariobarzanes*. *Mithridates* at ỹ meeting, making sure a loue of *Ariobarzanes* of xiij. yeares of age, and by ỹ meane holding still that he had in *Cappadocia*, & getting more, exalted all, & put gold in ỹ cup, and ỹ meate for the seruers & singers, & at other, as his vse was, of ỹ which only *Gabinius* touched none. Thus ỹ second war of *Mithridates* did end at ỹ third yeare. Being now at quiet, he subdued *Sophenus*, & apointed the his son *Machares* for their king.

Murenas seeth.

The manner of the sacrifice of the kings in Asia made by *Mithridates* for the victory.

Gabinius refuseth *Mithridates* gold.

He

He inuaded the *Achæans* that be aboue *Calchas*, (which seme to be of them that fledde from *Troy*, and lost theyr way) and losing two partes of hys armie with sighte and colde, and deceiptes, he returned, and sente to *Rome* to haue the league ratified. *Ariobarzanes* sente also, eyther of hymselfe, or stirred of others, that hée had not receyued *Cappadocia*, but that *Mithridates* kepte yt the better parte from hym. *Sylla* commaunded *Mithridates* to gyue place in *Cappadocia*, and hée did so, and sente other Embassadours for to haue the conditions of peace registred, but *Sylla* being dead, and the Senate not to be assembled, bycause of the vacation, he sent to *Tigranes* his sonne in law, to inuade *Cappadocia* as of himselfe. This cautele was not vnknowen to the *Romanes*. The *Armenian* compassing *Cappadocia* as with a nette, ledde away thrée hundreth thousande men into *Armenia*, and made them dwell with other at a place, where he first toke the Crowne of *Armenia*, and of hys name called it *Tigranocertes*, whiche is, the Citie of *Tigranes*. And these were the doynges in *Asia*.

Cochleus, came from *Troy*.

Tigranes by persuasiō of *Mithridates* inuadeth *Cappadocia*.

Sertorius a Captayne in *Spayne*, dyd stirre it, and all the places about it, against the *Romanes*, and made a Senate of them that were with him, for to counterfeyte the *Romanes*. Two of his faction, *Lucius Manius*, and *L. Fanius*, persuaded *Mithridates* to ioyne with *Sertorius*, putting him in hope of a greate parte of *Asia*, and the nations about him. He being persuaded, sent to *Sertorius*. He ledde the Embassadoures into his Senate, and made a glorious tale, that his renoume spredde as farre as *Pontus*, and that he besieged the *Romanes* from the West to the East. He couenanted to giue *Mithridates Asia*, and *Bithinia*, *Paphlagonia*, and *Cappadocia*, and *Gallogrecia*, & sent him a Captayne *Marcius Varius*, and *Lucius Manius*, and *L. Fanius*, that were of that counsel. With these dyd *Mithridates* begin the third and last war with the *Romanes*, in the which he lost al his kingdome. *Sertorius* being dead in *Spayne*, and Generals, sent from *Rome*, first *Lucullus* that was admiral of *Sylla* Nauie, then *Pompey*, vnder whome, all that *Mithridates* had, and all that was nigh it, to the flood *Euphrates*, by the pretence & violence of the war against *Mithridates*, did fall to the *Romans*.

Mithridates sendeth to *Sertorius*.

The thirde warre with Mithridates.

Mithri-

Mithridates hauing proued so oft what the Romanes were, and thinking that this war, made without cause, and of the soldiars, would not be appeased, made al the preparation that hee coulde, as now to try the whole, and the rest of the somer, & al ỹ winter, he made shippes and armoure, he brought to the sea, xj. C. M. Medimnes of grayne, and got confederates, beside hys former power, the *Chalibyans*, the *Armenians*, the *Scythians*, the *Taurians*, *Achaians*, *Heniochians*, *Leucosyrians*, and all that inhabite about the floud *Thermodon*, that was called the land of the *Amazones*.

Medimnus was a measure that contayned sixe *Modij*, & *Modius* contayned syxe *Sextares*, vvhych is commonlye called a Bushell.

Calybes people in *Ponte* that dig yron naked.

Heniochi, people of *Ponte* liuing by theft.

Thermodon.

These had he gotte in *Asia*, to them he had before, and going into *Europe*, the *Sarmatians*, *Basileans*, *Iazygeans*, and *Coralleans*, and al the nations of the *Thracians*, that inhabite aboute *Hister*, *Rodope*, and *Aemes*, and the *Basternans*, a most valiaunt people.

These hadde *Mithridates* in *Europa*, he hadde gathered an hundreth and fortie thousande fotemen, and sixténe thousande horsemen, another great number of venturers, pioners, & victualers.

When the Spring was come, he viewed his nauy, and sacrifised to *Iupiter* warriour, the vsuall sacrifice, and to *Neptunus*, he did caste into the sea a Chariot of white horses, and wente to *Paphlagonia*, *Taxilus*, and *Eumocrates*, being his Generalls. When he was come, he made a solempne oration to the armye, setting forth his progenitors and himselfe verye highly, that he had enlarged his kingdome from little to great, and was neuer ouercome of the Romanes, being presente, whome he accused for their ambition and vnsatiablenesse, by the whiche, (saide he) they haue made *Italy* and their Countrey scrude. He repeated the last conditions, whiche they woulde not subscribe. Seekyng tyme to inuade him againe, and making this the cause of the warre, hee extolled his power and prouisiõ, and shewed the Romanes troubles, being molested in *Spayne* by *Sertorius*, and at home in *Italie*, by ciuil warre. Therefore (saide he) thorough their negligence, the Sea hathe long tyme béene full of Pyrates. Confederates haue they none, nor willingly anye will be vnder them. Do you not see these noble men, (sayde hee) shewing *Varius* and the *Lucullus*, to be enimies to their Country, and friends to vs?

Mithridates to his souldiours.

When he had said thus and stirred his armye, hee wente into

Nicomedes leaueth his kingdome to the Romanes. Cotta fleeth.

Bythinia, Nicomedes beyng dead, without a chylde, and leauyng his kingdome to the Romanes. And Cotta that was prelidēt there, a man of litle skill in warre, fledde to Calchida with his power, and Bithynia was agayne vnder Mithridates, all the Romanes flee-

Nudus commeth to Chalcide vvhere the port coloyfe is lette dovvne, & many Romanes slayne.

ing to Cotta into Calchide. And Mithridates comming thither, Cotta for larke of experience came not forth. Nudus his admirall, with part of the army, toke the stronger parte of the fielde, from the whiche beyng driuen, hee fled to the gates of Chalcide, by many hedges, with great paine. At the gate there was great thrust of them that would get in, so as no darte was caste in vayne, of them that folowed. Wherefore the keepers beyng afrayde of the gates, they let the barres fall from the tower, and toke vp Nudus and other Capitaynes by ropes. The other did perishe betweene their frendes and their enimies, holdyng vp their hāds to the other. Mithridates vsing the course of good fortune, brought his shippes that day to the porte, and breakyng the barre that was of yron, he burned foure of the enimies shippes, and toke the other three score, neyther Cotta nor Nudus resistyng, keepyng themselues within the walles. Three thousand were slayne of the Romanes, & Lucius Manlius a Senatour. Mithridates lofte twentie of the Bastiernians, that first wente into the porte.

Lucullus is generall.

L. Lucullus, beyng Consull and chosen generall of this warre, brought one legion from Rome, and had two of Fimbrias, and beside them, two more, hauing in all thirtie thousand fotemen, and sixtene hundred horsemen, and encamped agaynst Mithridates at Cyzico. And vnderstandyng by the fugitiues, that the king had three thousande men, and his victuals brought by the forragers, and from the sea, he sayde to them that were aboute him, that he would take his enimies without any payne, and bad them remember it. He espied an hill very fitte for his campe, from the which he might get forage, and keepe it from his enimie. He entended to get it, as by it to winne victorie without daunger. Beyng but one way very straight to it, Mithridates kepte it with strength. For so did Taxiles & the other Capitaynes aduise him. Lucius Manius that came frō Sertorius, and made league with Mithridates, Sertorius beyng now dead, reuolted secretly to Lutullus, & sayth

Lucullus espieth his aduauntage.

layth beyng receyued, he perſwaded *Mithridates*, to lette the *Romanes* go and campe where they would, for the two legions that were *Fimbrias*, would ſtraight reuolt and come to the kyng: then what neede he vſe force and ſlaughter when he might ouercome without fight? *Mithridates* conſenting to this very vnwiſely and vncircumſpectly, ſuffered the *Romanes* to paſſe the ſtreight without feare, and to encampe at the hyll, by hauyng of the whiche, they might haue victuals behinde them brought without feare, and *Mithridates* beyng ſhut with fennes, hilles and floudes, could haue none by lande, but very litle, neyther hauyng way to do it eaſily, nor by force to compell *Lucullus* for the hardeneſſe of the paſſage, whiche when he had in his power, hée neglected, & winter beyng at hande, the commyng of it by Sea would faple. Which when *Lucullus* perceyued, hée put his frendes in remembraunce of his promiſe, and that hée ſpake, to bée as it were performed. *Mithridates* might then peraduenture haue paſſed thorough the middes of hys enimies with hys multitude, but hée lette that paſſe alſo, and gaue himſelfe onely to the gettyng of *Cyzico*, thynkyng by that, to remedy bothe the wante and harde way, and hauyng plentie of Souldiours, wente aboute it by all meanes poſſible. His naule hée encloſed with a double wall, and entrenched the reſt of the Citie, and ſet vp many rampiers and engines vpon them, and towers, and rammes couered, and one called *Helepolis*, of an hundred cubites, vpon the which an other tower was ſet, caſting arrowes, and ſtones, & diuerſe weapons. At the portes two Gallies ioyned togither, bare an other tower, from the which, bridges were caſte from the engine nigh the wall. When all this was ready, hée ſente three prſoners to *Cyzicus* in ſhippes to the citie, holding vp their hands, and prayeng them to ſpare the people that were in daunger, till *Liſſtratus* their Capitayne, came to the walles, and by a trumpette exhorted them to beare patiently their miſchaunce. When *Mithridates* was deceyued of this purpoſe, hée brought the engine by ſhippes, which threwe ſodenly bridges vpon the wall, and foure men ranne vpon them, at the whiche the *Cyzians* amaſed, for the ſtraungers gane place, but no more commyng forth, they toke

Mithridates abuſed.

Errours of Mithridates.

Cyzico, an Iſland and citie in Propontide of great renowme.

Helepolis, is an engine to beate the wall.

Liſſtratus.

courage againe, and killed those foure without, and threwe fire and pitch vpon the shippes, and made them tourne with they engine. This at this enterprise of the sea the *Cyzians* had the better. That day the third time, he brought al his engines by lande at once, they within laboured and putting them backe for all their violence. The rammes they bet with stones, or put them by with collars, and brake their dint with pelles of woll. The fierie dartes, they quenched with vineger and water, and other with clothes cast against them, or with sayles wrapped togither stopped the throwe. They lefte nothing vndone, that menne might doe: and although they suffered all labour, and resisted the euill, yet at night parte of the wall was burned and fell: but no manne durste enter for the heate, and the *Cyzianes* made it vp again in the night. And not long after, a great storme of wind did breake the reste of the kings engines. It is reade that this Cittie was in dowrie, of *Iupiter* to *Proserpine*, and the *Cyziens* honour hir most of all gods. When their feast day came, that they should sacrifice a blacke cowe, they not having one, made one of paaste, when as a blacke cowe came to them by sea, whyche going vnder the barre of the hauen, ranne into the Cittie, & came to the temple and stode at the aulter. The whiche the *Cyzians* sacrificed with good hope. *Mithridates* friendes counselled him to go from the Cittie being holy, but he would not. He went to *Dindymus* an high hill, and made a trench from it to the Cittie, and set it with towers, and with mines digged the wall. He sente hys horses, leane for lacke of meate, and lame for labour, into *Bythinia*. *Lucullus* mette with them as they wente to *Rindacus*, and killed and toke many prisoners, of men fifténe M. of horses sixe thousand, and many beasts of burden.

The vallantnes of the Cyzians.

A sacrifice to Proserpina.

Eumachus killeth the *Romanes* *Isauri*, a people *Asia* the lesse.

At this time, *Eumachus* a Captaine of *Mithridates* ranne ouer *Phrygia*, and slewe the *Romanes* both women and children: then he inuaded *Pisidas* and *Isauros* and *Ciliciá*, till one of the Princes of *Galatia*, *Deiotarus*, stopped his course and killed manye. And this was done in *Phrygia*. Winter being come, *Mithridates* was without his victual that was wont to come by Sea. Wherefore all hys armye was sampyshed and many dyed.

Some

some eate dead men barbarously. Other eate hearbes, and were sicke, and casting the dead bodyes vnburyed, brought pestilence with hunger. But *Mithridates* continued, hoping to get the Citie with the engines that he had at *Dindymus*: but when the *Cyzicens* defeated his purpose, and burned his engines, and made many salyes vpon their enimies, being feeble for hunger, *Mithridates* intended to flée, which he did in the night with his shippes to *Pario*, and his armye wente by land to *Lampsaco*. When they came to the floud *Aesepus*, whiche was growen high, *Lucullus* set vpō them as they were passing, and killed many. Thus the *Cyzicens* did escape the greate preparation of the King, both by their owne manhode, and by the helpe of *Lucullus* that oppressed him with famine, for the whiche cause they make playes at this day, whiche they call *Lucullus* playes. *Mithridates* conueyed away his army that was come to *Lampsacō*, and besēged of *Lucullus*, and the *Lampsatians* also with shippes that he sente them. And he committed teme thousande of the best to be guided of *Varius*, that was sente to him from *Sertorius*, and *Alexander* a *Paphlagonian*, and *Dionisio* an Eunuch: he with more, sayled to *Nicomedia*, and winter weather destroyed many of them.

Dindymus the hill of *Idea*.

Aesepus a flood in the lesse *Asia* flowing from the hill *Ida*.

Lucullus playes.

Whē *Lucullus* had wrought this feate by lād through famine, he gathered shippes out of *Asia*, & betoke them to Lieutenants. *Triarius* toke *Apamea*, and killed many that were fledde into the Temples.

Apamea in the coast of *Bythinia*.

Barbas toke *Prusiade*, builded vnder an hill, and *Nicea*, the garrisons of *Mithridates* fleeing.

Prusias called before *Chius*.

Lucullus toke of the enimies shippes thirténe, at the portes of *Achaia*. He ouertoke *Varius*, *Alexander*, and *Dionisius*, at *Lemnus* a desert Ile, where the alter of *Philoctetes* and the serpent of brasse, the bowe and the brestplate, tyed about with bendes, is séene, as a shewe of his calamitie. He sayled vpon them with great hast and contempte. They remayning still, he sente forth two Shyppes at once, and stayd the rest, to prouoke them to come out, but they not comming out, but defendyng themselues from the land, he sayled about the Ile with other Shippes, and let fotemen a lande, whiche made them to take their Shyppes.

Lemnus now *Stalimene*.

The monument of *Philoctetes*.

Lucullus ouercometh three Captaynes of *Mithridates*.

But they woulde not come aſhore, fearyng *Lucullus* army, but ſayling by the lande, & being folowed both by lande and ſea, they were hurte, and great ſlaughter and ſlighte was among them. *Varius*, *Alexander* and *Dionyſius* the *Eunuche* were taken hidde in a caue, of the whiche *Dionyſius*, hauyng dronke poyſon, as it is thought, died by and by. *Lucullus* cõmaunded *Varius* to be killed, for it was not ſeemely to bring a *Romane* Senatour in triumph. *Alexander* was kepte for the pompe. And *Lucullus* wrote of his victorie, letters wrapped in Laurell to the *Romanes*, as the maner is in victories. And he wente to *Bythinia*.

Letters in Laurell.

Mithridates hath loſſe by ſea, and is ſaued in a rouers barke.

As *Mithridates* ſayled into *Pontus*, he had two tempeſtes and loſt about ten thouſande men, & threſcore ſhippes, the reſt were ſcattered as the winds droue them, his owne ſhippe falling in a leake, he went into a rouers barke, his frends being againſt it, and going with the rouers they ſet him ſafe at *Sinope*, frõ whence he went to *Amiſo* to trie all, and to his ſonne in law *Tigranes* the *Armenian*, and to *Machares* his ſonne reygning in *Boſphoro*, he ſente, that bothe ſhoulde prouide helpe. And to the *Scythiãs* that were confines, hée ſente golde, and many giftes by *Diocles*: but he ſtedde to *Lucullus* with hys golde and his giftes.

In *Sinope* vvas an vniuerſitie.

Diocles, fleeth to *Lucullus*.

Lucullus goyng forwarde boldely after the victorie, ouercame euery thyng as he wente, and winnyng a wealthy countrey that had bene long without warre, a ſlaue was ſolde for foure drammes: an Oxe for one: Goates, ſhéepe and garments, and al other things after the like value. *Lucullus* beſieged *Amiſon* and *Eupatoria*, whiche *Mithridates* buylded nert *Amiſo*, and named *Eupatoria* of himſelf, and made it a kings palace, and with an other army, beſieged *Themiſcyra*, that had the name of one of the *Amazones* at the ſtoudde *Thermadonta*. They lying at *Themiſcyra*, ſette vp towers and made trenches, and wrought ſo great mines, that there was fightyng vnder the grounde. The *Themiſcyrians* opened them aboue, and threw in Beares and other wilde beaſtes, & ſwarmes of Bées vpon the workemen. They at *Amiſius* went an other way to worke, the *Amiſians* defendyng themſelues, and many tymes iſſuyng out, and prouokyng alſo to fight hande to hande. *Mithridates* ſent them much victual, armure and munition from

A dramme vvas a *Romane* penny.

Eupatoria.

Themiſcyra a region of *Pontus*.

Cabiris,

Cabeiris, where he wintered and gathered his army. He had of fotemen fortie thousande, and of horsemen foure thousand. *Cabeira* a towne of higher *Asia*.

When the Spring was come, *Lucullus* wente against the king by the mountaynes, whyche he hadde garded to keepe off *Lucullus*, and to make contynuall fires if any happe should be. A man of the Kings blood named *Phœnix*, was chiefe of this gard, who when *Lucullus* approched, made fires to *Mithridates*, but yelded himselfe and all his power to *Lucullus*, so as he without stoppe, went to *Cabeira*, and hauing a fighte of horsemen with the Kyng, and being ouercome, he retired to the hilles, and when *Pompeyus*, the Captayne of his horsemen was taken, and brought to *Mithridates* wounded, he asked him what thanke he woulde giue him if he were saued. He answered, if thou art a friend to *Lucullus*, I will give thee very great thanke, if thou beest his enimie, I will not deliber of it. Thus aunswered *Pompeyus*, and the *Barbarians* woulde haue had the King to haue killed him. The King sayd, he would not hurte vertue that was destitute of Fortune. Preparing continually to fight, and *Lucullus* refusing it, he sought a way to come vpon him on the hill. There was a certaine *Scythian*, named *Olcabas*, that hadde bin a long fugitiue with *Lucullus*, and bycause he hadde saued many at the fight of horsemen, hee was admitted to *Lucullus* table, and priuie to his counsell and secretes. He came to his tent at midde day when he was at rest, and would haue gone in by force (being girded only with a short sworde after the manner) and being angry that he was kepte backe, saying he hadde an earnest thing to tell him, and therefore woulde haue them awake him, they aunswering, that there was nothing so good for *Lucullus* as his health, he toke hys horse by and by, and fledde to *Mithridates*, eyther meaning euill, and suspected for hys doyng, or for anger, compting himselfe dishonored. And he accused another *Scythian* called *Sobadacus*, that he woulde flee to *Lucullus*: therefore *Sobadacus* was taken. Whereas *Lucullus* woulde not goe into the playne, bycause the enimies horsemen were the better, and could see none other way, he found in a caue an Hunter of wilde beastes, that was expert in vnknowen wayes, by whome he passed by secret wayes, and came vpō the

Lucullus is ouercome in one fight of horsemen.

Pompey the generall of horse, brought before the King, aunswered boldly. A princely saying of the king.

Octauius fleeth from *Lucullus*.

Nothing so good as health of a ruler.

the head of *Mithridates*, and came downe, auoyding the fieldes, for the horsemen encamped at a flash of water, at the enimyes face. Wanting victuals, he sente into *Cappadocia* for corne, and skirmished with the enimies, and made them to flée, till the king came out of his Camp in hast, and amazed them, and made them to turne, and so afrayd the *Romanes*, as they fledde vp to the mountaynes, and did not perceyue when the enimies ceassed, but thoughte them that fledde with them, their enimies, as well as they that chaced them, so greatly were they made afrayde. *Mithridates* sent letters euery where of this victory. A great part of his horsemen, and they of the best, lay in awaite for them that brought victuall to *Lucullus* from *Cappadocia*, hoping to bring the to famine, as they themselues were at *Cyzico*. And it was a great argument so to be, bycause *Lucullus* had only from *Cappadocia*, frō the which, he might be shutte. The Kings horsemen méeting with the first of the forragers in a streight place, and would not tarrie, till they came to an open place, they made their horses in that streight vnprofitable vnto them. The *Romanes* therefore being quickly in order by the helpe of the place, came forthe to the fighte, and killed the kings men, being holpen by the streyghte way, as foremen, they droue some vpon their fellowes, and some they made flée by heapes, and slong them downe. A few escaping by night, ranne to the Camp, and affirmed that they onely were saued, and as the nature is, made the losse greater than it was. *Mithridates* before *Lucullus* shoulde knowe of this losse, and thinking that *Lucullus* for lacke of horsemen woulde by and by haue sette vpon him, determined to flée for feare, and told his friends in his tent. They before warning was giuen, sente away their geare haskily by night, and their cariage made a great thrusting togither at the gates. The whiche the armye perceyuing, knowing them that caried, and coniecturing worse for feare, and being greeued that no token was giuen, they brake vp their trenche, and fledde aboute the fielde confusedly, euery man as well as he coulde without Captaynes, or staying for warning.

The *Romanes* in a great feare flee.

Mithridates wrighteth of his victory.

A fight of the *Romane* forragers, and the Kings horsemen in a streight.

The Kings feare.

The Kings armye fleeth.

When *Mithridates* hearde of these hasty and disorderly doings, he ranne from his tent among them, and would haue staid some

somewhat to them, but no man giuing eare to hym, and beyng thruste of the people, he had a fall, and getting to his horse, hee fledde to the mountaines.

Mithridates is thrust downe & slyeth.

Lucullus vnderstãding of the scate of ỳ forragers, and seeing the flight of his enimies, sent many horsmen to follow them, & bringing his footemen to the carters, and the reste that were in the campe, he commaunded them not to spoile, before they had kylled al. But they seeyng the vessels of gold and siluer, and costly garments, forgot the commaundement, and where they had taken *Mithridates*, and chaunced to cut the burden that one of the Mules bare, and the golde falling out, they were so busy about it, that they let the King go, who fledde to *Comana*, and from thence to *Tigranes*, with tenne thousande horse. He woulde not see hym, but commaunded to vse him like a King in hys Townes. Wherefore *Mithridates* being in desperation of his kingdome, sente *Bacchus* an Eunuch to his Palace, to kil his sisters and his wiues, and his concubines. They wer dispatched some with the sword, some with poyson, some with halters pitifully. When the captaines of *Mithridates* garnisons sawe this, the moste parte yelded to *Lucullus*. He setting things in order, sayled aboute the cities of *Pontus*, and toke *Armast*, *Heraclea*, and other, *Sinope* helde out lustily, and by sea fought valiantly. But whiles they were besieged, they burned their great ships, and fled with their smal. *Lucullus* lefte the citye free againe, by reason of a dreame, whych was this. They say *Antolycus* bidde make warre with *Hercules* againste the *Amazones*, and being driuen by tempest to *Sinope*, he toke the Cittie, and ruled there, and the *Sinopeans* had hys Image in greate veneration. The whiche when they fledde, they wapped it in linnen, and bound it fast, to cary with them.

The souldiours alwayes gyuen to spoyle.

Mithridates fleeth to *Tigranes*, who woulde not see hym.

The king sẽdeth to kil his sisters, wiues & daughters.

A dreame of *Lucullus* saueth the Citie of *Sinope*. *Antolycus* was one that lined by theft.

Lucullus knowing nothing of this, nor hauing hearde of it, hee thought he sawe hym call him, and the nexte daye, commaunding them that carried that Image, to shewe what it was, hee saide it was the same that he did see in the night. This was his dreame, and he caused *Sinope* to bee still inhabited, and *Amysus* also, oute of the whyche they fledde by sea. For vnderstanding that it was inhabited of the *Athenienses*, when they were Lords

Sinope restored to libertie.

of the sea, and made a populare state of it, it sometime obeyed the *Persian* Kings. And being restored to their libertie by *Alexander*, were subiects againe to the Kings of *Pontus*: and he taking pitie of them, and desirous of honour, after the example of *Alexander*, and the *Athenienses* nation, hée lefte it in libertie, and wyth all spéede reuoked the *Sinopeans* to their owne Cittie.

When he had thus restored them after their taking, he made league with *Machare*, *Mithridates* sonne, king of *Bosphorus*, offring him a crowne of golde.

When he sought *Mithridates* that was with *Tigranes*, and being come into *Asia*, whyche dydde owe the fourthe parte of the fruits that *Sylla* putte vppon them for a payne, hée toke a taxe of their houses and seruauntes, and made the sacrifices of victorye, as thoughe the warre hadde beene fynished.

Lucullus vvyth a small armye against a greate King.

When the sacrifice was ended, he marched with two choise legions, and fiue hundred horse, against *Tigranes* that would not deliuer *Mithridates*. And passing *Euphrates*, requyring onlye money of the Barbarians, he wente on. The men made no warre vpon him, as they that thought not good to intermedle betweene *Tigranes* and *Lucullus*.

Telling of truth euill reuvarded.

No man durste tell *Tigranes*, that *Lucullus* was commyng: for he that tolde it fyrste was hanged, as one that troubled hys Cities.

But when he hearde it, he sente *Mithrobarzanes* wyth two thousande horse, to stoppe *Lucullus* course. Hée appointed *Manceo* to kéepe *Tigranocerta*, the whiche Cittie, as I haue sayde, the King builded in his owne honor, to the whiche he called his nobles, and appointed a paine, that whosoeuer broughte not hys goodes thither, shoulde be confiscate. Hée made a wall aboute it of fiftye cubites byghe. The bottoms of whyche, were full of stables for horse, and in the Suburbes, hee hadde builded hys Pallaice, and Gardens verye faire, with Parkes and fishe-pondes: and harde by, hee made a strong Forte, all the whiche committing to *Manceo*, he rode aboute his countrey to gather men.

Manceus kéepeth the chiefe Cittie.

The defence of *Tigranocerta*.

Lucullus,

Lucullus at the firſt conflict ouerthrewe *Mithrobarzane* and chaſed him. And *Sextilius* ſhut *Manlium* in *Tigranocerta*, ſpoyling all the places that were without wall, and entrenched the Fort and the Cittie, and brought his engines, and vndermined the wall. Thus was *Sextilius* occupied.

Tigranes, gathering two hundred fyfty thouſand fotemen, and fyftye thouſande horſemen, ſent fiue thouſande horſe afore to *Tigranocerta*. They paſſing thoroughe the Romanes, carried away the Kyngs Concubines that were taken. The reſt of the armie, *Tigranes* ſente againſte *Lucullus*. Then *Mithridates* comming fyrſte into hys ſight, counſelled hym not to fyghte with the Romaynes, but to range with hys horſemen, and waſte the countrey, to driue them to famine, if he coulde, by the which meane, hée was ſled of *Lucullus* at *Cyzico*, and loſte hys fæble armye. *Tigranes* laughed at this counſell, and came forth in order of battaile: and ſéeyng the little number of the Romanes, ſayde: If theſe bée Ambaſſadors they be too many, but if they be ennimies, they bée too fewe.

Tigranes laugheth at that *Mithridates*. A quicke ſaying of *Tigranes*.

When *Lucullus* hadde perceiued a fytte hill beyond *Tigranes*, he commaunded hys horſemen to giue a charge on the front, and then to tourne and giue place of purpoſe, to bring the army oute of order. He in the meane tyme ledde his fotmen to the hill, not perceyued. And when he ſawe the ennimye diſordered, and runnyng by partes as thoughe they hadde the victorie, and all their carriage vnder the hill, he cried: We haue gotte the victorye (my fellowes.) And fyrſte hée ſette vppon the carriage.

Lucullus vvinneth an hill.

They fléeyng with confuſion, ranne vppon the fotemen, and the fotemenne vppon the horſemenne, ſo as there was a fowle fléeyng oute of hande. And they that were gone farre to purſue the Romaynes, were killed of them tournyng vppon them, and the other diſordered with the carriage, that they came as driuen among thē, al being afflicted, & none knowing ỹ truth, how the ouerthrow began, there was exceéding ſlaughter, without anye ſpoile, for *Lucullus* had forbidde that with threats. Therfore treading vpon bracelets and chaines, they continued ỹ murder an hundred & twenty furlōgs, til night came vpon thē.

Lucullus hath the victorye.

then in their returne they spoyled, for *Lucullus* was contente.

The valiantnes of the Greeke souldiors.

After this victorie, *Mancæus* that was lefte at *Tigranocerta*, vnarmed al the Greeke mercenarie souldiours as suspected. They fearing to be taken, got them staues and went togither, and wer quiet.

But when *Mancæus* came vpon them with the Barbarians armed, they wrapped their cloakes aboute their armes in stead of targates, and with courage fought against them, and euer as they killed any, they kepte their armoure, and diuided it betwen them. And when they thought they had got sufficient, they toke some of the little Towers and called the Romanes, and receyued them in. Thus was *Tigranocerta* taken and spoyled, being verye riche, and new builded, and inhabited moste honorably.

Tigranes and *Mithridates* went about gathering another army, of the whyche he made *Mithridates* Generall, the other thynkyng it fytte, beeyng taught with his owne losses. Hee sente also to the *Parthians*, requiring aide of them. And when *Lucullus* sent his Ambassadors also, requiring the kyng eyther to help him, or not to medle with either, he secretly promised both, but performed with none.

A policie of the *Parthian* King.

Mithridates gathered armour in euerye Cittie, and had in a manner all the *Armenians* in Campe, of the whyche hee chose threescore tenne thousande fotemen, and halfe of the horsemen, and lette the other go. These being diuided into bands and companies after the *Italian* discipline, he toke them to be trayned of his men of *Pontus*. *Lucullus* comming towarde them, *Mithridates* helde all his fotemen, and halfe his horsemen vpon an hill. The reste of the horsemen *Tigranes* ledde, and meeting wyth the Romaine forragers, was ouercome; after the whiche the Romanes forraged more safely, euen in the places next *Mithridates*, and encamped there.

By raysyng of muche dusse, it was perceyued that *Tigranes* came, whose purpose was to haue shutte *Lucullus* in the middst of them both. Which when he perceyued, he sent his best horsemen, to encounter with *Tigranes* as farre off as they coulde, and to compell him to leaue his raungyng, and keepe his campe.

He

He prouoked *Mithridates* to fight, and encamped about him, but he could not moue him, tyl famine oppressed him, and dissolued al their purpose. *Tigranes* went into the furthest parte of *Armenia*, *Mithridates* into *Pontus* with the rest of hys owne army, hauyng foure thousand, and as many of *Tigranes*. *Lucullus* folowed him, being driuen also for want. *Mithridates* outgoing him, he mette with *Fabio*, that was lefte there of *Lucullus*, and ouerthrew hym, killing fiue hundred: *Fabio* taking fresh seruauntes that were in the campe, foughte againe the whole day, and the fighte was doubtfull, till *Mithridates* was hurt on the knee with a stone, and vnder the eye with a darte, and was caried away with speed, and many dayes the one refrayned from fight, for feare of the kings health, the other, for the multitude of them that were hurte.

Tigranes and *Mithridates* flyeth.

Mithridates ouerthrowveth *Fabius*.

Fabius ouerthrowveth *Mithridates* vvhich is sore hurt.

The *Agarians* a nation of *Scythia*, did cure *Mithridates*, vsing the poyson of Serpents for their medicines, and for that cause be euer about the king. To *Fabius* came *Triarius* another Captaine of *Lucullus* with his owne army, and receyued the power and authoritie of *Fabio*: and not long after *Mithridates* and he comming to the fight, there was such a winde as neuer was felt. It tore the tentes of them both, it beate the beastes backwarde, and stroke downe some men, and thus both went backe. When it was told that *Lucullus* was comming, *Triarius* desirous to fight before he came, he set vpon the former watch by night, and the fight being equall, the king with his wing got the better, and dispersed the enimies, driuing the footemen into a foule mire where they wer killed, because they could not stirre. The horsemen he sent to be chased in the playne, vsing valiauntlye the brunt of the victorie: til a Captaine of a *Romane* band, running by him as his seruant, gaue him a great wounde on the thyghe, because he thought hee could not strike through his harnesse on the backe. They that were nere, streight killed him. *Mithridates* was carried out to ẏ hinder part. The kings frends caused their retreat to be blowē, the soldiours hauing a manifest victorie, and folowing it egrely, and because it was straunge to be called from it, they wer much troubled, and in feare leaste some other inconuenience hadde bene.

Agarenes the kings phisitions.

A marueloꝰ vvinde breaketh the fight.

Triarius for hast is ouerthrovven

A *Romaine* captaine like a seruant, vvoūdeth the king.

Timothem that was the kings Phisition, stopped the wound, & shewed the king vnto thē, from aboue, that were come into the field & stode thronging aboute his bodye, euen as *Alexander* in *India*, when the *Macedonians* were afrayde for him, shewed him selfe to be cured in a shyppe. When *Mithridates* came to hym selfe, he blamed them that caused the fight to ende, & that daye led his army against the Romaynes campe. They were fled from it fearfully. Whē ỹ dead were spoiled, thē were found. xxiiij. Tribunes, & .Cl. *Centurians*, such a number of Captains as seldome hath bin found slaine in a Romaine army. *Mithridates* went in to *Armenia*, which the Romaynes call *Armenia* the lesse, taking with him the victuall that coulde be carried, and that that could not, he burned, that *Lucullus*, whome he thoughte did follow hym, shold haue none of it. A Romane Senator named *Attilius*, fled from his countrey, bicause he was condemned, and in great credite & fauor with *Mithridates*, was then taken as one that would betray him: & bicause he was a Senator, the king would not put him to the torture, but killed him. They that were of his coūsell he tormented cruelly. His frē made men he suffred al to departe vnhurt, bicause they did but their maisters commandement. *Lucullus* now was encamped nigh to *Mithridates*, when the Lieutenāt of *Asia* sent about & proclamed to the army, that the Romaynes accused *Lucullus*, bicause he made war longer than he oughte to do, & that his army shold go from hym, they that didde not obey, to haue their gōdes confiscate. Whiche bēing tolde, the armye went al away saue a fewe, which being very poore, & not fearing the paine, tarried stil with *Lucullus*. Thus the war betwēne *Lucullus* and *Mithridates*, not surely ended nor finished, was broke vp. For *Italy* being rebelled, & they molested, & the sea being full of thēues, & they with famine oppressed, they did not thinke it good for them to take another so great a warre in hande, till they were deliuered of those incommodities. When *Mithridates* heard of this, he went into *Cappadocia*, & fortified his own kingdome, the Romanes winking at hys doings, till they had scoured the seas: whiche when it was done, and *Pompey* that was ỹ worker of it, was in *Asia*. The war with *Mithridates* began againe, & *Pompey* was sent to be the General. Therfore bicause ỹ acts that *Pompey*

The Kyng is shewed to the souldiours.

The Romaynes forsake their campe.

A great number of Romayne captaines slaine.

Attilius is killed of suspition.

Dissentiō vvyth the Romaynes.

Lucullus is lefte alone.

did in the sea, before hée came againste *Mithridates*, is a parte of *Pompeis* feats, and can be put into none other proper writing, I will shortely repeate & run them ouer. When *Mithridates* made his first war againste the Romanes, and ruled in *Asia*, and *Sylla* was busied about *Grecia*, thinking he should not long holde *Asia*, he spoyled euery place, as I haue saide, and set Pirats in the sea, the whiche at the first with a fewe litle boats, vexed such as they met. As the war grew, they were more, & had gotten great ships, & taking of great gaine, they did not ceasse, though *Mithridates* were ouercome, & had made truce, or was fled. For they ỳ had loste their liuynge and countries thorow the war, and were fallen into extreame pouertie, left the land, & sought commoditie by ỳ sea: and first with brigandines & foists, then with litle galleys they roued, the Archpirats being their leaders as generals of an army, vnwalled Cittics they spoiled, them that were walled, they vndermined or beate downe, or got by siege & destroyed. The best men they brought to the sea for their raunsoms: and to auoide the infamy of their rauine, they called themselues hyred souldiours, in stead of sea-rouers. They hadde workemen in chaines to do their businesse, & carying matter of wonde, brasse, & yron, they neuer rested. Being prowde of their gaine, & not thinking to leaue their piracie, they thought they were lyke Kings & Tirans or gret generals, & supposed ỳ if they gathered togither, they shold be vnconquerable, they made ships & all kind of armor, specially aboute *Cilicia*, that is called (the hard,) the which they made their common receptacle, or vsed it, as their campe, hauing manye forts & towers, & voyde Ilands & shipping in euery place. Their chiefe trade was at *Cilicia* the harde, beyng without ports, & ful of great hills, of the which, by a common name, they were called *Cilices*, the whych cuill begun there, of the hard part of *Cilicia*, brought vnto them *Syrians*, *Cyprians*, *Pamphilians* & *Pontians*, and almost al the nations of ỳ East, the whiche in the time of *Mithridates* war, rather chosing to do, than to suffer, they vsed the sea for the land, that in short space they were many thousads, and they were not Lords only of the east seas, but all that which is within the pillours of *Hercules*. For they had ouercome some of the Romane Admirals in sea-fight, and some in *Sicelie*.

Mithridates fitteth the sea with Pyrats.

The myshappes by the Rouers.

Cilicia, full of rockes and Mountaynes on the coaste.

Cilices were counted rouers.

In

In *Sicilia*, no mã durst saile, & the land wanted their labourers, bycause of their robberies, and the Cittie of *Rome* found this inconuenience mosse of all, all their subiectes being in want, and they, for their great multitude, in grieuous famine. This matter seemed great and harde vnto them, to dispatch so many armies of men and shippes, diuided by the whole circle of the lande and sea, easie to sée with their prouision, and not to be set vpon from their countries, or euident places, not hauing any house or propertie, but al that euer came to hande. So that the consideration of this warre was farre beyond the rest, hauing no certentie, no suretie, nor euidẽce, it wrought a doubt with a fear. *Murenas* being sent against them, did nothing, nor *Seruilius Isauricus*, after *Murena*: but nowe they were come to the coaste of *Italy*, and the rouers were bragge at *Brunduse* and *Toscane*, and had taken noble women, and two armies with their ensignes. Therfore the *Romanes* no longer suffering this losse nor shame, did chose by law, *Pompey*, a man of so great fame, to be their Admirall for three yeares, of al the Seas within the pillours of *Hercules*, and foure hundred furlongs of lãd frõ the sea, they set to al kings, princes & Citties to helpe *Pompey* with all things, & gaue him authoritie to gather armies & money. They sent also a great army of their owne ordinarie, and as many shippes as they had, and fiue M. talents of *Athens*. So great & difficult a thing did they thinke it to be, to ouercome so many armies in so great a sea, lurking in so many holes easily, and fleeing safely, and appearing againe of the sodain. Neuer was there man before that, was set with such a power as *Pompey* was. To whom an army was giuen of cxx. thousande fotemen, fiue thousande horsemen, shippes with smal vessels two hundred lxx. and ministers, whiche being of the Senate, they call legats, xxv. to whome *Pompey* deuided the sea, and gaue them Shippes, and horses and fotemen and ensignes of war. So was euerie man an absolute ruler of that parte that was committed to him: and he as king of kings, went about to sée if they kepte the order that he appointed: neyther would he haue thẽ chased so, as they should be carried from one to another without profitte, but to méete with them, as they might

Murenas. *Serui. Isaurus.*

Pompey chosen admirall against the Pyrates.

serue

serue one anothers turne, and shut them vp within the compasses. *Pompey* hauing thus ordered all, he appointed *Tiberius Nero*, to *Spaine* and the pillers of *Hercules*, & with him *Manlius Torquatus*: *Marcus Pompeius*, to the *Ligurian* and *Celtican* sea: *Lentulus Marcellinus*, and *Publius Attilius*, to *Lybia*, *Sardo*, *Cyrnus*, and al the nigh Ilands aboute *Italy*. He appointed *Lucius Gellius*, and *Gaius Lentulus*, *Plotius Varius*, and *Terentius Varius*, to *Acarnania*, and to keepe *Sicelie* and the *Ionian* sea. To *Lucius Cinna*, *Peloponesus*, and the coast of *Attica*, with *Eubœa*, *Thessalia*, *Macedonia* and *Bœotia*. To *Lucius Cullio*, the Ilandes and all the *Aegean* and *Hell-sponte*. To *Publius Piso*, *Bithynia*, *Thracia*, and *Pelopida*, and the mouth of *Pontus*. To *Metellus Nepos*, *Lycia*, *Pamphylia*, *Cyprus* and *Phœnitia*. Thus he appointed his Captaines to make their courses and their onsets, and to keepe their places, and to receiue, when they fledde from the other, that in their chase, they should not exceed too far, nor be caried aboute in their fighting, that it might be spedily done: and he sayled to them all, and hauing ouerséene all in the Weast in foztie dayes, he came to *Rome*, and from thence to *Brundusi*, & from *Brundusi* into the East, so long a way, he affrayde them all with his sodayne and quicke passage, and great preparation, and feare of his glozy, insomuche as the Pirates that hoped to haue bin too good for him, or truely to haue put him to paine enoughe, beyng afraid by and by, left their expugnations of other cities, and resorted to their wonted holdes and holes. So that the Sea was scowred by *Pompey* without any fight, and the Rouers were taken of the Captaines in euery place by parts. He went into *Cilicia*, with a great army and many engins, thinking he should haue hadde manye fyghtes and besiegings, at their rocky Towers: but he needed none, for his glozy and greate power, making them afrayde, and thinking that if they came not to fyght, they shoulde finde the more gentlenesse: fyrst they deliuered *Cragus* and *Antitragus* the greatest forts they had, then the mountaine men of *Cilicia*, and in order all yelded themselues, and also muche armour, some ready, some to be made readye, they deliuered: and shippes, some vpon the stocks, some apte to sayle: brasse and yron gathered for that purpose, and sailes, cables and other

The maner of the appointments.

The diligence of *Pompey*.

The Pirats gyue ouer.

Cragus and *Antitragus*, hilles of *Lycia*, parte of *Taurus*.

diuerse matter, and a number of prisoners, some being in bands for their ransome, and some for to worke. Their stuffe *Pompey* burned. Their ships he toke. The prisoners he sente into their Countreys, of the which, many founde their graues made, by cause they were thought to be dead. The Pirates that seemed to come to this warre, not of malice, but for lacke of liuing, he commaunded them to inhabite *Mallus*, *Adana*, *Epiphanea*, or any other place, desolate, and voyde of men, in the hard parte of *Cilicia*: some of them he sent to *Dyma* in *Achaia*. Thus the Pirats warre that was thought to be most daungerous, was ended in few dayes of *Pompey*. Of shippes he toke. lxxij. Of thē that were deliuered thrée hundred and fyre. Of Cities, Fortes, and other strong places. 120. Of the Pirates were slayne in fighte. 10000. These things being done spéedely, and beyonde opinion, the *Romanes* highly extolling *Pompey* being yet in *Cilicia*, those him the Generall of the warre against *Mithridates*, with like authoritie of a ruler alone, where he would inuade, and make warre, and to make friends or foes of *Rome*, whome he thought good, and of all the armye that was out of *Italy*, gaue him the authoritie, whiche was neuer so giuen to none before him, and peraduenture for this, they called him Great, for the warre of *Mithridates* was now ended by other Captaynes.

Many restored beyond hope.

The Pirates appoynted to inhabite hard places in the coast of Cilicia.

The large commission that Pompey had.

Pompey gathering hys armye out of *Asia*, dyd encamp in the confynes of *Mithridates*. *Mithridates* hadde a choyce army of hys owne, of thirtie thousande fotemen, and thrée thousande horsemen, and he defended the place, whiche being walked before by *Lucullus*, he had want of victuall. Wherfore many fugitiues wēt from him, some of the which, he threwe downe headlongs, some he pulled out their eyes, and some he burned, therefore the fewer fugitiues wēt frō him for feare of punishmēt. He was cōsumed with want, & therfore he sent Embassadors to *Pompey*, to knowe with what condition he might make peace: he answered, if thou deliuer our fugitiues, and commit thy selfe to vs: which when *Mithridates* heard, he asked ỳ fugitiues what they thought, and whē he saw them afraid, he sware, he would neuer make peace with the *Romanes*, for their couetousnesse: and he deliuered none,

Answere of Pompey to Mithridates.

nor did nothing, but they were prepare to it. Thus diuide he. Pompey laying an ambushe of horsemen, and other go to the front of the kings battaile, and prouoke them. And if they came forth, to giue place as thoughe they were ouercome, and bring them to the place of the ambushe, at the whyche, they returning, they might gette into the Kynges Campe with them that fledde. Whyche hadde beene done in deede, if the King fearyng it, hadde not brought oute hys footemen and so they retired. Fight of horsemen.

Thys was the ende of the fyrste attempt of the horsemen betweene Pompey and Mithridates.

The King being molested with want, was compelled to go backe, and suffer Pompey to come into that parte, thinking that being in that wasted place, he shoulde suffer many inconueniences: but he had prouided victuall to come behind hym, & going eastwarde againste Mithridates, made many Towers and trenches againste him, and compassed him in the space of fyue hundred Furlongs, that he coulde not nowe easilye come by victualls. And the King did not stoppe his entrenching, eyther for feare, or for ignorance, or for that all euils were nowe to come vppon him: and being oppressed againe wyth want, he kylled all beasts of cariages, onelye horses he spared, whiche scarcelye serued for fyftey dayes, in the night he departed with great silence by harde wayes, whome Pompey coulde hardly ouertake in a day, saing the taple. Then the King being counseled by his friends to set hys men to the battell, would not fight, but with his horsmen onlye kepe backe them that approched, and in the night hyd himselfe in thicke woodes. The day folowing, he toke a rocky place, to the which, was one way only to come, and there he was kepte with foure bandes. And the Romanes kept on the contrary side, that he shold not escape. The next daye, eyther of the armed their men. The forewardes of either part, at the side of the hyll skirmished, and the horsmen of the Kings were commanded to help their fellowes without horses. Vpon whom, whē ẏ Romanes came with their horsmen, ẏ kings me ran on heapes to ẏ cāp, to get their horses, & to match with ẏ Romanes egallye. The King fleeth.

A discomfiture vpon an errour.

They that were aboue and armed, seeing them come running with showt, and not knowing what was done, but thinking they hadde fledde another way from the Campe that was taken, threwe awaye their armoure and fled, and the place being hard, one fell vpon an other in the thruste, til they fell from the rocks. Thus the army of *Mithridates*, throwe the lacke of them that wouldе without order take vpon them to helpe their former fellowes, falling into a confusion, was lofte. The reste of the matter was easy to *Pompey*, killing and taking the vnarmed, and beeyng shut in the rockes, of the which tenne thousand were slain, and all the Campe with the treasure of gold was taken. *Mithridates* with his guarde onely, seeing throughe the rocky places, met with some of the hyred horsemen, and three thousande footemen. They conducted hym to *Sinoregia* a castle, where he had laid vppe muche money, and giuing gyfts and a yeares wages to the companions of his flight, he carried with him fyre thousande talents, and wente to the fountaines of *Euphrates*, minding to goe from thence to *Colchos*: and vsing continuall speed, passed *Euphrates* the fourth daye. Sinoregia. Carrying there three dayes, he toke them that were with him, or came to him, and wet to *Chotena* of *Armenia*, Cotenians. there ouerthrowing the *Cotenians* and *Iberians* that kepte hym off by slings and darts, he wente to the floude *Apsares*.

Hiberians of Armenia & Spaine.

These *Hiberians* of *Asia*, some say were the progenitors, & some the posteritie, of the *Hiberians* of *Europe*: and some say, they were onely of one name, for their maner and tongue is nothing like. *Mithridates* wintred at *Dioscuride*, which Citie they of *Cholcide*, thinke to bee a Monument of the trauaile of *Castor* and the *Argonants*: and though he were yet sleeping, he conceyued no litle matter in his mynde, but to goe aboute all *Pontus* in a circle, and the *Scythians* beyond *Pontus*, and the Feme of *Meotis*, and attempt *Bosphorus*, and to take the kingdome of *Machares* his sonne, as vnprofytable to him, and then to make open warre againste the Romanes, and to begin it from *Europe*, they beeing in *Asia*, and to put *Porus* in the middest, whiche some thinke to be called *Bosphorus*, of *Io* swimming ouer, when she was made a Cowe, and fled the iealousie of *Iuno*.

Dioscurias a citie in Colchide, where some tyme occupyed three hundred nations of dyuers language.

Porus.

Io.

Thys

Thus muche beyonde all reason didde *Mithridates* thinke to bring to passe. He passed by the *Scythian* nations both that were enimies or otherwise, eyther by perswasion or violence. Thus fleing, and in miserye, he was honoured and feared. He passed by the *Heniochians*, they receyuing him. The *Achaans* that wold haue resisted hym, he put to flight. They as it is saide, came frō *Troy* to *Pontus*, beyng driuen by tempest, and there suffred muche of the *Barbarians*, bycause they were *Grecians*. And when they sent into their countrey for shippes, and were denied, they so hated the *Greekes*, that as *Scythians*, they sacrificed as many *Greekes* as came fyrste all for anger, then the fairest onely, at lasse, them to whome it fell by lotte. *Achaians of Troy*

A sacrifice of men.

And thus muche of *Achaans* and *Scythians*. *Mithridates* comming to *Meotis*, of the which were many Princes, they all receiued him, and sent to him for the glorye of hys actes, kingdome, and power, yet worthy to be honored, bringing him many gifts and sending others. He made lignage with them, thinking to do straunge feats, as to go from *Thracia* to *Macedonia*, from *Macedonia* to *Pannonia*, and so to *Italy*, and the mountains of the Alpes, and made marriages for his daughters, with the mightiest of his confederatours.

When his sonne *Machares* hearde that he had come so great a way in so little time, thorowe so many fierce nations, and the places called the Locks of *Scythia*, that no man had gone before, he sent certaine Ambassadors vnto him, to excuse hym, that for necessitie, he obeyed the Romanes. And when he sawe his anger extreame, he fledde into *Ponto Cherronese*, burning his shippes that hys father shoulde not folow him. But he sending other to take hym, he kylled himselfe. *Mithridates* killed all his friendes that he betoke to him, when he went to that kingdome. The familiars of his sonne, that were come by priuate friendship, he lette goe vnhurte. Thus did *Mithridates*.

Machares killeth himselfe for feare of his father.

Pompey followed hym fleeyng as farre as *Cholcos*, not thinking good to follow him any further, nor to passe aboute *Pontus* or the Fenne of *Meotis*, nor supposing, that in that case he woulde attempt any great matter, he went to *Cholcos*, to see the historie of

Argonauts, and *Castor*, and *Pollux*, and the iourney of *Hercules*, and chiefly to see the passion of *Prometheus*, which they say he suffered at the hyll of *Gaucasus*. There be many springs that runne from *Caucasus*, that carry threddes of gold that can not be seene: and the inhabitants put fleeses into the streame, where it is deepest, and so gather the gold: and that is conteyned. And peraduenture such a one was the golden fleese that *Ietos* bare on hys backe. Whilest *Pompey* was beholding this story, other nations that were nigh, sent vnto him: but *Oroizes* the kyng of *Albania*, and *Artocus*, the king of *Iberia*, with .100. thousand, lay in wayt for him at *Cirrus*, the flood flowing into the Sea of *Caspis* with twelue mouthes, many riuers running into him, & *Araxes* greatest of all. When *Pompey* heard of the traynes, he passed the flood, and droue the *Barbarians* into the thickest woodes. They are good fighters in woodes, hiding themselues, and appearing suddenly agayne. He compassed the wodde with his army, and burned it, and chased them that fledde, vntill all sent hostages & giftes, of whom he triumphed in *Rome*. Amog the hostages and prisoners, there were found women, hauing no lesse woundes than men, and they were thought to be *Amazones*, eyther because the *Amazones* that be a nation therby, were come to help them, or for that the *Barbarians* call all warlike women *Amazones*. *Pompey* going from thence, encamped in *Armenia*, accusing *Tigranes* for helping of *Mithridates*, marching to *Artaxata* wher the kings pallace was. *Tigranes* would not haue warre. He had children by *Mithridates* daughter, of the whiche *Tigranes* killed two, one in fight making him warre, the other, because he would not take him vp when he had a fall at hunting, and because he did set the crowne on his head. The third, because he lamented his father in that hunting, was crowned of him, but rebelling shortly after, he was ouercome of his father, and fledde to *Phraates*, king of the *Parthians*, that now succeeded in the kingdome to his father *Sintrito*. When *Pompey* was at hande, conferring with *Phraates*, and he agreeing, and seking priuate frendship with *Pompey*, the yong man humbly fledde to *Pompey*, being *Mithridates* daughters sonne. But great was the estimatiō of *Pompey* among the *Barbarians*, for iustice and faithfulnesse, to the which,

Argonauts, were the Gentlemen that went with *Iason*.

Prometheus was tyed at the hyll *Caucasus*.

Streames of golde.

Aetes.

Artocus lyeth in wayte for *Pompey*.

Pompey destroyeth the enimies in a wodde.

Women found wounded.

Amazones were the women that cutte off one of their breastes.

Tigranes killeth two of his children.

Pompey in great honor for iustice

which, his father *Tigranes* also trusting, came vnto him, without sending any messengers afore, submitting himselfe & all his, to *Pompey*, and the iudgement betweene him and his sonne. *Pompey* sent his chiefe Captaynes, commanding them to mete ẏ king with all honor: they that were with *Tigranes*, bycause they had not sent before, fledde, but *Tigranes* wēt on, & honoured *Pompey* as the better, after the *Barbaria* fashion. Some say, he was brought by ẏ sergeants, whom *Pompey* had sent to fetch him. Howsoeuer he came, he made an accompt of his doynges, and gaue to *Pompey* fiue M. talents, & to euery common Souldioure, 50. drauncs, & to a Captayne of a band a M. and to a colloneil fyue M. *Pompey* forgaue all ẏ was passed, and agreed him with his sonne, and appoynted him to reigne in *Sophene*, and *Gordene*, (these be nowe *Armenia* the lesse) and his father, in the rest of *Armenia*, in the which his sonne should succeede him. The land that he had conquered, he commanded him to leaue, and he left *Syria* frō *Euphrates* to the Sea, for *Tigranes* had this, and a part of *Cilicia*, putting out *Antiochus* that was called the dutifull. The *Armenians* that forsoke *Tigranes*, when he went to *Pompey*, remayning in suspition, persuaded his sonne, being yet with *Pompey*, to entrappe his father. He was taken and bounde, and in that time stirring the *Parthians* against *Pompey*, was brought in triumph, & dispatched. *Pompey* thinking all warre had bin ended, builded a citie, where he ouercame *Mithridates*, and of ẏ acte, called it *Nicopolis*, & it is in *Armenia* ẏ lesse. He restored ẏ kingdome of *Cappadocia* to *Ariobarzanes*, and added *Sophene* & *Gordene* which he had giuē to *Tigranes* sonne, the which now be subiect to *Cappadocia*. He gaue him also *Cabala* a citie of *Cilicia*, & others, ẏ which kingdome *Ariobarzanes* gaue vnto his sonne whiles he was aliue, in the whiche was manye mutations, till *Augustus* time, in the whiche it was made a prouince as other kingdomes were. *Pompey* passing ouer ẏ hil *Taurus*, made warre vpō *Antiochus Conagenus*, til he was accepted to peace. He ouercame *Darius* ẏ *Median*, either bycause he holp *Antiochus* or *Tigranes* before. He ouercame ẏ *Arabians*, ẏ be called *Nabathei*, *Aretа* being their king, and ẏ Iewes ẏ reuolted frō their king *Aristobulus*, and toke *Hierusalem* ẏ is ẏ most holy city to the, & the rest of *Cilicia* ẏ was not yet subiect to *Rome*, and

Tigranes submitteth to *Pompey*.

The munificēce of *Tigranes*.

Tigranes sonne is taken, & caried in triumph.

Pompey buildeth *Nicopolis*.

Arabians.

Pompey taketh *Hierusalem*.

and that parte of *Syria*, that is aboute *Euphrates*, which is called *Cale*, *Phanice* and *Palestina*: and the *Idumeans*, and *Iturians*, and al other names of *Syria*, he brought vnder the Romanes dominion, without any warre, hauing no matter againste *Antiochus* the pittifull, being present and suing for his fathers kingdome, but bycause he thought, that it being taken from *Tigranes*, who had put out *Antiochus*, it might wel be iudged to the people of *Rome*.

A straight interpretation of right.

Whiles he was aboute these matters, Ambassadors came vnto him from *Phraates* and *Tigranes*, that were at warre. They that came from *Tigranes*, desired helpe as of their frende. They that came from *Phraates*, desired to be receyued into amitie with the Romaines. And *Pompey* not minding to make war vppon the *Parthians* without the decree of the Senate, sent arbitrers to reconcile them. And thus he did.

Panticupæon a citie at Bosphorus Cimerio Mithridates kylleth his sonne.

Mithridates had nowe gone about *Pontus*, and hauing taken *Panticupæon*, that is the chiefe cittie of Marchandise in *Europa* at the entrie of *Pontus*, he killed his sonne *Siphares* at *Piro*, for his mothers faulte, whiche was this:

Mithridates had a castle, in the whiche were hidde vnder the grounde in brasen vessels bounde with yron, muche treasure secretely. *Stratonice*, one of *Mithridates* wines or women, whyche had the gouernement and keeping of this Castel, whiles *Mithridates* went about *Pontus*, deliuered the Castle to *Pompey*, and reuealed the treasure that was vnknowne. Onely wyth this condition, that if *Pompey* take his sonne *Siphares*, he should saue him. He hauing the money, promised to saue his sonne, and gaue him leaue to carie awaye his owne things. When *Mithridates* knew what was done, he killed *Siphares* at the narrowe sea, and threw his bodye vnburyed, his mother seeyng it on the other shoare.

Thus he killed the childe, to be reuenged of the mother.

He sent Ambassadors to *Pompey* being in *Syria*, not hearyng whither he were alyue or dead, that hee might enioy his fathers kingdome, and pay Tribute for it to the Romaines. *Pompey* bad him come, and speake for himselfe as *Tigranes* had done. That he saide he woulde neuer doe, being *Mithridates*, but hee woulde sende some of his children and friendes.

Thus

Thus he sayd, and withall gathered an army togither of free and bond, bringing much armour, shot, and munition, sparing no mans woodde, nor labouring Oxe, to make strings. He sette tares vpon euery man, though he were but of small substance, the collectors whereof did much spight, which he knew not of. And being sick in his face of a bile, he was healed of ỹ Eunuchs, and only sene of thē. When he was whole, and his army gathered, there was threescore choyce bandes, with fiue hundred in a company, and there was another great multitude, and shippes, and places which his Captaynes had got whilest he was sicke. He sent a part of his army to *Phanagorea*, whiche was another mart towne at the mouth, that he might haue his entries on both sides, *Pompey* being yet in *Syria*. *Castor* of *Phanagorea* beeyng iniured of *Triphon*, an Eunuch of the Kings, he killed *Triphon* as he entred, and called the people to libertie: and they bycause the Castell was holden of *Artaphernes*, and other sonnes of the Kings, did bring woodde, and burned the towre, by the whyche feare, *Artaphernes*, *Darius*, and *Xerxes*, *Ozethres*, and *Eupatra*, *Mithridates* children, gaue themselues to be taken. *Artaphernes* was about fortie yeares olde, the other were faire yong men. There was another daughter of *Mithridates* called *Cleopatra*, who tarried still, whome the father louing for hir noble heart, sent diuers Foyles, and toke hir away. Other Castels there about lately taken of *Mithridates*, following the boldnesse of the *Phanagoreans*, reuolted from *Mithridates*, *Xerroneſus*, *Theudoſia*, *Nymphæon*, and all other that were fitte for the warre aboute *Pontus*. He seeing these many reuoltings, and hauing his army in suspition, not faithfull, being compelled to serue of necessitie, and for the great tributes, and the infidelitie of armies allways toward the Generalles that be in miserie, he sent his daughters by his Eunuchs, to be married to the princes of *Scythia*, requyring an army to be sente him with spēde, sending fiue hundreth Souldyoures with them. They, being not very farre off, *Mithridates*, killed the Eunuchs, bycause they were euer iniured of the Eunuchs, that might do most with *Mithridates*, and led the maydes to *Pompey*. *Mithridates* being spoyled of so many childrē,

Mithridates sick in the face.

A mutenie at *Phanagorea*.

The kings children taken.

Cities reuolte.

The Kings Eunuchs be killed.

Castles, and of his whole kingdome, and not fitte nowe for hi make battell, nor loking for anye helpe of the *Scythians*, yet not conceyuing any small matter, as one that was in calamitie, but sent to the Frenchmen, whome he hadde made friends long before, intending to go to them, and inuade *Italy* with them, thynking many of *Italy* were weery of the *Romanes*, and hearing that *Anniball* began the warre in *Spayne*, and was most fearefull to the *Romanes*. He knew that of late almost all *Italy* rebelled from *Rome*, and kepte a long warre with them, and that *Spartacus* a swordplayer, was stirred vp of them, a man of no regard. With this opinion he marched toward *France*. This most bold enterprise the army disappoynted, being not content with so great a boldnesse, nor so long a iourney, to be ledde into a strange countrey, against men, whom they could not ouercome in their owne countrey, thinking *Mithridates* to be in despaire of all things, and would in labour and like a king end his life, rather than in rest. Yet awhile they abode, and were quiet, for he was no smal king, and not to be contemned euen in aduersitie. They standing thus, *Pharnaces* that was most deere to him of al his sonnes, whome he had many times declared to be the successour of his kingdome, eyther for feare of his kingdome by this army, being yet like to obteyne pardon of the *Romanes*, but if his father shoulde make warre in *Italy*, like to lose all his heritage, either for other causes and reasons, and desires, he laide wayte for his father. The conspiratoures being taken, and put to the rache, *Menophanes* persuaded *Mithridates* not to kyll his sonne that was so much esteemed now in his voyage, for (sayde he) suche mutations happe in warre, whyche beeyng ceassed, they be stayed also. He being persuaded, granted pardon to his sonne: but he fearing the remembrance of it, knowing the army was weery of the iourney, in the nighte went to the fugitiues of *Rome* that serued nert his father, and shewed what daunger they shoulde be in if they wente into *Italy*, whiche they euidently sawe, and promising them many benefites if they woulde tarrie, brought them to rebell from his father. When he had persuaded them, *Pharnaces* sente to the other that were nert in the army, they also con-

Pharnaces the kings sonne.

Menophanes taketh *Pharnaces*.

The army reuolteth from the King, by the practise of his sonne.

consenting, the fugitiues were the firste that departed in the morning, that forsoke the king, and other that were euer nerte, made a great shoute, and the Manie aunswered them, not being all alike disposed peraduenture, but readye to mutations, and despising him that was in aduersitie, alwayes hoping for better at euery change. Other being ignorãt of that was done, & thinking all other to be corrupted, and that they alone should be despised of the more part, for feare and necessitie, rather than of good will, agreed to theyr purpose.

Princes forsake in calamitie.

Mithridates being stirred by the crye, sente some to knowe what they meante by theyr crye, they not dissembling, sayde, they required the sonne to reigne for the father, a yong man for an olde, that was ruled by his Eunuches, and that had killed so many children, Captaynes, and friends. Whiche when *Mithridates* hearde, he came forthe to say somewhat to them, and euen then a number of his gard fledde to the fugitiues. They sayde they would not accept them, vnlesse they did some notable feate, and withall shewed *Mithridates*. They killed his horse, and now as obteyning their purpose, saluted *Pharnaces* King, and one brought a broade paper out of the Temple, and crowned hym with it in stead of a diademe. Whiche when *Mithridates* did see from aboue, he sente one after another to *Pharnaces*, to requyre safe flighte, no man of them that were sent returning, fearing least they should be giuen to the *Romanes*. He praying the gard, and such friends as yet tarried with him, sent them to the new king, and the armye killed some of them without anye cause, he takyng out of hys swoorde a poyson that euer he dyd carrie aboute hym, tempered it. Two of hys daughters, named *Mithridates* and *Nissa*, espoused to the kyngs of *Aegipt* and *Cypres*, that were broughte vppe wyth hym, desyred they myghte take the poyson fyrste, and were verye instante, and wouldе not lette hym drynke it, tyll they hadde taken it: and the potion sone dispatched them, but it wouldе not worke vppon *Mithridates* hymselfe, though hee walked fast for the purpose, bycause hee vsed to eate other medicines, whyche he toke euer agaynste the violence of poyson, whyche

The kings horse killed by his gard.

A crovvne of paper in stead of golde.

Two of the kings daughters die constantly before him.

The poyson vvould not vvorke in the king, bycause he had vsed dayly medicines against poyson, vvhich of hys name be called *Mithridatum*.

medicines at this day be called *Mithridatum*. Seing then one *Bi-*
teton, a Captaine of the Frenchmen, he sayde vnto him, I haue
had much profite of thy right hand against mine enimies, I shall
now receyue greatest pleasure, if thou wilt take me away, that
am in danger to be carried to the pomp of a triumph, that haue
bin a ruler and a king of so many and so greate a dominion, and
can not dye of poyson, bycause of the continuall receits of other
medicines. But the greatest and most ready poyson whiche
kings alwayes fœle, is the treachery of armye, children, and
friends, I did not forefée, but all things, concerning my dyet, I
did forefée and kepe. *Bitatus* weeping, obeyed the necessitie of the
king. Thus *Mithridates* dyed, the eleuenth after *Darius* last
king of *Persia*, and the eyght from *Mithridates* that forsoke the
Macedonians, and possessed the kingdome of *Pontus*. He liued eyght
or nine yeare aboue threescore, and had reigned fiftie and seauen
yeares: for being yet an Orphans, the kingdome came to him.
He subdued the nigh nations of the *Barbarians*, and ouercame
many of the *Scythians*, and made a sharpe warre against the *Ro-*
manes fortie yeares, in the whiche he ofte conquered *Bithinia* and
Cappadocia. He ouerranne *Asia*, *Phrygia*, *Paphlagonia*, *Galatia*, and
Macedonia, and sayling into *Grecia*, did manye greate actes, and
was Lord of the sea from *Cilicia* to *Ionia*, till *Sylla* shutte hym a-
gaine within his fathers kingdome, ouerthrowing 140. M. m.
and after so great a losse, renued the warre easily, fighting with
the best Captaynes. Being ouercome of *Sylla*, *Lucullus*, and *Pom-*
pey he had many times the better hande of them. *Lucius Cassius*,
Oppius Quintus, and *Manius Acilius*, he toke prisoners, and ledde
them about with him, til he killed him that was the cause of the
warre, and the other he deliuered to *Sylla*. He ouerthrew *Phim-*
bria, *Murena*, and *Cotta* the Consull, and *Fabius* and *Triarius*. He
had euer a great heart, and euen in his miserie was mighty and
rayneful. He left nothing vnattempted against the *Romanes*, no,
not when he was ouerthrowen. He was confedered with the
Maetians and *French*, and sente to *Sertorius* into *Iberia*. He was
wounded many times in his person of his enimies and others
by treason, yet not resting then, though he were olde. Neyther
was

The wordes of *Mithridates* before his miserable ende.

Treachery the greatest poyson to Kings.

The actes of *Mithridates*.

The courage of the King.

was any of the conspiracies hidde from him, no not in his last dayes, but where he willingly let it passe, he was destroyed by it, so unthankefull a thing is malice obteyning pardon. Bloudy he was, and alwayes cruell. He killed his mother and his brother, and of his children three sonnes and three daughters. Hys body was bigge, as his armoure do declare, whiche he sente to *Nemea* and *Delphos*. He hadde good strength, and euen to the last, could ride and throw his dart. He ranne in one day a thousand furlongs by changing of horses. He guyded a chariot with .vij. horses. He was learned in the Greeke letters, and thereby dyd vnderstand the Greeke Ceremonies. He loued musicke. He was temperate and paynefull in all things, and onely he was ouercome of pleasures with wome. Thus *Mithridates* called *Eupator Dionisius* dyed. When the *Romanes* heard of it, they made great ioy, as deliuered of a sore enimie. *Pharnaces* sente his fathers corpse to *Sinope* to *Pompey* in Gallies, and them that toke *Manius* & other many pledges, as wel of *Grecia* as *Barbaria*: he desired his fathers kingdom, or to be king of *Bosphorus* only, the which kingdome *Machares* his brother had of *Mithridates*. *Pompey* gaue allowance for the burying of *Mithridates* body, and appointed them that loked to it, to burie it royally, and to place it in *Sinope* amõg the kings Sepulchres, louing him for his noble heart, as a king most worthy in his time. He made *Pharnaces* that had deliuered *Italy* from great trouble, friend and confederate of the *Romanes*, and gaue him *Bosphorus* for his kingdome, *Phanagorea* excepted, which he left free, and of their owne iurisdiction, which were the first that resisted *Mithridates* after he renued force, and had gotten ships, and another army, and places of receipt, and were leaders of rebellion to other, and causes of his destruction. He in this one war ouerthrew the pirats, and subdued the mightiest king, and being brought to fight withoute the warre of *Pontus*, the *Cholcans*, *Albanians*, *Iberians*, *Armenians*, *Medians*, *Arabians*, and *Iewes*, and other nations of the East, he subdued, and limited the Empire of the *Romanes* vnto *Aegipt*, into the whiche he would not enter, though they were at diuision, and the king calling him, and sending him giftes, and money, and garmentes, &

Malice obteyning pardon vnthankefull.
A cruell King.
Nemea the place where teates were shewed in the honor of *Hercules*.
The strength of the King.
The learning of the King.
He loued Musicke.
The body of the King buryed at the charges of the *Romanes*.
Phanagorea free.

to all his armye, eyther fearing the greatenesse of that kyngdome yet flourishing, or auoyding the hate of his enimies, or oracles, forbidding it, or for other reasons whiche I will shewe in the storye of *Aegipt*. Of the nations that he wanne, some he left free, bycause they were of the *Romanes* amitie. Some he made subiect to the *Romanes*, some he gaue to be kingdomes, as *Armenia* to *Tigranes*, *Bosphorus* to *Pharnace*, and *Cappadocia* to *Ariobarzanes*, with the rest that I spake of. He committed *Seleucia* to *Antiochio*, *Comagineſa*, and al the other that he had got in *Meſopotamia*. He appoynted *Tetrarches* of *Gallogrecia*, whiche be nowe *Galatians*, borderers vpon *Cappadocia*, *Deiotaro*, and others. *Attalus* had power ouer *Paphlagonia*, and *Ariſtarchus* of *Colchus*. He appoynted *Archelaus*, the holy minister of the Goddesse in *Comagena*, which is as good as a kings dominion, and declared *Caſtor* of *Phanagorea*, a friend to the *Romanes*, and he gaue to other muche land and money. He builded Cities in *Armenia* the lesse, *Nicopolis*, bycause of his victory, in *Pontus*, *Eupatoria*, whiche *Mithridates Eupator* builded, and named it of himselfe, and destroyed it, bycause it receiued the *Romanes*, and *Pompey* erected it againe, and called it *Magnopolis*. In *Cappadocia* he reedifyed *Mazaria*, that was vtterly destroyed, and others that were decayed or afflicted he restored. In *Pontus*, *Paleſtina*, and *Cæloſyria*, and *Cilicia*, where he placed the Pirats. The Citie that of old time was called *Sole*, is now *Pompeiopolis*. In *Talauris*, which Citie *Mithridates* had as a storehouse for his munition, were found two thousande cuppes made of precious stone, bound about with barres of golde, and pottes, & cannes, & lauers, beddes, and chayers most rich. There were bridles, saddles, and caparisons for horses, beset with golde and precious stone, the whiche were so many, as thirtye dayes was spent in the deliuerie of them. Part of them were giuen by *Darius Hiſtaſpis*, some of ỹ king *Ptolomei*, which *Cleopatra* gaue to ỹ *Coans*, and they to *Mithridates*, and made and gathered more, being desirous of precious apparell. At the end of Winter *Pompey* distributed gifts to his army, to euery man fiue C. drammes of *Athens*, and to the Captaines accordingly. They say the summe came to xvj. M. Talents. He went to *Epheſus* and sayled to *Italy*, and

Aegipt not touched.

Pompey appointeth kings and princes.

The minister of *Comagena* equall to king.

Caſtor.

Cities builded of *Pompey*.

Magnopolis.

Pompeiopolis.

Talauris ful of treasure.

Giftes to the army.

and from thence wēt to *Rome*, leauing his army at *Brundusi*, and sendyng euery man home: whiche acte being so accepted to the people, made the *Romanes* to wonder. There came to mēete hym by seuerall companyes, the yong men furthest of, then in order as euery man could for age, last the Senate, extolling his actes, for there was no man that had ouerthrowen so many enimies, nor taken so many nations, and measured the *Romane* Empyre with the sloud of *Euphrates*. He triumphed most gloriously as euer did mā at the .xxxv. yeare of his age, which continued two dayes of many nations, from *Pontus*, *Armenia*, *Cappadocia*, *Cilicia*, and all *Syria*, of *Albania*, *Heniochia*, *Achaia*, and *Scythia*, and the East *Hiberians*. And he brought into the portes seauen hundred sound shippes, and to the pompe of his triumph Chariots, and Cartes wrought with gold, and other full of diuers treasure, as a bedde of *Darius Histaspis*, and the chaire and Scepter of *Eupater*, and an image of golde of eyght cubites to the breastes, of siluer coyned seauen thousand millions, fiue hundred and ten, an infinite number of cartes with armoure, and stemmes of shippes, and a multitude of prisoners & pirates, none bound, but clad after their countrey. Before *Pompey* wente the Captaynes of the kings that were ouercome, or their children or generalls, some being captiues, some giuen for hostages, in number three hundred .xxiiij. Then was there *Tigranes*, sonne to *Tigranes*, and fiue of *Mithridates*, *Artaphernes*, *Cyrus*, *Oxathres*, *Darius*, & *Xerxes*, and two daughters, *Orsabam* and *Eupatra*. There was brought *Olthaces*, sceptre-bearer of *Colchos*, and *Aristobulus*, king of the *Iewes*, and the Tirans of *Cilicia*, and women of the kings blood of *Scythia*, three Dukes of *Iberia*, and two of *Albania*, and *Menander* of *Laodicea*, that was generall of the horsemen to *Mithridates*. The Images of them that came not, were brought: of *Tigranes* and *Mithridates* fighting, being ouercome, and fleeing: of *Mithridates* the beseeging, and the night, when he was fledde was represented, and the silence, and last it was shewed howe he dyed. The Virgines that chose to dye with hym were figured, and descriptions of hys Sonnes and Daughters that dyed before hym, the pictures of the *Barbarian* Goddes, and the ornā-

The receyuing of pompey of *Rome*.

The triumph of Pompey.

Here a Million is ten thousande.

ornamentes of their countrey. There was borne a table shewing these things. The Shippes that were taken, were eighte hundreth, with beakes of brasse. Cities builded, eight in *Cappadocia*, in *Cilicia* and *Calesyria* twentie, and in *Palestina*, that which is now called *Seleucus*. Kings ouercome, *Tigranes* of *Armenia*, *Artoces* of *Hiberia*, *Orizes* of *Albania*, *Darius* of *Media*, *Aretas* of *Nabathea*, *Antiochus Comagenus*, all these did the picture shew. *Pompey* himselfe was in a Chariot full of precious stones, hauing on the cloke (as they saye) of *Alexander* of *Macedony*, if it may be beleeued, that by like he had it in *Mithridates* Guarderobe, being broughte to *Coo* by *Cleopatra*. The Captaynes of the confederates followed the Chariote, some on horse, and some a foote. Being come to *Capitolio*, he killed none of the prisoners as other in triumphes had done, but sent them to their Countreys with the common expences, except the Kings, of the which only *Aristobulus* was streight killed, and shortly after *Tigranes*. This was the triumph.

The glory of Pompey.

Pharnace besieged *Phanagorea*, and the borderours of *Bosphorus*, till the *Phanagoreans* driuen by famine came forthe and foughte, & were ouercome, of whome he hurt none but toke pledges, and went his way.

Pharnaces maketh warre.

Not long after he toke *Sinope*, and coueting *Amisus*, he made warre with *Caluisio* the Lieutenant, at the which time *Cæsar* and *Pompey* were at debate, till *Asander* his priuate enimie drone him out of *Asia*, the *Romanes* being otherwise occuppyed.

Asander.

He made warre with *Cæsar* after he had ouercome *Pompey*, returning from *Aegipt* at the hill *Scotio*, where his father ouercame *Triaro*, and being ouercome, he fledde to *Sinope* with a thousand horsemen. *Cæsar* hauing no leysure to follow him, sente *Domitius* against him, to whome he deliuered the Citie, and vppon conditions of peace, went away with his horsemen, whose horse he killed, they being much greeued at it. Being condeyed by shippe, he fledde to *Pontus*, and gathering some *Scythians* and *Sauromatians*, toke *Theudocia* and *Panticapea*. His old aduersarie *Asandre* comming againe vpon him, and his horsemen wantyng horse, and not vsed to fight on foote, they were ouercome, *Pharna-*

ces

ces alone fighting valiauntlye, till hee was wounded, and died when he was fiftye yeares olde, and xb. yeares king of *Bosphorus*. This *Pharnaces* losse his kingdome, whiche *C. Cæsar* gaue to *Mithridates* of *Pergame*, that had holpen hym well in *Aegipt*. Nowe they be free, but to *Pontus* and *Bythinia*, a president is sent euery yeare. *Pharnaces* slaine by a priuie sect.

The other countries that *Pompey* had giuen, although *Cæsar* blamed them for taking *Pompeys* parte against him, yet he let them haue it, sauing the spiritual office of *Comagene*, which he translated from *Archelaus* to *Nicomedes*: but not long after, bothe these and those that *C. Cæsar* and *M. Antonius* gaue to other, wer made prouinces of the Romaynes, by *Augustus Cæsar*, when he hadde wonne *Aegipt*, the Romaines taking lighte occasions againste euery man. Therfore their dominion encreasyng by thys warre of *Mithridates*, into *Pontus Euxinus*, and to the landes of *Aegipt*, and the floude *Euphrates* from the *Hiberians* that be at the pilers of *Hercules*, it maye wel be called a greate Victorie, and *Pompey* the Captaine euen so. They haue also *Affrica* to *Sirene*, which *Appion* the king of the house of *Lagida*, being base, gaue them by his Testament: only *Aegipt* was left for the compasse of their inwarde sea. Spiritual office of *Comagene*.

(·)

K.

The ende of the Romaine ciuill vvarres vvith King Mithridates.

¶ The *Romanes* warre with the Spanyardes: by Appian of Alexandria.

Iberia that parte of *Spayne* on eyther side of *Iberus* the floud nowe *Ebro*. *Celtiberia* that part whiche nowe is called *Arragon*.

THe mountaynes of *Pyrene*, stretche from the *Toscane* sea to the Northe *Ocean*. The *Celtes* which nowe be called *Galles*, do inhabit part of them toward the East. The *Iberians*, and *Celtiberians* from the *Toscane* Sea also, to the pillowres of *Hercules*, and the Northe *Ocean*, be towarde the Weast, so as *Iberia* is compassed with the Sea, except the mountaines of *Pyrene*, which be the greatest and highest hilles of *Europe*. The nations make a nauigation with this compasse, and come to the pillers of *Hercules*. They doe not go by the winter and Weast *Ocean*, but to passe into *Brittayne* whyche they doe, by the commoditie of the tydes going and comming: and this passage is made by sayling halfe a day. Other places of this *Ocean* neyther the *Romanes* themselues, nor none of their Empire haue passed. Therefore the greatnesse of *Iberia*, which now is called *Spayne*, being confedered as one prouince, is almost incredible, for the breadth of it is tenne thousand furlongs, and the length as muche. Manye nations inhabite it, and be diuers in names, and there be many nauigable flouds in it. What people did inhabite first, or who got it after, and suche other matter, I am not minded to shew, but only so much as may appertayne to the *Romanes*. Only this I will saye, that I suppose the *Celtes* passed the *Pyrenian* hilles, and dwelled among the other inhabitants of the Countrey, of the whiche it is manifest, that the name of the *Celtiberians* came: and the *Phœnitians* long before, sayling often thither, I thinke did inhabite a part of it. Likewise other *Grecians*, that sayled to *Tartessus*, to *Arganthonius* king of the same, did stay in *Iberia*, for as I suppose, *Arganthonius* reigned then in *Spayne* at *Tartessus*, whiche was then a Citie at the Sea coast, that is nowe named *Carpteſſe*. And I beleeue that the Temple of

Brittayne nowe *Englande*.

Spayne a great region.

Eight furlongs maketh a mile.

Tartessus nowe *Tarcssa* in *Germania*.

Arganthonius lyued a hundred and fifty yeares.

of *Hercules*, was builded of *Iphenia*, in that place which is called the pillers, in the whiche at this day Ceremonies be vsed after the manner of the *Phœnitians*, and he that was borne at *Tirus*, not he that was borne at *Thebes*, was counted the God of that Countrey. But we leaue this to them that haue care to search antiquities.

There were diuers *Hercules*, whereof one was of *Tirus* borne of *Asteria* another of *Thebes* borne of *Alcumena*.

This coast so plentifull and rich, the *Carthagies* deuised to get before the *Romanes*, and subdued one parte, and vexed the other with continuall inuasions, till the *Romanes* put thē out, & possessed al their places. Other townes afterward came to their Empire by muche labour and long time, whiche reuolting diuers times, were againe subdued by the *Romanes*, who diuided that region into three parts, and sent so many presidents to it. How they got euery place, and what warre they kepte with the *Carthagies*, and then with the *Iberians* and *Celtiberians*, I will shew in this volume. The *Romanes* firste made warre with the *Carthagies*, but bycause that warre was made for *Spayne*, I must nedes shew it in this history, whiche I wright of *Spayne*, and for that cause I haue comprehended in the boke of the warre of *Sicelie*, what adoe was betweene the *Romanes* and *Carthagies* for that Islande, and that was, when the *Romanes* sayled into *Sicelie* to subdue that place.

The first warre of *Carthage* for *Sicelie*.

The first warre with the *Carthagies* was in *Sicelie*, for the dominion of that Iland.

The second was in *Spayne*, for the possession of it, at the whiche tyme, eyther of them inuaded others lands wyth greate armyes and Naule. The *Carthagies* destroying *Italy*, and the *Romanes Libya*.

This warre begamne about the CXL. Olimpiad, when the *Carthagies* had broken the truce that was made in the warre of *Sicelie*, the cause whereof was this. *Amilchar* surnamed *Barcha*, promised great rewards to the *Celtes* and *Libyans* that were with him in *Sicelie*, the whiche rewardes being required of *Amilchar* when he was come to *Carthage*, was the cause of the warre with *Affrike*, in the whiche the *Carthagies* suffered muche hurte, for they delyuered *Sardinia* to the *Romanes*,

The olde accompt of yeares was by the *Olimpiades*, which were playes made euery fiue yeares, in the honour of *Iupiter*, institute of *Hercules* at *Olimpia*, a Citie of *Elide*. *Amilchar Barcha*.

for the iniurie they had done to the *Romane* Merchantes in that warre. For these causes, when *Amilchar Barcha* was accused of the contrary faction, as by whome came so greate detriment of the Citie, he, by the fauoure of them that gouerned the common wealthe, whereof *Hasdrubal* called the Greate, was one, to whome he had giuen his daughter in marriage, and well beloued of the people, was not only pardoned, but also chosen a Captayne, togither with *Hanno*, that was called Great, against the *Numidians*, the accusation yet depending, by the whyche, *Amilchar* muste gyue an accompte of his doyngs in the warre.

In the first warre with the Carthagies.

Hasdrubal.

Hanno.

When the warre of *Numidia* was ended, and *Hanno* called to *Carthage* for certayne complayntes, *Amilchar* remayned Captayne of the army alone, hauing with hym *Asdrubal* hys sonne in lawe. And with hys armye, he sayled to *Gades*, and did molest the *Iberians*, spoyling theyr lande, not that they hadde deserued anye such thing, but that he soughte occasion to be absente from hys Countrey, making that warre, to wynne the fauour of the people. For deuiding the pray, he gaue parte of it to the Souldyoures that were with him, and parte he sente to *Carthage*, and parte he gaue to the chiefe of the Citie that fauoured hym.

Gades nowe Cales. They bee two Ilands in the furthest part of *Granata* next the streighte of Gillatar.

Whilest he dyd thus, certayne of the greate men, and others of *Iberia*, conspired togither, and kylled hym thus.

They sent certayne Cartes laden with wodde, whyche they followed with their armoure. At thys the *Carthagies* laughed at the fyrste, not perceyuing the policie, but when it was perceyued, and the fyghte begunne, the *Iberians* sette the Cartes on fyre, whereby the Oxen were dryuen vpon the *Numidians*. And when the fire was dispersed euery where, and the Oxen ranne hyther and thyther, it muche disordered the *Affricanes*, and brake their aray, whereby the *Iberians* came vppon them, and kylled *Amilchar Barcha*, and the rest that fought: but the *Carthagies* beyng allured by the pray of *Iberia*, sente another army to *Asdrubal* that was *Barchas* sonne in law, and committed the rule of that army to him. He ioyned to him *An-*

Stratageme of the *Iberians*.

Amilchar is slayne.

Asdrubal.

nibal

nibal that was sonne to *Barcha*, as his Lieutenant, and his wiues brother, who after gat so great a name by his valiant actes, being very yong, but expert in the warre, and accepted to the souldyoures. *Annibal.*

He wanne manye places of *Iberia* by fayre wordes, as he was verye apte to persuade, and when any thing was to be done by force, he did vse the seruice of the yong man. By thys meane, he wente ouer *Spayne*, from the *Occidentall* Sea, to the floud *Iberus*, and made all subiect to the *Carthagies* Empire, the which floud diuiding *Spayne* in the middest, floweth into the *Ocean* towarde the North, fiue dayes iourney from the Mountaines. *Iberus* runneth from *Biscay*, to the sea of *Maiorca*, &c. *Saguntum* was beyond the floud *Iberus*, nowe *Murviedre*, or *Nouiendre*. *Zathinthi*, of an Iland of the *Ionian* sea.

But the *Saguntines*, an olde inhabitance from the *Zathinians*, which be in the middest, betweene the mountaynes and the floud, and all other that were come of the *Greekes*, aboute the place called *Emporia*, and all other that inhabited any part of *Iberia*, being afrayd, sent foure Embassadors to *Rome*, wherefore the *Romanes* not willing the power of the *Carthagies* to growe to much, sent Embassadors to *Carthage*, where it was agréed, that *Iberus* should be the end of the *Carthagies* dominion in *Spaine*, and that the *Romanes* should not make warre vpon their subiects beyonde that floud, nor the *Carthagies* to goe beyonde that floud to moue warre, and that the *Saguntines*, and other Greeke people which were in *Iberia*, shoulde be free, and liue with their owne lawes, all the whiche were expressed in the league, that was made betweene the *Romanes* and the *Carthagies*. When this was done, a slaue killed *Asdruball*, whose maister he had cruelly kylled before, whilest he was taking order for that parte of *Iberia* that obeyed *Carthage*, and gone a hunting, whome *Annibal* after tormented most cruelly, and kylled. The army made *Annibal Barcha* their Captayne, a very yong man, and welbeloued of them. The conditions. *Asdruball* killed.

The enimies of *Amilchar Barcha* in the Senate of *Carthage* agréed to it, who fearing the power of *Asdruball* and *Amilchar*, did laughe at *Annibal* as a yong man, and beganne to molest in lawe, the frendes of them, accusing them of

the same faults that they accused the other that were deade, vsing the peoples fauour, whiche hated them for the losses they had, in the tyme of *Barcha* and *Asdruball*. They required those gifts that *Barcha* or *Annibball* sent to them, being of the spoyle of the ennimies. They sent to *Annibball* for helpe, shewing that he also would be despised of his fathers ennimies, except hée hadde nowe some regard of them that might defend his matters there. This was not vnknowne to *Annibball*, for he knew well ynough that the beginning of decepts would be vppon him, and thought it not good to suffer suche ennities continuallye with feare, as his father and grandfather had done, nor to liue all his lyfe, after the lightenesse of the *Carthagies*, dsyng them vnthankefullye that were of their syde, and hadde done well for the common wealth.

Annibball vvas svvorne in hys youth to bee an enimye to the Romaines.

There was a rumor, when *Annibball* was a childe, and at hys fathers commandement, ỹ he brought hym into the place where hée made sacrifices, and made hym laye his hand vppon the Altare and sweare, that so sone as he had any rule in the common wealth, he shoulde bée a mortall ennimie to the Romanes. Therfore he purposed to put his country to great and continuall dangers, that by that feare, he might preserue hys own & his frends matters from perill. Therfore, when he saw that *Affrica* was in good state, and the *Iberians* that were vnder the *Carthagies*, sykers continue in obedience, he thoughte he shoulde winne immortall fame, if he made warre agayne vppon the *Romanes*, by the feare whereof, the *Carthagies* shoulde be occupied, and mighte, by good fortune, subdue to hys Countrey the Empire of all the worlde. For hée hoped, that if the Romanes were broughte downe, that none shoulde be able to matche with hym, but if it chaunced otherwise, yet hys enterprise shoulde be honorable. And that the beginning myght brede his estimation, if he passed the floude *Iberus*, he caused the *Torboletanes*, whych be nexte the *Saguntines*, to come & complaine that the *Saguntines* had made rodes vpõ them & done them other hurtes: Which being persuaded by him, he sent theyr Ambassadors to *Carthage*, and he wrote letters priuilye, in the whiche he signified that the Romanes practised with the *Iberians*.

Annibball picketh a quarrel agaynste *Sagunt.*

berians, of the *Carthage* iurisdiction, to reuolte from them, and that the *Saguntines* didde procure the same from the Romaynes, and that there was no deceit left vndone. And of this he wrote many letters, till the Senate appointed him to do with the *Saguntines* that shoulde be profitable to the common wealth. Hee hauing got this occasion, practised with the *Torboletans* agayn, that they should come to him and complaine againe of the *Saguntines*, who also sent fiftéene Ambassadoures to hym. And when *Annibal* willed them to declare their controuersies, and they answered, they woulde make the Romanes their Iudges, they were commanded of *Annibal* to go out of hys campe. And that night passing the ryuer, he inuaded that lande, and set hys artillerie against their Citie, which, when he could not take, he compassed with ditche, wall, and trench. Then placing many garrisons, he continued the siege, and in fewe dayes, wente and came diuerse tymes. The *Saguntines* being in great feare, with these sodaine euils, sent Ambassadours to *Rome*, to whome the Senate ioyned their Ambassadoures, and sent firste to *Annibal*, to put him in remembraunce of the league, who, if he would not obey, they shoulde go to *Carthage*, and accuse hym. With these Ambassadoures they went to *Iberia*, and when they came from their shyppes to the Campe, they were commanded of *Annibal* to go no further: Wherefore they went to *Carthage* with the *Saguntine* Ambassadors, where they shewed that the league was broken.

Sagunt besieged.

The Romaine Ambassadoures forbidden to enter *Annibals* Campe.

They on the other side accused the *Saguntines*, and saide they had done hurte to their Subiectes. The *Saguntines* on the contrary side, called them to the iudgement of the Romanes. They sayde the iudgement was in vaine, when the matter muste bee tryed by force.

Whiche when the Romaines vnderstode, some thought ayde to bée sente out of hande to the *Saguntines*, some denyed it, affyrmyng the *Saguntines* not to be comprehended in the league, but lefte free. So as bothe the besiegers and the besieged, muste die their own lawes, whiche sentence preuailed.

The *Romayns* helpe not the *Saguntines*.

But the *Saguntines* being destitute of the help of the *Romanes*,

and

and oppressed of famine, and continually assaulted of *Annibal*: for he (hearing the Cittie was riche and full of golde) gaue them no time to rest: they commaunded all the golde and siluer both publique and priuate to be brought into the market, and mixed it with lead and yron, that it should be vnprofitable to *Annibal*. And because they hadde rather dye by swoorde, than by hunger, at mydnyght, when it was most darke, they came out, and assailed the watch of the *Carthagies*, looking for no such thing, and killed many of them whiles some fought and some putte on their armour. The fight was long, many *Carthagies* were slaine, and all the *Saguntines*, whose decay beyng seene from the wals, some of the women leapt from the top of their houses, some hanged themselues, some killed first their little children, & then themselues. This was the end of *Sagunt*, which was a great & mighty city. When *Annibal* vnderstoode what was done with ȳ many, he toke as many of the youth as was left, whom he tormented and killed. And not thinking it good for a Cittie situate at the sea, and in a fertile soyle, to be vnhabited, he made it an inhabitation of *Carthage*, whiche nowe, as I thinke, they call *Carthage Spartagena*. The Romaines sent Ambassadours to *Carthage*, whiche shoulde require *Annibal* as a breaker of league, vnlesse they wold confesse it to be done with ȳ common consent, & except they wold deliuer hym, to denounce the warre presently. They dyd so, and where the *Carthagies* would not deliuer *Annibal* they gaue the defyaunce, and they saide it was done after this sorte. The *Carthages* scorned the Romane Ambassadour. Hee toke vppe the skirt of his gowne, and saide: In this garment, O *Carthagies*, I bring you warre and peace, chose which you wil. They answered, giue vs which thou listest, he giuing warre, they cried al with one voice, and we receiue it: & by & by they sent to *Hannibal* to ouerrun al *Iberia*, for the league was broken. Wherfore he raunging euerye where, got some by flattery, some by threats, and some by force. He gathered many souldioures, not shewyng to what purpose he dyde it. Hys meaning was to goe into *Italy*, to sende Ambassadors to the *Galles*, to search the way of the Alps, to carry his army to *Rome*, & leaue *Asdrubal* in *Spaine*. The

Annibal, nameth *Sagunt Carthage Spartagena*.

The manner of the Romaines defiance to the *Carthages*.

Romanes.

Romaynes thinking they must make war with the *Carthagies* in *Spaine* and *Affrica*, not once suspecting their comming into *Italy*, sente *Tiberius Sempronius Longus* into *Affrica* with one hundred, threescore and two ships, and two legions. What *Sempronius Longus* and other Generalles didde in *Lybya*, all is shewed in the booke of the *Lybyan* warres. They sente into *Spayne*, *P. Cornelius Scipio* with threescore Shyppes, and ten thousande fotemen and seauen hundred horsemen, to whome they ioyned for lieutenant, his brother *Cn. Cornelius Scipio*. But one of them, that is, *Publius*, when he heard of the Marchants of *Massilia*, that *Annibal* was comming into *Italy*, and had passed the Alpes, being afraide he shoulde haue taken the *Italians* vnprouided, he deliuered the army to hys brother, and in a Galley sayled into *Aetruria*. What he or other Captaynes did, that succeeded hym in thys war, tyll *Annibal* was driuen out of *Italy* after sixteene yeares, it is shewed of vs in the booke that followeth, wherein also wee shewe all *Annibals* actes, and therefore name the booke by *Annibals* name.

Two *Scipios* sent into *Spaine*.

Massilia, Marsiles in the prouince of Marbone in Fraunce, an auntient Citie, and sometime a famous vniuersity

Cneus in this warre of the *Romanes*, didde nothing worth hy of worthyng, till his brother retourned vnto hym. For when hys tyme was expired, the *Romanes* sent the Consulls for hys successors, to make the warre againste *Annibal*, and he was vnderconsull to them, and sent againe into *Spaine*. And so the two *Scipios* didde make warre agaynste *Asdrubal* in *Spaine*.

The *Carthagies* being prouoked to fight, of *Syphax* kyng of *Numidia*, they called home *Asdrubal* vō part of his armye, whereby the *Scipios* did easily gette the reste of *Spaine*, and manye Cities yelded freely. For they were apte to gouerne armyes, and also by perswasion, to winne Cities to their obedience. The *Carthagies*, compounding with *Syphax*, sente *Asdrubal* into *Spaine* wyth more menne, and wyth thyrtye Elephantes, adioyning other two Captaines to them, that is, *Mago* and *Asdrubal*, *Gysgons* sonnes.

After that tyme, the *Scipios* had sharpe warre, and yet were superiors, of the whiche, manye souldiours of the *Carthagies* and Elephants were consumed, till the winter beyng come, the *Carthagies*

thagies went to winter at the *Turditanes*. And *Pub. Scipio* stayed at *Castulone*, and *Cneus*, at *Orsona*. To whom, when it was shewed that *Asdrubal* was comming, he went out of the Citie wyth a fewe, to sée his enimies power, but going too far vnaduisedlye, he was circumuented of the contrary horsemen, and killed, and al that were with him. *Cneus Scipio*, not knowing the chaunce of hys brother, sent hys souldiors to fetche artillerie, wyth whom the *Affricanes* made a fraye. Whiche *Cneus* vnderstanding, came forth in haste with the light harnessed to helpe hys men, wherof the former being killed and putte backe, *Scipio* was driuen into a Tower, the whiche they sette a fyre, and burned hym and hys companye. Thus the two *Scipios* were killed, men certainly of great worthinesse & greatly loued and lamented of the *Spaniards*, that had committed themselues for their sakes, to the Romaine obedience.

Pub. Scipio killed.

Cn. Scipio killed.

When this was knowen at *Rome*, the Romanes toke it very grieuously, and sent *Marcellus*, which a little before was come out of *Sicilie*, and with him *Claudius*, wyth a nauy and ten thousande footemen, two thousand horsemen, and mony and victuall sufficient to make warre in *Spaine*. Of the whiche, no notable thing being done, the *Carthagies* encreased very much, for nowe they had wellnigh gotten all *Spaine*, the Romaynes béeing driuen into a little streight, so as they were caste to the *Pyrene* hils.

The whiche when they at *Rome* heard, they were more grieued and afraide, least, whiles *Annibal* wasted those Regions, whiche were at the sides of *Italie*, the other army shoulde inuade another way: therfore thoughe they woulde neuer so muche, they coulde not leaue *Spaine*, fearing the warre of *Spaine* woulde stretch to *Italy*. Therefore they appointed a day to determine a Generall for the war in *Spaine*.

To the whiche prouince, when none nowe offered hymselfe, they were in more trouble and feare than before, for all the Senators were still for feare, till *Cornelius Scipio*, sonne to *Publius* that was slaine in *Spaine*, a yong man of xxiiij. yeres of age, but wise, & accompted noble in mind, did step forth & boldly spake lamentably the harde happe of hys father & vncle, affirming that he

Cornelius Scipio offereth his seruice in a time of feare.

he alone was left to reuenge both their deaths, and other things he added with great eloquence and vehemencie, so as it were by a diuine inflamation, he promised to restore, not onely *Spaine*, but also to take *Carthage*: wherefore he was thoughte to boaste too muche lyke a young man, but he got the fauoure of the people, whiche was stroken with greate feare. For they that feare, when better hope is promised them, they be comforted. And so *Spayne* was decreed vnto hym, as by a foresyght, that he would do some thing worthy the noblenesse of hys mynd, which the antients did not call greatnesse of minde, but rashnesse rather of courage. The coraste of *Scipio*.

Which when *Scipio* perceyued, he spake to the people again, after that sorte that he spake of himself before, adding this, that his youth should be impediment to no man. He exhorted the Elders to take that prouince, if any of them woulde: he willingly gaue place. But whē no man was found to take it, he went with the more estimation and admiration of all men into his prouince, into the whiche hee led with him. xx. fotemen, and fiue hundred horsemen. For *Annibal* vexing *Italie*, a greater number could not be spared. He had mony for their wages, and other furniture, with eightēne Galleis, wyth the which, hee sayled into *Spaine*, where reteining the fotemen and horsemen that were left, he putte them to other, and mustered and purged his whole army, and then spake to them very nobly, so as hys fame wente shortelye ouer all *Spaine*, whiche was wearye of the *Carthagies* rule. The modestie of *Scipio*.

The vertue of the *Scipions* stucke in their mindes, and they thought the house of *Scipio* was sent to them, by the will of God. Whiche thyng *Scipio* vnderstanding, pretended he did all things by diuine instigation.

And when he vnderstode that hys enimies were lodged in foure sundrye places, and that in euery campe was fiue & twenty thousande fotemen, and two thousande horse, and further, that al mony, & munition, as well for Sea as land, and also the captiues and pledges of *Spaine*, were in the Cittie that before was called *Sagunt*, and nowe named *Carthage*, and that *Mago*

was there to kéep that treasure with .x. M. mē, he thought good to make his first attempt there, being moued by the small number, the great abundance, and the seate of that Cittie to be as a Forte and a receipte of the warre both by sea and land, against *Spaine*, & the shorter passage into *Libya*. By these considerations, conferring with no man, he marched at the same set, riding all night toward this *Carthage*, & by daye he was there, and made a ditche and trenche about it, the *Carthagies* being amazed, and the same daye prepared to giue the assaulte. He sette engins & scales against al parts, but only one, where the wall was very lowe, but compassed with a poole & the sea, wherefore that place was negligently kepte of the souldiors, but ỳ they made it strong in ỳ night with arrowes and stones. *Scipio* toke the streightes of the Porte, that the enimies ships should not escape, as hée that trusting in his vertue, hoped to take the Cittie. Before daye he commanded part of the souldiors to mount the engines, & to throwe vpon the enimies from aboue, & other to run the engines at the wall by lowe, by force. Of the other side, *Mago* placed .x. M. men at the gates, which taking their occasion, should sally with their swords only: bicause in those streights thei could not vse spears: other he cōmaunded to kéep the wals and towers, and they there with their engines stones, darts & arrowes boldlye abyd ỳ fight. The alarm being made, both parts omitted no endeuor, whiles the stones or arrows were cast from hands, or engines. Some vsed slings, and euery man did his best in that kinde of armoure that he coulde handle. A band of *Scipio* was hardly handled, for ỳ *Carthagies* that kept the gates, issued with their swords, & made a hotte fray with them that brought the engines, and did as much hurt as they toke, till the Romaynes, whose courage encreaseth in perils, made them to retire, they that defended that wall, beyng tyred, and they that fought without sleyng, the Romaynes myghte easilye sette their engines to the wall. Agaynst whom, they that hadde skirmished, wente vppe to the wall, and so agayne the Romaynes were putte to fighte. *Scipio* that loked aboute him, and exhorted them in all places, perceiued toward ỳ south, ỳ place where the wall was low, and that ỳ water did fall from

The diligence of *Scipio*.

Scipio besiegeth newe *Carthage*.

frō it, according to the course of the sea, so that ꝑ was before to the braſt, was now but to the mid legge. Whiche thing being perceyued, and the matter diligently examined, he spent the reſt of the day, that the sea did encreaſe, by going aboute, and encouraging his ſouldyoures to doe it. My ſouldyoures (sayde he) nowe is the time, and whileſt the help of God commeth to hs, ſcale the wall on this ſide, where the Sea openeth a way vnto vs, I will goe before you: and saying thus, he take the ladders firſt, with the which he beganne to mount before any other, but his gard and others ſtaying him, and the ſouldyoures taking the matter in hand, the *Romanes* got vp, whome, when he perceyued to be vpon certayne towers, he badde the trumpetours and drummes goe vp the wall, and encourage the *Romanes* with their noyſe. This thing affraying the enimie, they fledde as the Citie had bin taken, ſome of the *Romanes* fought with them, ſome ranne, and opened the gate to *Scipio*, who entred with his army. They of the Citie fledde into houſes, and other places. *Mago* broughte his ſouldyoures into the market place, whiche being ſone ouercome, fledde into the Caſtell with a few, which when *Scipio* aſſaulted, he not being able to defend it, all his men vtterly diſcouraged, he yelded to *Scipio*. This ſo greate a Citie beyng taken in one day, which was the fourth day after his comming, he was extolled with infinite prayſe of all men, beleeuing that he did all things rather by the counſell of the gods than of men, and ſo he perſuaded himſelfe, the which opinion he mainteyned all his life, taking beginning at this time. For this cauſe he wou'de many times goe alone into the Capitoll, and ſhutte the dores, as to be taught of God. Wherefore at this day, only *Scipios* image is broughte out of the Capitoll, whereas all others are taken from the common place. Then *Scipio* hauing taken the Citie, whiche ſhoulde be as a receptacle, and a ſtorehouſe of all things for warre and peace, in the whiche greate plentie of armoure, ſhotte, and engines, and furniture for the Naule, and thirtie and three ſhippes, and corne, and manye other things were layde vp as in a common market, beſide yuorie, golde, and ſiluer, as well coyned, as vncoyned, and the pledges of *Spayne*,

Nevv *Carthage* is taken.

Mago yeeldeth.

An opinion of *Scipio*, that he did all things by inſpiration from God.

and the captiues of *Rome*. He made sacrifise to God, and ỳ next day triumphed. Then after he had prayed his souldyoures, he turned his tale to the townesmen, renuing the memorie of the *Scipios*, and deliuering all them that were in bondage, that whē they came to their countreys, they mighte winne them to hym. These things being thus done, he rewarded him most liberally that firste mounted the wall, and to the seconde he gaue halfe so much, and to the third, and others by like proportion. The purrie, golde, & siluer, that was left of the pray, he put in shippes, and sent to *Rome*, where three dayes togither holy dayes were made, bycause it seemed, that the Citie was restored to the auntiente dignitie, after so manye euils. All *Spayne*, and the *Carthagineans* were astonished with the great acte that was done so valiantly, and so spedely. *Scipio* leauing a strong garrison in the Citie, commaunded that parte of the wall that was next the sonne, to be made higher, and he went to subdue the rest of *Hiberia*, which he did by going himselfe to some of them, and sending his frides to other, and taking them by force that resisted. Of the *Carthagies* the Captaynes being both *Asdrubals*, the one sonne of *Amilcare*, and hauyng an army of strangers in the furthest part of *Spayne*, the other, the sonne of *Gisgo*, exhorted the Cities that remained in the *Carthagies* obedience, to continue in the same, for a greate armye should come shortly to help them. He sent another *Mago* into the next places to gather men, and he entred the Countrey of *Lersanes*, which reuolted from the *Carthagies*, to beseege a Citie. But *Scipio* comming vpon him, he wente into *Granata*, and set his Camp at the Citie, where the next day he was easily ouercome, for *Scipio* put him from his Campe, and got all *Graunata*. *Mago* was occupyed in gathering of Souldyoures, which were yet in *Spayne* at *Cerbona*, that with all his power, he myght encounter with the *Romanes*. Many *Spanyardes* ioyned with *Mago*, and many *Numidians* being commaunded of *Massiniſſa*. *Asdrubal* kepte in his Campe with the footemen of these nations. *Mago* and *Maſſiniſſa*, with the horsemen, had their camp before the army. They being thus, *Scipio* diuided his horsemen, and sent one part with *Lelio* against *Mago*, and he went agaynſt

Reuvards of the *Romanes* to him that firſte mounted the vvall, a grounde of golde vvas giuen.

Lersani. Betica. Granata.

Cerbona.

Maſ-

Maſsiniſſa. The fight was long, sharp, and dangerous, the *Numidians* setting on, and going backe, and comming againe to the fighte with their shotte. But when *Scipio* gave a token to hys Souldyoures, that the *Romanes* shoulde follow them, and fyghte with them with their speares, the *Numidians* being destitute of shotte, were putte to flight, and retired to their tentes. *Scipio* encamped tenne furlongs from them, in a strong place as he desired. The whole strength of the *Carthagies* was. lx. thousande fotemen, fiue thousande horse, and thirtie Elephants. *Scipio* had not the third part, therefore he was doubtfull a while, and durst not ioyne with the whole battell, but continued with skirmishing, whose victuall beeing almost spent, and the army beginning to lacke, he thought it vnhonorable to departe and doe nothing, therefore making sacrifice, and bringing his armye where he mighte well be hearde, framing his countenance and loke, as though he had bin inspired of God, he saide, his accustomed Angell hadde bin with him, and exhorted him to fighte, by reason whereof they shoulde rather truste in the power of God, than in the number of men, chiefly bycause his other attemptes were brought to good effect, by the power diuine, and not by the multitude of Souldyoures. To make credite to his wordes, hee caused the southsayers to shew them the sacrifices. And whiles he spake thus, hee espyed certayne birdes flieyng, vnto whome turning hym selfe, he badde the Souldyoures beholde them, saying that God dyd sende them that token of victory also, and that way the birdes flewe, he turned hys bodye, as one rapte with a diuine furie, and wyth hys eyes fixed, cryed. Wherfore all the armye turned with him hither and thither, and euerye man exhorted other, as to a certayne victory. When he saiwe the thing come to passe as he wouide, not suffering the courage of the souldyoure to relent, he made no delay, but as one taken with all one diuine furie, the tokens and ceremonies of theyr good lucke being shewed, he sayd, it must be obeyed, and ỹ battell must be made. Whē the Souldyoures had refreshed thēselues, he cōmanded to take armor: He cōmitted ỹ horsemē to *Sillanā*, the fotemē to *Lelio* & *Martio*, *Asdrubali Magonē*, & *Maſsiniſſa*. Whē they

The valiantnes of *Scipio*.

Scipio taketh occasion of euery thing to encourages the Souldyoures.

saiwe

saw they were taken of the suddaine of *Scipio*, being but fewe furlongs betweene the Camps, they blew the alarme, not without confusion and tumult: therefore the battell being begunne, the *Romane* horsemen vsing their old arte, were superioure, following hard their enimies, and beating thē with their speares, though they fayned to flie, and turne againe, for the *Romanes* being continually at their heles, kepte them from their shooting, bycause they were so nigh.

The footemen being ouerlayd with the *Libyans*, continued all day, and although *Scipio* ranne aboute and erhorted them to the fight, they would neuer giue any fierce onsette, til he delyuering his horse to his squire, toke a souldiours target, and wente alone into the middest betweene both armies, crying, helpe *Romanes*, help your *Scipio* in this perill. Therefore they that were nigh, seing him in so great perill, and they that were further off, hearing him, all being moued, both with shame, and danger of their Generall, erhorted one another, and went against their enimies with great vehemence, which when the *Affricanes* were not able to abide, they turned their backes, therfore partly wery with fight, and partly weake with famine, the nighte being at hand, they were vtterly ouerthrowen. This was the ende of the fighte at *Cerbona*, in the whiche the victorye was doubtfull: eight hundred *Romanes* were slaine, and tenne thousand fiue hundred of the enimies. From that time, the *Carthagies* made hast to be gone, *Scipio* followed, and endamaged them al wayes that was possible, but when they were come to a place strong and well watered, and full of their necessaries, so as the matter required a siege, *Scipio* left *Sillanus* to hold them in, and he wente to winne the rest of *Spaine*.

The courage of *Scipio*.

Scipios victory at *Cerbona*.

The *Carthagies* that were besieged of *Sillanus* remoued, and went to *Cales* to passe the Sea, and when *Sillanus* had done them as much hurt as he could, he returned with his army to *Scipio*.

Asdruball, *Amilchars* sonne, whiche was gathering of men at the North *Ocean*, was called of his brother *Annibal*, to come into *Italy* so sone as he could. The whiche, that he might not be vnknowen to *Scipio*, he passed the *Pirenian* hilles that were nexte

Asdruball passeth the mountaynes.

the

the North, with the *Celtiberians* that he had, and so the *Romanes* being ignorant, *Asdrubell* came to *Italy* with great iourneys.

In the meane season, *Liuius* comming from *Rome*, tolde *Scipio*, that the Senate minded to make hym Captayne of the warre of *Carthage*, which thing *Scipio* loked for, and trusting it woulde be so, sent *Lelius* with fiue Shyppes to King *Syphax*, with many giftes, to remember vnto him the friendship that had bin betweene him and the *Scipios*, and to aske him, if he came into *Africa*, whether he would be friend to the *Romanes*, whiche *Syphax* promised to doe, and receyued the giftes, and sente *Scipio* others. When the *Carthagies* vnderstode that, they sente Embassadors to *Syphax* also, to remember him of societie and league, which *Scipio* vnderstanding, and minding to preuent the *Carthagies*, bycause it was a matter of greate importance, with two Gallies onely, and with *Lelius*, wente vnto him, and when he came to the porte, the *Carthagies* whiche were come before him, brought out their Gallies, vnknowen to *Syphax*, against *Scipio*, but he hauing the benefite of the winde, with full saple, entred the port before them. *Syphax* receyued them both courteously, and talking priuately with them, and giuing his faith, sent them away. He commaunded the *Carthagies* that layd new trapues against him, to be stayd. This perill *Scipio* escaped, when he came to the coast, and when he went from thence. And it is said, that whilest *Scipio* was with *Syphax*, he sate at the table with *Asdrubal*, who when he hadde asked him many questions, he greatly wondered at the sight and modestie of him, and turnyng to his friends, sayd, that he was a man to be feared, not onely in the warre, but also at a table.

Scipio in danger in going to *Syphax*.

The opinion of the *Carthage* Embassador of *Scipio*.

At this time, some of the *Iberians* and *Celtiberians* did yet serue vnder *Hanno*, with whome *Martius* did encounter, and killed a thousande fiue hundred of them, the rest fledde home, other seuen hundred horsemen, and seuen thousand footemen, being with *Hanno*, *Martius* droue into an hyll, where wanting all necessaries, they sent to *Martius* for composition, whome he commaunded to deliuer their Captayne *Hanno*, and the fugitiues, and then tell their message; so they tolde *Hanno* that was hea-

ring of matters, and deliuered him, and the fugitiues to *Martius*: he required also the captiues: whome, when he had receyued, he commaunded the Souldyoures to bring a certaine summe of siluer into a playne, bycause it was not fitte for them that aske pardon, to kepe highe places: whiche when they were delyuered, *Martius* sayde vnto them, you are well worthy deathe, for where as euery of you haue youre countreys subiect to vs, you had rather make warre against vs, thaboure enimies, yet I am content, and giue you leaue to goe safe, putting off youre armour.

The victorie of *Martius*.

Whiche when they hearde, being all greeued with it, and denying to doit, a sharp fight was made, in the which, halfe of them were slayne, the other halfe escaping to *Magon*. He not long before, was come to *Hannos* Campe with sixtie shippes, but hearyng of hys calamitie, he returned to *Gades*, where beyng in wante, he was put in greate feare, and there he resisted.

Souldyoures vvill not deliuer their armoure.

Sillanus was sente to the Citie of *Castaces*, where, when he was receyued as an enimie, he sette hys Campe before the Towne, and made *Scipio* to knowe of it, who senying afore what was fytte for the seege, followed, and by the way gotte the Citie of *Illiturga*, the whyche in the tyme of olde *Scipio*, was friende to the *Romanes*: and when he was slayne, they reuolted priuily, and pretendyng to receyue the *Romanes* armye as a friende, delyuered it to the *Carthagies*. Wherfore *Scipio* beeyng angrie, ouercame it in foure houres, and toke it.

Castaces.

Illiturga.

Heere *Scipio* hadde a wounde in hys necke, but not so greate, as he woulde departe from the fyghte, tyll he hadde gotte the Citie, for thys cause, the armye despising the pray, kylled women and children, and vtterly destroyed it.

Scipio vvounded.

When they came to *Castace*, he besieged it in three partes, but dyd not assaulte it, that he myghte gyue the *Castaces* tyme to repente, bycause he heard they were aboute suche a matter. And when they hadde kylled the Captain of the garrison which resisted, they deliuered the Citie to *Scipio*: he leauing a certayne honest man of the Citie to kepe it, went towarde *Carthage*, sending

The *Castaces* yeelde to *Scipio*.

sending *Sillanus* and *Martius* to the Sea, to spoyle and waste all that they could.

There was a Citie called *Astapa*, whiche was alwayes of the *Carthagies* deuotion. When they sawe they were beseeged, and knewe that if they came vnder the *Romanes* power, they shoulde be solde as slaues, they brought all theyr goodes and riches into the market place, and compassing the same with wodde, they badde their wiues and children goe vp to it, and sware fiftie of the chiefe of the Citie, that if the Citie were taken, they shoulde kyll their wiues and children, sette the wodde on fyre, and burne them and themselues. *Astapa.*

When they hadde called the Gods vnto witnesse of the same, they issued vppon *Martius*, looking for no suche thyng, with the whyche violence, the shotte and the horsemen were putte to flighte. The footemen stayd. The *Astapeans* fought valiantlye withoute hope of remedye. The *Romanes* were more in number, but the *Astapeans* were not inferioure in vertue, who, when they were all slayne, the fiftie whyche were in the Citie, kylled all the women and children, and then kindled the fyre, and lepte into it. *Martius* maruelling at the vertue of them, restrayned from burning their houses. The desperatiō of the *Astapeans.*

After these doynges, *Scipio* fell sicke, and *Martius* ruled the army, and so the Souldyoures that had spente all vppon pleasure, and thought they hadde not receyued worthy rewardes for theyr seruice, bycause they hadde nothyng lefte, and to whome *Scipio* ascribed the glory of all hys noble actes, they reuolted from *Martius*, and hadde their Campe by themselues, and manye of the garrisons and nygh Castels ioyned vnto them, and some were sente of *Mago* with money, to persuade them to him. *Scipio* sicke. The *Romanes* souldioures mutine.

They receyued the money, but makyng Captaynes and officers of themselues, they did all thyngs of their owne authoritie, and bounde them to it by oth.

Scipio hearing of thys, wrote vnto them that were authoures, and sayde, hee coulde not yet rewarde them as The prudence of *Scipio.*

The prudence of Scipio.

they were worthy, because of his sickenesse, and to other he wrote, to appease them that were in rage, and wrote to all generally, as though they had now bin reconciled, that he would shortly rewarde them all, and willed them so some as might be, to come to *Carthage* for forage. These letters being redde, some suspected some euill, other thinking no hurt, thought good to give credite to them, and agreed to goe to *Carthage*, whither when *Scipio* vnderstode they were comming, he commanded all the Senatoures that were with him, that eache one of them should goe with one of the Authoures of sedition, and receyuing them into their tentes in shewe of friendshippe, to take them priuily. Then he commaunded the Tribunes of the souldyoures, that the next morning, euery of them with their most trusty friendes, with their swordes, shoulde goe priuily, and place them in diuers partes of the citie, and when they had fitte places, not looking for any other commaundement, shoulde immediately kill them, if they made any stirre while he spake by Oration.

When it was daye, he called all the Souldyoures to an assemblie, and caused himself to be borne to the Generalles seate. They hearing the sounde of the trumpet, being ashamed not to awayte vppon their Generall, being sicke, and thinking they shoulde haue receyued their rewardes, came from euery place, part without swordes, part couered with a little coate, because they had not time to make them ready.

Scipio to the Souldioures that made the mutinie.

Scipio hauing a garde secretely aboute him, did sharpe rebuke them for their déede, then said, he would put all the blame in the authors of the sedition, whome O Souldyoures, by your helpe I will punish.

Then he commaunded the officers to remoue ỹ multitude further, which being done, the Senatoures brought the authors of seditiõ forth, who crying, and praying their fellowes of help, the Tribunes that were commanded, killed them that durst once make any noyse. The multitude when they saw them thus handled, and the other armed, they were sorie, and helde their peace, *Scipio* commaunding them to bée fyrste killed,

The authors of seditiõ punished and the multitude pardoned.

killed, that tried, the other he bound to the pale and beate them with roddes, and after beheaded them. To the reste of the multitude he signified by the Trumpet, that he forgaue them, & by this order the army was reformed.

Indibilis a certaine Prince, that before obeyed *Scipio*, during the sedition of the souldiours, raunged the dominion of *Scipio*, he being followed, would not refuse battaile as a cowarde, and killed a thousande two hundred of the Romane souldiours. But losing twenty thousande of his men, he was compelled to aske peace, whome *Scipio* punished by the purse, and receyued hym to grace. *Indibilis.*

Massinissa, vnknowen to *Asdrubal*, sailed into *Spaine*, & made amitie with *Scipio*, and promised if he came into *Affrica*, to be his aider. Thus he did being otherwise a coūtrie man for this cause. *Asdrubal*, that ledde him with hym, had espoused his daughter to him, whome *Syphax* loued. Whereof the *Carthagies* thoughte it needefull for them, to holde *Syphax* agaynste the Romaynes, and gaue the maide in marriage vnto him withoute *Asdrubals* priuitie, whiche thing being done, *Asdrubal* was ashamed, and kepte it secreate from *Massinissa*. Whiche when he vnderstoode, he made league with the *Romanes*. *Massinissa* ally'eth vvith the Romaines by cause the *Carthagies* had giuen *Sophonisba* his vvife to *Syphax* his enimies.

Mago the admirall of the *Carthagies*, despayring of the state of *Spaine*, went into *Gallia* and *Liguria*, and gathered men with al his might. This is parte of Fraunce and *Liguria* of *Italy*.

The *Romanes* toke *Gades* being lefte of *Mago*, and from that time, begaune to send yearely officers to gouerne *Spaine* a little before the. CXL. *Olympiade*, which in peace had the office both of a Captaine and a Iustice. In the which with no greate army, *Iantis* was brought into the forme of a Cittie, whiche of the name of *Italie*, was called *Italica*, and after, was the Countrey of *Adriane* and *Traiane*, who were chosen to the rule of the Romaynes. Hee returned to *Rome* with a nauie well furnished and and filled with Captiues, money and people of al sorts, and was receyued of the people of *Rome*, with all Ilandes, especially of the North, for the greatnesse and marueilous expedition of his doynges. And euen they that firste enuied him, and noted him of *Iouis*, the countrey of *Adriane* and *Traiane*. *Scipio* honored of all sortes.

of boasting, confessed the thing to be brought to a glorious end.

Indibilis is killed

Indibilis after *Scipios* returne, reuolted agayne. Wherfore the lieutenaunts of *Spaine*, gathering the ordinarie garrisons together, and other of the prouince, killed hym, and condemned the authors of the rebellion, and confiscated their goodes. Them y were priuie to the mutinie, they punished in money, spoyled them of their armoure, and toke pledges of them, and put greater garrisons in their Townes. These things were done streight after *Scipios* departure.

This is *Gallia Togata*, that did inhabite the place called nowe *Lombardie*.

This was the ende of the *Romanes* first warre in *Spaine*. After the whiche tyme, the *Romanes* making warre with the *Galles* that dwell aboute *Po*, and with *Phillip* king of *Macedaine*, the state of *Spaine* beganne to be troublesome againe. *Sempronius Fudisanus*, and *M. Claudius*, and after the *Minutius*, were chosen Generalls, and after, when there was greater stirre, *Cato* was sent wyth a greater army, a young man, but seuere and painefull, and very notable for hys wysedome and eloquence, insomuche, as of the people hée was called another *Demosthenes*, who was the principall Orator of all *Grecia*.

Emporium *Cato* compared to *Demosthenes* his courage.

When he was come into *Spaine*, to the place called *Emporium*, and vnderstode that the enimies were togither in a place to the number of foure thousande, he kepte hys Souldioures certaine dayes in exercise, and when he determined to fighte, he sent the ships which he had with hym to *Massilia*, admonishing the souldioures that it was not to be feared though the enimie was more in number, seeing the vertue of the minde is mucht more of price, than the multitude. And that he had therfore sent away his shippes, whereof they had no nede, nor were kept, but for them that ouercame. And when he had saide thus, he gaue a fierce onset vpon the enimye, and afraying his Souldioures, rather than exhorting them, as other were wonte to doe, when the fight was begunne, he ranne to euery part, and encouraged the souldiors. The fight continued doubtfull till night, many falling on both sides, and when he wyth three thousand had ben vpon an hill, to see al partes of the fight, and saw his men were compassed of the enimie, he came downe with haste, offring him-

Cato rather reproueth than chydeth his host. The valiantnes and diligence of *Cato*.

selfe

felte to peril with the foremoste, & so crying & fighting, he brake the enimies aray, & laid the first foundation of victory. He chased ỹ enimy al night, he got their camp, & killed an infinite multitude. As he returned, al mette with him, embraced and congratulated with him as the Authour of victorie. These things beyng done, he gaue rest to the armye, and made destribution of the spoyle. Ambassadors came to him from al people, of whom he receiued pledges. Besides he sent letters sealed to the Cities, commanding the bearers to deliuer al in one daye, appointyng the daye, as by coniecture he considered the distance of place, as they might make their iorny to the furthest Cities. He cõmanded the rulers of euery citie, to pul down their wals, & threatned destruction to them ỹ made any delay. Al obeyed, beyng mindful of ỹ losse they had receyued, & seuerally they durst not resist, thinking it had bin cõmãded to them only & not to other, and if it were to other, they were afraid if other did obey, they should be punished, if they did disobey. And if they alone did obey, it was a matter of no greate moment. Where was no respite for them to send to their neighbors, & of the souldiors that brought the letters, they were vrged to it: wherfore euery citie, to saue themselues, pulled down their wals, and that they might haue thanke for their quicke obedience, they did it with great spede. By this meane all the Cities that be about the floud *Iberus*, did cast downe their walls in one day, by the only wisedome of their Captaine, & they were quiet to the Romanes, for the spare of foure *Olympiades*. But after the CL. *Olympiade*, great parte of *Spaine* rebelled from the *Romanes* bicause they wer in wãt of al necessaries for food. Wherfore the matter comming to light, *Fuluius Flaccus* Consull, ouercame them, and manye fled to their possessions. But they that were in most want, and got their liuing with robbing, assembled al together at *Complega*, a City new made & wel defenced, that had encreased in a short time: for hence they many times molested the *Romanes*, and set to *Flaccus*, that he should leaue a cloake, an horse, and a syluer for euery one that he had killed, and flee out of *Spaine* before worse happed but to him. *Flaccus* answered, he would bring many souldiors coats, & following their messegers, came at ỹ city.

The victory of *Cato*.

A people of *Cato* pulling down the walls of al Cities at once.

Fiue yeres wras betweene the *Olympiades*.

Fuluius hath victory.

Compolega.

The word is *Sagum* which is cote that souldiours were in warre.

They

They not doyng any thing according to their great braues feare, and dayly spoyled the Countreis. They vse a certaine garment double, of thicke woll w̄ a buckle fastned like a cloke, and that they count a Souldiours coate.

Carabis. Suadaliepa.

Tiberius Sempronius Gracchus, succeded *Flaccus*. The *Celtiberians* besieged *Carabis*, a Cittie friend to the *Romaynes* wyth twentye thousande souldioures, and thought to gette it quickly. Wherefore *Gracchus*, comming to helpe them, and not hauing any meane to signifie it to the besieged, a certaine capitaine of a bande, named *Cominius*, tolde *Gracchus* what he had deuised with himselfe, he put on a *Spaniardes* coate, and wente among the slaues of the campe, and as a *Spaniard* came with them to the Campe, and from thence into the Cittie, and tolde them that *Gracchus* was at hande with helpe. Wherefore they abode the siege valiauntly, and within three dayes *Gracchus* came, and so the *Celtiberians* left the siege.

The exployt of Cominius.

A craft of the Celtiberians punished vvith the like.

One daye twenty thousande came from *Complega*, bringing braunches of Olyue lyke petitioners, asking pardon, whiche comming nighe the Romanes Generall, gaue a violent onsette on the Romanes, and put them in great daunger. *Gracchus* went from the Campe of purpose, and made as thoughe he fledde, and whiles they were aboute the spoile, he returned, and sette vpon them and killed many of them and got *Complega*. He appointed their lande and the neighbors to them that had none: and made league with the inhabitants of that countrey, with certaine conditions, whereby they were receiued into the *Romanes* amitie, to the whiche he bounde them by othe. These conditions were much desired in the wars that followed, and for these things the name of *Gracchus* was greate bothe in *Spaine* and *Rome*, where he triumphed gloriously.

Conditions of Gracchus.

A fewe yeares after, great warre was renewed in *Spayne*. There was a Cittie in the borders of the *Celtiberians* that is called *Belli*, named *Segeda*, great and mighty remembred in the league of *Gracchus*. This Cittie entitling other little Townes to it, builded their walles, the compasse whereof was forty furlongs. Their example induced the *Titthiani*, an other nation

of

of the *Celtiberians* to do the lyke. Whyche thing the Senate vnderstanding, forbadde them the building of their wal, and required the tribute appointed by *Gracchus*, and commanded them to goe to warre with the Romanes, to the whiche they were also bounde by the league of *Gracchus*. They answered, that touching their walles, they were bound by *Gracchus*, not to builde any newe Cities, but not, that they should not defend their olde. As touching tributes and seruice in warre, they were released by the Romanes, and so they were indeede, with this condition, so long as it shoulde seeme good to the Senate and people of *Rome*, wherefore *Q. Fuluius Nobilior*, was sent against them with an army of thirty thousande.

Segetanes.

The *Segetanes* hearing that he was comming, their walls not being yet finished, desired the *Arascians* to receiue them, and so they fled to them. They made their chiefe Captaine *Carus*, whom the *Segetanes* thoughte to be a man expert in warre. The three dates after he was created Generall, laide an ambushe of twentye thousande footemen, and fyue thousande horse, in a shadowy and woody place, and from thence gaue a charge vpon the Romanes. The fight was doubtfull a greate while, at length *Carus* hadde a noble victorie, for he slewe fyue thousande Romanes, whiche was a great losse to the Citie.

Arascians.

Carus.

Carus victorie of the Romanes.

But when they vsed the victory carelesly and too proudly, the Romanes horsemen that garded the carriage, set vppon them, and slew *Carus* fighting valiantly for himselfe, and fyue thousand with hym, tyll the fyghte was ended by the darkenesse of the night.

Carus is slaine.

This was done the same daye that the Romaynes kepte the feaste of *Vulcane*. After that daye, none of them woulde come to fight, but by compulsion. The *Arascians* assembled that night at *Numantia*, which is a very strong citie. They chose *Arathon* and *Leuton*, Captaines of the warre. *Fuluius* came thither the thirde daye, and camped foure and twenty furlongs from the citie, to whom *Masanissa* had sent three hundred horsemen, and thirtye Elephants, which being come, he went straight to the fight. He placed the Elephants at the backe of the army, and when

The feast of *Vulcane* was in *August*.

Arathon, *Leuton*.

Fuluius vyinneth and looseth.

the fight was begonne, opened a way for the Elephants, whom when the *Celtiberians* saw, they and their horse, were afraid, and fled to the walles. The Romayne had the Elephants shoulde be brought to the wal. There was a fierce fight, till one of the Elephants being hurte in the heade with a stone from the wall, began to rage and be unruly, and with furie turne upon his fellowes, thrusting and treading downe every one he met, no difference betweene friend and foe: and the rest of the Elephants being made afrayde did the lyke, and trode and thruste downe the Romaine souldiours. The whiche thing the Elephants, when they are in feare, are wonte to doe, taking everye man for their enimye: wherefore for this falshode, they are called common enimies. Therfore the *Romanes* without order fled away, which when the *Numantines* saw from the walles, they came forth and chased them, and slewe foure thousande of them, and take their Elephants, and muche armour, and many ensignes. Of the *Celtiberians* two thousand were killed. When *Fuluius* hadde gotten from that slaughter, he besieged *Axenium*, which was as a common market for the enimyes, for there was all thinges to sell. Where, when he did no good, but lose his men, he retired by night to his campe. Wherefore hee sente *Blesius* the Capitayne of the horsmen to a nation that was nigh and his friend, (for he wanted horsemen) with a bande of horse. In the way, they fell into an ambushe of *Celtiberians*, whiche beyng knowne, the frendes fledde, and *Blesius* fought and was killed, and many *Romanes* with him.

An Elephant hurt loseth the victorie.

Elephants common enimies.

The flight of the Romaines.

Axenium.

Blesius killed.

For the whiche losses and ouerthrowes, *Ocile*, a Cittie in the whiche the *Romanes* had their treasure and munition, yelded to the *Celtiberians*.

Ocile in *Galecia.*

Then *Fuluius* distrusting himselfe, and afraid of all things, kepte within his campe that winter, defending it as well as he coulde, and getting victuall, yet was greatly troubled for lacke and for bitternesse of colde, wherfore many Souldyours partly goyng for wood, partly for the sharpnesse and great colde, did perishe.

The mountains be the cause of colde in hote countries.

The yeare following, *Claudius Marcellus*, came in *Fuluius* place,

Claudius Marcellus.

place, bringing eighte thousande footemen, and .v. C. horsemen, againste whome, when the enimies likewise had laide trames, he, by another crafte, auoyded them, and went streight to *Ocile*, & there camped with all his power: and fortune fauouring hym, toke the Cittie at the firste assaulte, whome he pardoned, receiuing some pledges, and thyrtie talentes of golde. When thys modestie was hearde, the *Nergobriges* sente messengers to *Marcellus*, to know what they might do to haue peace. He commaunded them to sende him an hundred horsemen. They promised so to doe, yet they folowed the taple of the armye, and toke some of the cariage. Notwithstanding, they came after, and brought a hundred horsemen, and laide, their hurte in the carriage, was done by the errour of some, that knewe not the couenauntes. *Marcellus* made the hundred horsmen prisoners, and solde their horses: then he ranged their lande, and gaue the pray to the souldioures, and encamped at their Cittie, where, when they saw their engines brought, and their trenches made, they sente oute an Heraulte wearing a Wolfs skinne, to aske pardon, whiche he denyed to giue, except the *Arnacceans*, *Bellans*, and *Titthians*, woulde sewe for them, the whiche those nations did willingly, praying that a reasonable payne beyng putte vppon them, they might be brought to the league of *Graccchus*. Some of them denied that, bicause they hadde but at strife. *Marcellus* sente the Ambassadoures of both parts to *Rome*, there to dispute their controuerses, and secretly wrote to the Senate to compounde the matter, for he desired the war might be ended in his time, thinking it would be for his glory.

Ocile taken and pardoned.

Nergobriges vse craffte.

The warr was ended by him that brought a rodde called *Caduceum* wherof embassadours of peace are called *Caduceatores*.

The Ambassadoures of the friendes were receyued into the Cittie, they of the enimies were lodged without the Cittie as the manner is.

Embassadors diuersely vsed in Rome.

The Senate would haue no peace, being grieued they were not brought into ỹ *Romanes* power, as *Nubilior* would haue done, that was Generall in *Spaine* before. Therefore the Senate answered the Ambassadors, that *Marcellus* should declare their pleasure there, & forthwith sent another armye into *Spaine*. And then was the first time that souldiors wer taken by lot, & not by choice,

Souldiors taken by lotte.

as had bene before. For manye did reproue the Consulls, as not wyng themselues truely and sincerely in the choise of soldiors, that they might leed to lighter enterprises as cause required. Therfore it seemed good then, to take their soldiors by lotte, of whome *L. Lucullus*, was made Generall, to whom *Cornelius Scipio* was lieutnant, that shortely after gotte *Carthage*, and *Numantia*.

Lucullus. Scipio.

Whiles *Lucullus* was comming, *Marcellus* proclaimed warre againste the *Celtiberians*, to whome he rendred their pledges, they requiring them, yet he deteyned hym long with him that went Embassadoure for them to *Rome*, for what cause it is uncertaine.

There was a suspition then, which was beleeued much more, by a thing that happened, that is, that he persuaded these people to committe their matters to him, for he dide what he could to make an end of the warre before *Lucullus* came. For after those controuersies, there were fyue thousande *Arnacceans*, that tooke *Nergobrigem*, and *Marcellus* wente to *Numantia*, and encamped within fyue myle of the Citie, and drone the enimies into it.

Marcellus procureth peace.

Wherfore *Linteuon* Captain of the *Numantines*, cried and said he woulde deale with *Marcellus*. And being come in to talke, he saide he would leaue the *Bellans*, *Titthians* and *Arnacceans*, whom when *Marcellus* had accepted willingly, he commaunded money and pledges to be deliuered, which when he had receyued, he let those people go free.

Linteuon.

This end had the warre of the *Bellans*, *Titthians*, and *Arnacceans* before the comming of *Lucullus*.

But *Lucullus*, partly for desire of glorie, and partly for neede, (for he was poore) lodde his armie againste the *Vacceans*, whiche be a people in *Celtiberia*, nexte to the *Arnacceans*, notwithstanding the Senate determined nothing of them, nor they had euer bin enimies of the people of *Rome*.

Lucullus needie. *Vaccei* people of the Iland of neather *Spaine*.

Therefore when he had passed the flonde *Tagus*, he came to the citie of *Caucaa*, and there encamped. They of the towne asked why he came, & for what purpose he molested them that were in quiet & rest. Who, when he had answered that hee came to helpe the *Carpetanei*, whom they had iniured, they returned into their

Tagus, the flond *Tase* in *Lusitania*.

Carpetanes dwvel at the flond *Tajo*.

And

And when the *Romanes* wente for forrage, they kylled many, which being vnderstode, the army was brought forth, and they mette and fought. The *Cauceans* a while had the better, til their shotte fayled them, then they fledde, not being god at a firme battell, and so thrusting together at the gate, there were three thousand slayne. *Cauceans* slayne at their Citie.

The next day, the olde men came forth, and besought *Lucullus* to tell them what they might doe, to keepe the *Romanes* fauour. He required pledges & an C. talentes of siluer, and y their horsemen shoulde serue with him: which when it was graunted, he saide, he woulde put a garrison in the Citie, and they did not denye that. He put two thousand choyce souldyoures into the citie, whome he commaunded to take the walles, whiche beeyng done, he brought in all his army, and killed all without respect of age, and thus by extreame crueltie, they were all slaine, calling vpon the Gods, and the faith of the oth, by the whiche the *Romanes* had sworne, and charging the *Romanes* with infidelitie, by the which they had murthered twenty thousande, a fewe except, that were in the strong and rocky places. *Lucullus* spoyled the Citie, and gaue the prey to the Souldioures, purchasing an immortall infamie to the name of *Rome*. All they of the Countrey assembled, and came out of the playnes into the hils, and into the strong townes, carrying so muche with them as they could, burning the rest, that *Lucullus* shoulde haue no profite of them. Extreame iniurie done to the *Romanes* by *Lucullus*.

When *Lucullus* had made a long iourney by the hard and desert way, he came to a Citie that is called *Enderacia*, into the whiche, more than twenty thousand fotemen were fledde, and two thousand horsemen. *Lucullus* (suche was his swiftnesse) inuited them to composition, to whome, they obiected the calamitie of the *Vacceans*, & asking, if he woulde exhorte them to suche amitie. *Lucullus* being angry for their obiection (as the manner is of them that do naught, whereas they should rather be angry with themselues) walked their land, and besieged their Citie, made many trenches, and continually prouoked them to fight. One of them very faire in armour, came many times *Enderacia*.

as had bene before. For many did reproue the Consulls, in not vsyng themselues truely and sincerely in the choise of soldiors, that they might led to lighter enterprises as cause required. Therfore it seemed good then, to take their soldiors by lotte, of whome *L. Lucullus*, was made Generall, to whom *Cornelius Scipio* was lieutnant, that shortely after gotte *Carthage*, and *Numantia*.

Lucullus. Scipio.

Whiles *Lucullus* was comming, *Marcellus* proclaimed warre againste the *Celtiberians*, to whome he rendred their pledges, they requiring them, yet he deteyned hym long with him that went Embassadoure for them to *Rome*, for what cause it is vncertaine.

There was a suspition then, which was beleued much more, by a thing that happened, that is, that he persuaded these people to committe their matters to him, for he dide what he could to make an end of the warre before *Lucullus* came. For after those controuersies, there were fyue thousande *Arvacceans*, that toke *Nergobrigem*, and *Marcellus* went to *Numantia*, and encamped within fyue myle of the Citie, and droue the enimies into it.

Marcellus procureth peace.

Tintenon.

Wherfore *Tintenon* Captain of the *Numantines*, cried and said he would deale with *Marcellus*. And being come in to talke, he saide he would leaue the *Bellans*, *Titthians* and *Arvacceans*, whom when *Marcellus* had accepted willingly, he commaunded money and pledges to be delinered, which when he had receyued, he let those people go free.

This end had the warre of the *Bellans*, *Titthians*, and *Arvacceans* before the comming of *Lucullus*.

But *Lucullus*, partly for desire of glorie, and partly for neede, (for he was poore) ledde his armie againste the *Vacceans*, whiche be a people in *Celtiberie*, nert to the *Arvacceans*, notwithstanding the Senate determined nothing of them, nor they had euer bin enimies of the people of *Rome*.

Lucullus needie. *Vaccei* people of the Iland of neather *Spaine*.

Therefore when he had passed the floude *Tagus*, he came to the citie of *Caucca*, and there encamped. They of the towne asked why he came, & for what purpose he molested them that were in quiet & rest. Who, when he had answered that hee came to helpe the *Carpetanei*, whom they had iniured, they returned into their citie.

Tagus, the floud *Tara* in *Lusitania*.

Carpetanes dwell at the floud *Tago*.

And

And when the *Romanes* wente for forrage, they kylled many, which being vnderstode, the army was brought forth, and they mette and fought. The *Cauceans* a while had the better, til their shotte fayled them, then they fledde, not being good at a firme battell, and so thrusting together at the gate, there were three thousand slayne.

Cauceans slayne at their Citie.

The next day, the olde men came forth, and besought *Lucullus* to tell them what they might doe, to keepe the *Romanes* fauour. He required pledges & an C. talentes of siluer, and y their horsemen shoulde serue with him: which when it was graunted, he saide, he woulde put a garrison in the Citie, and they did not denye that. He put two thousand choyce souldyoures into the citie, whome he commaunded to take the walles, whiche beeyng done, he brought in all his army, and killed all without respect of age, and thus by extreame crueltie, they were all slaine, calling vpon the Gods, and the faith of the oth, by the whiche the *Romanes* had sworne, and charging the *Romanes* with infidelitie, by the which they had murthered twenty thousande, a fewe except, that were in the strong and rocky places. *Lucullus* spoyled the Citie, and gaue the prey to the Souldioures, purchasing an immortall infamie to the name of *Rome*. All they of the Countrey assembled, and came out of the playnes into the hils, and into the strong townes, carrying so muche with them as they could, burning the rest, that *Lucullus* shoulde haue no profite of them.

Extreame iniurie done to the *Romanes* by *Lucullus*.

When *Lucullus* had made a long iourney by the hard and deserte way, he came to a Citie that is called *Enderacia*, into the whiche, more than twenty thousand footemen were fledde, and two thousand horsemen. *Lucullus* (suche was his foolishnesse) inuited them to composition, to whome, they obiected the calamitie of the *Paeceans*, & asking, if he woulde exhorte them to suche amitie. *Lucullus* being angry for their obiection (as the manner is of them that do naught, whereas they should rather be angry with themselues) walked their land, and besieged their Citie, made many trenches, and continually prouoked them to fight. One of them very faire in armour, came many times

Enderacia.

forth on horsebacke, and prouoked any *Romane* to fighte hand to hand: and when no man answered him, he laughed, and scorned the *Romanes*, and wente leaping, and reioycing home. Doyng this very oft, it greeued *Scipio* that was a yong man, who came forthe, and toke the matter in hande, and by the benefite of fortune, ouercame the greate straunger, he being but of small stature, which gaue courage to the *Romane*. But in the night, they were diuerslye affrighted, for all the horsemen of the *Barbarians* whiche were gone a foraging before the *Romanes* came, and coulde not get into the Citie, ranne vpon the Camp with great alarms, and they of the Citie did the like with greate vehemence, sore troubling the *Romanes*, who being afflicted with watche (for all that night they were compelled to watche in armoure) and not accustomed to the meates of that countrey, and hauing neyther wyne, salte, nor oyle, nor vinegre, and did eate sodden wheate and barlie, and muche fleashe of Dere and Hare without salte, they fell into fluxes, of the whiche, many dyed. Thus they continued, tyll they hadde brought their trenches to due height, whiche being done, they beat downe one part of the wall, and entred the Citie, but being valiantly repulsed in their retire, vnawares they fell into a fenne, where a greate parte of them perished. The *Barbarians* the night following, made vppe their wall, but at length, when both sides was oppressed with famine, *Scipio* promised them, that there should be no fraude in their treatie, to whome faith was giuen for the opinion of his vertue. This was the ende of this warre, that they shoulde deliuer tenne thousande Souldioures coates, a certayne number of cattell, and fiftie pledges. The gold and siluer, *Lucullus* could not haue, for whose cause he made the warre, thinking *Spayne* had bin full of it, for those people hadde it not, neyther doe these *Celtiberians* much esteeme suche things.

Scipio fighteth a combate, and killeth a *Spaniarde*.

Romanes made afrayde.

Want of salte.

Romanes perish.

Celtiberians esteeme not gold.

Pallantia a Citie nigh the *Pacceans*.

After this, he wente toward *Pallantia*, whiche was a Citie of greater name and power, into the whyche, many were fledde: therefore many counselled him to leaue it, but he, because he heard it was wealthy and riche, did not followe their counsell. When he went to forage, euer he had the *Pallantine* horsemen

vpon

vpon him, so as for lacke of victuall, he was fayne to remoue his Camp, and so ledde his army in a square battell, the *Pallantines* euer following, till he came to the floud *Orius*. Then they went away at midnight, and he returned to the *Turditanes* land, and there wintered. This end hadde the warre whiche *Lucullus* made with the *Vacceans* without the authoritie of the Senate. Therfore that he should not come to iudgemēt being accused. &c.

Orius.

Turditani, people of Granata.

¶ Notwithstanding, another part of *Spayne* called *Lusitania*, liuing after their owne lawes, with a certayne Captayne of *Affrica*, did spoyle the Countreys that obeyed the *Romanes*, and whē they had ouerthrowen *Manilius*, and *Calphurnius Piso* the *Romane* Captaynes, they killed fyre thousande of them, beside *Terentius Varro*, that was treasourer, by the whiche thing, the *Affrican* being proude, did runne ouer all the Countreys, to the *Ocean* sea, and ioyning the *Vettones* vnto him, besieged the *Blastophenicians*, that were subiect to the *Romanes*, with the whyche, they say, *Anniball* did mingle some of the *Carthage* generation, therfore they were called *Blastophenicians*. Thys Captayne was hurte on the head with a stone, and dyed, and in hys place succeeded another called *Cessaro*. Hée foughte wyth *Mummius* that was come from *Rome* wyth another armye, of whome being ouercome, and *Mummius* chacing hym, he returned vppon them that followed disorderly, and kylled terme thousande, and recouered all hys prey, and hys owne Campe whyche hée hadde lost, and beside spoyled the *Romanes* Campe, and toke theyr Ensignes, the whyche they shewing throughout *Spayne*, made a laughingstocke of the *Romanes*.

Lusitania, now Portingall.

The *Romanes* killed.

Vettones in hither *Spayne*, of whome the hearbe *Vetonie* is named.

Captaine killed.

Blastophenicians.

Cessaro.

The *Romanes* ouerthrowen vnder *Mummius.*

Mummius nowe Campyng in a strong place, exercised the Souldioures whyche he hadde lefte, whyche were fiue thousande, and durst not bryng them into the playne, tyll they hadde recouered theyr courage. The *Lusitanes*, albeit they inhabite the other syde of the floud *Tagus*, yet they toke armes, and wasted the *Cuneans* that were tributaries to the *Romanes*, *Canthenus* beeyng theyr Captayne, and toke *Cunistorges* theyr greate Citie, and passed the Sea at the pillers of *Hercules*, so as some of them wente into *Affrica*,

Cunistorges in Celtiberia.

and

forth on horsebacke, and prouoked any *Romane* to fighte hand to hand: and when no man answered him, he laughed, and scorned the *Romanes*, and wente leaping, and reioycing home. Doyng this very oft, it greeued *Scipio* that was a yong man, who came forthe, and toke the matter in hande, and by the benefite of fortune, ouercame the greate straunger, he being but of small stature, which gaue courage to the *Romane*. But in the night, they were diuerslye affrighted, for all the horsemen of the *Barbarians* whiche were gone a foraging before the *Romanes* came, and coulde not get into the Citie, ranne vpon the Camp with great alarms, and they of the Citie did the like with greate vehemence, sore troubling the *Romanes*, who being afflicted with watche (for all that night they were compelled to watche in armoure) and not accustomed to the meates of that countrey, and hauing neyther wyne, salte, nor oyle, nor vinegre, and did eate sodden wheate and barlie, and muche fleashe of Dere and Hare without salte, they fell into fires, of the whiche, many dyed. Thus they continued, tyll they hadde brought their trenches to due height, whiche being done, they beat downe one part of the wall, and entred the Citie, but being valiantly repulsed in their retire, vnawares they fell into a fenne, where a greate parte of them perished. The *Barbarians* the night following, made vppe their wall, but at length, when both sides was oppressed with famine, *Scipio* promised them, that there should be no fraude in their treatie, to whome faith was giuen for the opinion of hys vertue. This was the ende of thys warre, that they shoulde deliuer tenne thousande Souldioures coates, a certayne number of cattell, and fiftie pledges. The gold and siluer, *Lucullus* could not haue, for whose cause he made the warre, thinking *Spayne* had bin full of it, for those people hadde it not, neyther doe these *Celtiberians* much esteeme suche things.

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Cunisturges in Celtiberia.

and some beseged the Citie of *Ocilis*. *Mummius* followed them with nine thousand footemen, and fiue hundred horsemen, and killed of them fifteene thousande that wasted the Countreys, and many of the other, and deliuered *Ocile* from the seege, and then meeting with them that raunged ỹ Countrey, he destroyed them all, so as not a messenger was left. The prey that coulde be carryed, he distributed to the Souldioures, the rest he burned in the honor of the Gods that be the rulers of warre, for the which things, he triumphed at *Rome* at his returne. *M. Attilius* succeeded him, which in one rode, killed seuen hundred *Lusitanes*, and destroyed a great Citie called *Ostrace*, and toke all the countrey aboute, yeelding for feare, in the whiche, some were of the nation of the *Bottanes*, but so soone as *Attilius* departed to hys winter station, they reuolted, and beseged certayne of the *Romanes* tributaries, whome when *Seruius Galba*, successor to *Attilius*, would haue put from the seege of the sodayne, when he had gone in one night and a day, fiue hundred furlongs, he shewed himselfe to the *Lusitanes*, and put his souldioures wearie of their iourney to the fight forthwith, and when he had put the enimie to flighte, and fiercely followed them with his Souldioures weake and wearie, the *Barbarians* seeing them scattered, and manye times resting them for faintenesse, turned, and gaue a charge vpon them, and killed seauen thousande of them. *Galba*, with the horsemen about him, recouered himselfe at the Citie of *Carmena*, where he gathered all them that escaped, and when he had twenty thousand of the tributarie souldyoures, he went into the borders of the *Cuneans*, where he wintered at *Cunistorgis*. *Lucullus*, who made warre with the *Vaccæans*, without the authoritie of the *Senate*, comming that time into *Turditania*, vnderstoode that the *Lusitanes* made warre vppon their neighbours, therefore he sent some of his best Captaynes, and killed fiftene hundred of them as they passed a water, and others that were fledde into an hill, he compassed with trenches and mounts, and killed a great multitude. Then entring *Lusitania*, he wasted one parte, and *Galba* another. Some that feare Embassadors to confirme the league made with *Attilius*, and broken of them, he

Victorie of *Mummius*.

Ostrace.

Bottanes.

Seruius Galba taketh too much of his vvearie souldyoures, and loseth.

Carmena.

Cuneans.

Lucullus.

he receyued into friendshyp, and compounded the matter wyth them. Also he fayned that he was sory for them, and knewe, that they, for continuall wante, were driuen to spoyle, and so breaking league, made warre. I know (quoth he) that you were cõpelled to it by the bare nesse, and want of your Countrey, but I will put you into a plentifull spoyle, and diuide you into three seuerall places full of abundance. They being allured by thys hope, went from their owne houses, whome being diuided into three partes, he shewed them a playne, where he bad them stay till he came to shew them the place, where they shoulde buylde their Citie. When he was come to the firste, he willed them to leaue their armour as frends, which they did, then he enclosed them with ditches and trenches, and sent in his souldyoures, and caused them all to be kylled, not one escaping, they calling vpon the Gods for the breach of faith. He did the like to the seconde and thirde, before one vnderstode of anothers calamitie: and thus he reuenged fraude with fraude, following the *Barbarians* vse: no respect he had to ỹhonor of *Rome*. A fewe escaped, among whome was *Viriatus*, who after was Captayne of the *Lusitanes*, and did greate feates, and killed many *Romanes*. Those things that were done afterwarde, I will shewe in the other bookes.

Another manifest iniurie of *Lucullus*.

Viriatus.

But *Galba*, who passed *Lucullus* in couetousnesse, distributed a fewe things among the souldyoures, and toke the rest to hymselfe, although he was most riche of all the *Romanes*. He was a man that in peace where profite appeared, would not refrayne from periurie and lies. And when he, being hated of all men, was accused, yet for his riches, whereof he had great plenty, he was euer quitte and discharged. Not long after, as many as remained of the vnfaithfulnesse of *Lucullus* and *Galba*, gathering togither to the number of tenne thousande, wasted the lande of *Turditania*. Agaynste them, *M. Vetilius* with another armye wente, and ioyning to him all other that were in *Spayne*, whych was tenne thousande, he wente agaynste them that wasted *Turditania*, and kylled many of them, and droue the other into a Castell, in the which, if they woulde tarry, they must perishe for hunger, if they departed, they must fall into the *Romanes*

Galba described

Vetilius.

handes, so narrow was the place: wherefore they sent Embassadoures to *Vetilius* in humble wise, desiring to haue a place to inhabite, that they from henceforth with all these, might be tributaries to *Rome*: whyche he accepted, and they ready to come forth. But *Viriatus* that had escaped from *Galbas* crueltie, and was then with them, put them in remembrance of the *Romanes* falsehode, and tolde them how oft they hadde bin deceyued by colour of promise, and that all the *Romanes* army was nowe lyke vnto the deceytefulnesse of *Galba* and *Lucullus*: but if they woulde be ruled by hym, he woulde tell them how they might all escape safe. They beyng moued with hys wordes, and conceyuing good hope, chose hym their Captayne. Therefore when he hadde placed all the horse in the front of the battell, as though he woulde fyghte, he commaunded the other, so soone as he toke hys horse, to diuide themselues, and by diuers pathes to flée ouer the hylles, as well as they could, to *Tribola*, and there to tarry hym tyll he came. He kepte with hym choyce Horsemen, of euery number, and then he lepte on Horsebacke, and the other fledde with spéede.

The policie and hardinesse of *Viriatus*.

Tribola.

Vetilius, afrayde to followe them that were thus separate, and diuided to many partes, stayed to sée what *Viriatus* woulde doe, who abode still. He with hys swifte Horse nowe commyng vpon the *Romanes*, now going backe from them, and now comming agayne vppon them, spente so that whole daye, and the nexte also, goyng on, and comming of from that playne. And when by coniecture, he thoughte them that were gone, to be come to a sure place, at midnighte with most spéede, by diuers hard wayes, he got to *Tribola*. The *Romanes* coulde not ouertake hym, partly for the weight of their armoure, partly for the ignorance of the way, and partly for the diuersitie of their Horses. Thus *Viriatus* saued hys men that were in desperation of themselues. Thys policie wanne hym greate fame ouer all the places aboute, and so they came vnto hym in great numbers.

He kepte warre with the *Romanes* thrée yeares together, and it is well knowen, that this warre muche troubled the same,

and

and in the ende, was very daungerous vnto them. And if there were any other ſtirre in *Spayne*, that was the cauſe that it continued the longer. *Vettilius* followed, and came to *Tribola*. *Viriatus* layde an ambuſhe in an hyll, whyther when he knewe that *Vettilius* was come, he fledde. And when *Vettilius* was paſt the ambuſhe, he turned, and they of the ambuſhe came forthe, and beſette the *Romanes*, kylling and takyng, or throwing them headlong from the hygh places. *Vettilius* was taken, whome, when the taker knewe not, but ſawe hym to be a fatte olde man, he thought hym to be of no regarde, and kylled hym. Traynes on the *Romanes*. *Vettilius* taken and killed.

Of tenne thouſande *Romanes*, ſcarſly fiue thouſande ſaued themſelues at *Carpeſſo*, a Sea Towne, whyche I thynke was called of the *Grecians Tarteſſus*, in the whyche *Arganthonius* reigned, who (they ſay) lyued a hundred and fiftie yeare. The Treaſurer that came with *Vettilius*, followyng them that went to *Carpeſſo*, ſeeing them afrayde, kepte them in the Citie, and made them kéepe the wall. And when he had gotten fiue thouſande of the *Bellans* and *Titthians*, accordyng as he deſired, hée ſente them againſte *Viriatus*, whome he kylled, not one béeing lefte to bryng tydings home. The treaſourer remaynyng in the Citie, lokyng for newes from *Rome*, durſt doe nothyng. *Carpeſſo*. *Arganthonius* the old Kyng. *Viriatus* killeth the *Spanyards* ſent againſt him.

Viriatus in the meane ſeaſon, inuaded the plentifull and abundant ſoyle of the *Carpetanes*, whyche he ſpoyled without feare, tyll *Caius Plautius* came with tenne thouſande fwtemen, and three hundred horſemen. Then *Viriatus* pretended to flée. *Plautius* ſent foure thouſand to follow him, vpon whome *Viriatus* turned, and killed all ſaue a fewe. Then he paſſed the flood *Tagus*, and camped in an hill full of Oliues, yet called by the name of *Venus*. *Plautius* finding him there, and deſirous to heale his former wounde, gaue him battell, wherein he was ouercome with great loſſe of men, and fledde with ſhame, and kepte in ſtrong Cities, and as men be wont, in winter, he durſt neuer come forthe all that Sommer. *Viriatus* ranaged the Countrey, and toke money of the Townes for to ſaue their harueſt, whyche if they denyed hym, he walked all. At *Rome*, when C *Plautius*. The *Romanes* killed. *Plautius* is ouercome.

Q. Fabius Maximus.

this was knowen, they sente *Q. Fabius Maximus*, that was *Paulus Aemilius* sonne, that ouercame *Perseus* kyng of *Macedonia*, and gaue hym authoritie to gather men hymselfe. He, because of late they hadde gotte *Grecia*, and *Carthage*, and made a prosperous ende of the thirde warre of *Macedonia*, to gyue some respect to the olde Souldioures that were come from thence, hee toke vp two legions of yong men vnexpert in warre, and sente for ayde of hys friendes, and came to *Orsona*, a Citie in *Spayne*. The contente of hys armye, was fiftéene thousande fotemen, and two thousande Horsemen, in the whyche place, not myndyng to beginne the warre, tyll he hadde trayned hys Souldioures, he wente to *Gades*, to sacrifice to *Hercules*. *Viriatus* méeting with some of them that were gone a foraging, kylled the most parte of them, and putte the rest in feare, who being called agayne to theyr Ensigne of theyr Captayne, he ouercame them, and spoyled them of a greate prey. When *Maximus* was come, he was ofte in the fielde, and prouoked hym to fyghte. *Maximus* thoughte it not good to auenture the whole fyght, but continued in exercising hys Souldioures, and suffered hys souldioures to skirmishe, that by that meane, he myghte trie the heartes, both of hys owne, and of hys enimies. When they shoulde goe for victuall, hée garded them wyth many shotte and Horsemen, he riding to them, as he had séene his father *Paulus* doe in *Macedonia*.

Orsona.

Viriatus spoyleth the *Romanes*.

Maximus refuseth fight till he had trayned his men.

When Winter was past, and he hadde sufficiently exercised hys Souldioures, he was the seconde, of whome *Viriatus* was ouerthrowen and putte to flighte, doyng all the partes that belongeth to a Generall. And so, of two Cities which he helo, he toke one, and burned another. And when he had driuen him to a strong place, whiche was called *Vecor*, he killed many, and in winter, he wente to lye at *Corduba*.

Wherefore *Viriatus*, not hauing hys enimie now as he was wont, he induced the *Arnacceans*, the *Titthians*, and *Bellans*, warlike people, whiche were at a warre of themselues, to reuolte: And so of them, hee made the warre with the *Numantines*, whiche was long, paynefull and daungerous to the *Romanes*, the

the which (when I haue done with *Viriatus*) I wil shewe briefly.

This *Viriatus* fought in an other part of *Spaine*, with another Capitaine of the *Romanes*, *Q. Pompeius*. And being ouercome, hee fled to *Venus* hills. From the which comming again vpon the enimy, he killed many of *Quintus* mẽ, toke diuers ensigns, & droue the rest to their campe, and caste out the garrison at *Vtica*, & wasted the lande of the *Basitanes*. For *Quintus* did not helpe them for cowardlinesse and vnskilfulnesse, but rested at *Corduba*, in the middest of Autumne, although *Martius* bidde moue hym to it, sending a *Spaniarde* vnto him from an *Italian* Citie. The nexte yeare *Fabius Maximus*, brother of *Aemilianus*, came successor to *Quintus*, with two other *Romane* legiõs, and some friends So he had in all eightéene. M. footmen, & a thousand fiue hundred horsemen. He wrote to *Micipse*, king of *Numidia*, so sone as the time would serue to send him Elephants: & he with part of his armie wente to *Vtica*: whome *Viriatus* encountring by the way with six thousand, with great escries and alarms, after their Barbarian manner, with long and vgly heare *Maximus* withstode him, and without his losse repulsed him. And when the other army was come, and out of *Affrica*, ten Elephants, and three hundred horses, he toke a large place to encampe, and fortified it. He béegan firste to tame *Viriatus*, and to put him to flight, and chase him. But when the *Romanes* followed hym once oute of order, he perceyuing it, turned vpon them, and killed three thousande of them, and chased the reste to their campe, the whiche, hée assaulted, and founde fewe at the gates to resiste hym, for they were fledde into their Tentes for feare, from whence the Generall and Captaines, could hardly remoue them. In that fight, *Fannius*, the sonne in lawe of *Lelius*, behaued hymselfe valiauntlye, and saued the *Romanes* by his comming. *Viriatus* running by the darkenesse of the night, and heate of the daye, suffered no moment of time to passe, in the which he did not molest the enimye with his shotte and light horsemen, till *Aemilianus* encamped towarde *Vtica*.

Viriatus killeth Romaines.

Vtica.

Basitanes.

Corduba.

Cordona.

F.M. *Aemilianus*.

Micipse.

Romanes killed

Fannius.

Then *Viriatus* victuall sayling, and with a small armye burning al his tents, he wẽt into *Lusitania*, whom when *Aemilianus*

coulde not finde, he ſpoyled fyue Townes that holpe *Viriatus*.

Then he led his armye into the bordures of the *Cuneans*, and from thence, into *Luſitania* againſt *Viriatus*: and as he went, two Captaines of theeues, *Curius* and *Apuleius*, troubled hym and made ſpoile. But *Curio* being killed in the fight, *Aemilianus* recouered the pray ſhortly after, and toke the Cities *Iſcadia*, and *Semella*, and *Oballa*, in the whiche the garriſons of *Viriatus* were. Some of theſe he ſpoiled, ſome he pardoned, and of ten thouſand captiues, he headed fiue hundred, and the other he bade to be killed confuſedly: which being done, he went to winter the ſeconde yere of his prouince and this warre. Theſe things being done, he went to *Rome*, leauing *Q. Pompeius* his ſucceſſor. &c.

Curius and *Apuleius* captaines of theeues.
Iſcadia.
Semella.
Oballa.

Great murder by execution.

¶ His brother *Maximus Aemilianus*, hauing taken a Capitaine of theeues, called *Conoba*, who yelded vnto him, he pardoned onely him, and the handes of the reſte he cut off. After following *Viriatus*, he entrenched his citie *Eriſana*, into the whiche, *Viriatus* entring by night, he ſet vppon the Pioners and workemen, till they left the armye and their toles, and fled. And he droue other to the hills and hard places, from the whiche it was impoſſible for them to come. But *Viriatus* that was neuer inſolent by hys good fortune, thinking he had nowe gotten a goodly occaſion to make an end of the warre, by ſhewing ſuch a benefite to the *Romanes*, made peace and league with them, whiche was approued of the people, that is to ſay:

Here lacketh. *Conobi*.

Hands cut of. *Eriſana*.

Viriatus content to make peace, vvhen he had vauntage.

That *Viriatus* ſhoulde be a friend of the *Romanes*.

That al ỳ wer with him, ſhold be Lords of the land that they poſſeſſed.

So *Viriatus* thoughte he hadde made an ende of a great warre with the *Romanes*, & was quiet, but the peace continued not long. For *Capio* the brother of *Aemilianus* did not allow thoſe conditions ỳ he had made, & wrote to *Rome*, that it was diſhonorable. The Senate at the beginning priuily agréed to him, thinking for the commō wealth, to profeſſe enmitie againſt *Viriatus*. And when he had wrote many letters therof, & urged the matter, they decréed that he ſhould breake the league with *Viriatus*, & renue ỳ war. Then *Capio* truſting vpon thys decrée, made open war vpō

The peace not allowed.

Capio.

Viriatus

Viriatus, & toke *Arsa* a citie that he had left into his power. And following *Viriatus* that went aboute wasting the Countrys, he ouertoke him at the country of the *Carpetanes*, far exceeding him in number. Wherfore *Viriatus* not minding to fight for his smal number, sent away the great part of his armie by a certaine bypathe, and placed the rest on an hill, as thoughe he would fighte. *Arsa.*

And when he thoughte they were come to the sure places, he toke his horse with the spurres, and with the reste of hys companye, with great scorne of the enimie: he went forth so spedily, that they that folowed him could not tell which way he became. Then *Capio* wasted the Countrys of the *Vettones* and *Gallecians*, many followed *Viriatus*, and spoyled *Portugall*. Against them, *Sextus Iunius Brutus* was sent, who being wearye of the long waye, whiche *Tagus*, *Lethe*, *Darius*, and *Betis*, nauigeable floudes, conteyne, staide from following him. For they lyke theues, conueyed themselues out of sight in a moment. Wherefore *Brutus* thought it a great labour to ouertake them, and not to doe it, a greate dishonor: and supposing finall glorie to be in ouerthrowing them, he went to spoile their campes, both bycause he thought he might so chastice them, and also get a great bootie for his souldiors, and furder that that bande of robbers woulde scatter when they shoulde thinke of the daunger of theyr seueral countreis. *Viriatus* saueth his men again by policie. *Inn. Brutus.* Rodes of *Spaine*

Wyth this entent and purpose he spoiled whatsoeuer was in his way. The women that came into the warre with their husbandes, and were killed with them, and shewed suche constantie, that they woulde not speake a worde, when they were slaine. Many went to the Mountayns wyth as much as they coulde carrye, to whome desiring peace, he gaue it, and diuided their land. Valiant vvomē.

When he passed the floude *Orim*, he wasted a greate region, and required hostages of them that yelded, and so came to the floude *Lethe*, and he was the first *Romane*, that thought of the passage of it. Which when he was past, and gone forth, he came to the riuer *Nibene*, and ledde hys army against the *Bastarans*, bycause they intercepted his victualls. *Orim.* *Nibene.* *Bastarans.*

These

These bée people that goe also with their women armed to the warre, which with good courage, abide death boldly, not sparing themselues, neyther fléeing from the fight, nor lamenting when they dye. Some women that were taken, would kil themselues, and some their children also, rather than they should bée slaues.

Many cities that then helde with *Brutus*, rebelled shortely after, and were subdued of hym againe. And for these causes when he came to *Labrica*, that had ofte made peace with him, & then were disobedient, they desired pardon, and woulde doe all things at his commaundement. He required hostages, the Romaine runneawaies, and all their armour, and lastly that they should leaue their Cittie. Al the whiche, when they hadde done, he called them quietly to an assembly, and when he had compassed them with his army, he put them in remembraunce, how oft they had reuolted, and made warre, and made them so afraide, as they might feare a worse punishement. In the ende being satisfied with that rebuke, he refrayned from furder paine. But he toke from them horse, corne, and common money, and all other publike preparation, and beside all their hope, suffered them to lyue in their country. Which things, when he had thus done, he returned to *Rome*. I haue declared al this in the history of *Viriatus*.

Labrica.

Capio vseth mercie.

In this time, other folowing his example, exercised robberies; and *Viriatus*, that he might come to some end, sente *Ditalcone* and *Minuro* to *Capio*, the whiche being corrupted by many promises, vndertoke to kill *Viriatus*. The matter was thus handled.

Practise to kil *Viriatus*.

Viriatus vsed little slépe after moste greate labours, and for the moste parte, slepte armed, that he might be readye at all sodayne chaunces. For this cause it was lawfull for hys friends to come to hym by night. Whiche manner, the conspiratoures knowing, and marking the firste houre of hys slépe, entred hys house armed, as for some greate matter, and cut hys throate, for in any other parte they could not hurte him. And when no man heards the noise of the déede, for the facilitie of the cutte, they escaped to *Capio*, and required their rewarde: To whome he forthwith

The manner of killing *Viriatus*.

foꝛthwith gaue al they did poſſeſſe, and whatſoeuer was in their powꝛe: but as touching their boundꝛy, he ſente thẽ to *Rome*.

Viriatus friends, and the whole army, when it was daye, tarꝛied foꝛ him, and thinking he had reſted, inacteded at that alteration, and ſo went in and found him dead in his armoure: wheꝛfoꝛe great ſoꝛꝛowe was made in al the Campe, euerye manne lamenting his harde happe, thinking on the danger they were in, and the Captaine they had loſte: and it moſte grieued them, that they coulde not fynd the killers. Wheꝛefoꝛe they buried his body with muche honoure, vppon a great ſtacke, killing many ſacrifices in his reuerence, and as well the ſeruemen as the hoꝛſemen, after the Barbarian manner, wente aboute the fyꝛe, and extolled him to heauen with their prꝛaiſe. At laſte when the fire was out, and the funerals finiſhed, they made many turneymẽts hand to hand at his ſepulchꝛe, ſo great loue and deſire did *Viriatus* leaue to his men, who, thoughe he were a *Barburian*, yet he was moſte ſkilfull in gouernement, moſt warie in perils, and aboue all other, bolde in deſpiſyng them, and moſte iuſte in diuiding his prꝛay. Foꝛ he could neuer be bꝛought to take any whitte moꝛe, than the reſte, although he were deſired, and that he toke, he gaue to the valiant ſoꝛt: Wheꝛby it came to paſſe, (that is moſt harde, and to this daye hath not happened to any Captaine) that hys armye gathered of all kinde of nations, eighte yeares togither, whiche the warre continued, was euer moſt obedient to him without mutinie, and endured to the vttermoſt moſte ready to abide all daunger.

Honor done to *Viriatus* at his buriall.

The prayſe of *Viriatus*.

And when they had created *Tantalus* foꝛ their Captaine, they went towarde *Sagunt*, which Cittie, when *Annibal* had deſtroyed and reſtoꝛed, he called it *Carthage*, of the name of his country. And being dꝛiuen from thẽce by *Capa*, that was alwaies at their backes, when he had paſſed the floude *Betis*, beeing weaꝛye, he pꝛoued himſelfe and his army to *Capa*. He toke al hys armoꝛ, and appoynted them a good land to lyue in, that they ſhoulde no moꝛe be dꝛiuen to robbe. *Tantalus*.

Nowe oure hiſtoꝛy ſhall retourne to the warres of the *Celtiberians*, and the *Numantines*, whom *Viriatus* cauſed to reuolt.

Cecilius Metellus, ſent from *Rome* with more men, ſhortely ouercame the *Vacceans*, whereby the reſte were diſcomfited & put in feare. &c.

Here vvanteth. *Termantia.* *Numantia.*

¶ There remayned yet *Termantia*, and *Numantia*, in an hylly place, diuided with two floudes, and compaſſed with hylles and thicke woodes, bending into the playne onely one waye, at the which part, it was fortified with many ditches, and pillours ouerthwart. The *Numantines* were good eight thouſand mē, both on horſe and foote, and with ſo ſmall a number, (ſuche was their manlineſſe) they put the *Romanes* to muche paine.

Metellus at the ende of winter, deliuered his army to *Q. Metellus Aulus* his ſucceſſor, in the which was thirtie thouſād footemen, and two thouſand horſemen wel armed and practiſed. &c.

Here vvanteth

¶ And when *Pompeius* had his campe at *Numantia*, & from thence went into a certaine place, the *Numantines*, deſcending from an hil, deſtroyed his horſemen that ranne to him. Who, when he was returned, brought forthe his bataple to fyghte in the playne.

The enimies comming down, gaue a charge vpon hym, and by & by, as though they had bin afraide, retired vnto the hil, till they had brought thē to the places where the ditches and ouerthwart beames were layde, ſo as *Pompey* perceyuing he was in theſe ſkirmiſhes ouermatched of them that were inferioure to hym, he tourned hys armie towarde *Termantia*, thinking to doe better there, where they fought with him to his loſſe of ſeuen hundred. Beſide that, the *Termantines* put a Tribune to flight, that was comming with victuals, and in one day giuyng three onſets on the *Romaynes*, they droue them thrice into ſharpe and rocky places, and there wer many of their footemen and horſemen (together with their horſes) from the hylles and rockes, ſo as the reſte being afraide, remayned al night in armor, and when it was day, comming forth in order of battaile, they fought doubtfullye, till night ended the fight. *Pompey* in the night made haſt to *Malia* wyth his horſemen, whiche place the *Numantines* helde with a garriſon. But the *Malians* killing the garriſon by treaſon, deliuered the Citie to *Pompey*, who, receyuing armoure

Pompey looſeth.

Malia nowe *Malgrado*, is deliuered to *Pōpey*.

and

and pledges of them, went to *Sueditania*, which a certayne Capitaine, named *Tanginus*, did spoyle wyth his armie. *Pompey* fought with him, and ouerthrewe him, and toke manye of hys souldyoures. *Sueditania.* *Tanginus.*

But suche manhode was in these theeues, as none of them woulde lyue Captiue, but some killed themselues, some theyr Maisters, & some made holes in the ship that caried thē, to sincke it. Manhode of theeues.

Pompey beyng returned to *Numantia*, went about to turne the floude that was in the playne, an other waye, that he mighte presse the Citie with famine.

The Townesmen droue the labourers from their worke, and comming by bandes, without trumpet, they threwe darts and arrowes vpon them, that they should not tourne the floude, and fought at hande with them that came to aide the Pioners, and droue them to their Campe. and encountring them that went for forage, killed manye of them, and the Tribune that was their leader, and giuing a charge on an other side on the *Romanes* that made a ditche, they killed one thousand four hundred with their Capitaine. By the whiche discommodities, certaine men of the Senate came to *Pompey*, to helpe hym with theyr counsel: also young souldioures, not yet exercised, were gathered for the old, that had bin nowe fiue yeares abroade. Wyth the whyche olde souldioures, *Pompey* hauing receyued so manye displeasures, remayned the winter in campe, to recouer his estimation. Where they were cursedly vexed with colde, warding and watching. And then the nature of that countrey beganne to be perceyued, for they were taken wyth the flyxe, and manye dyed. The Romaines killed. Counsellours sent to *Pompey*. Flixe among the Romane souldioures.

When anye of the souldiours shoulde goe oute of the campe for victuall, the *Numantines* lying in awayte, woulde not cease to hurte the *Romanes* with their shot and darts. Which when they coulde not abide, they woulde nedes go against them: then they come from their traines, and do them muche harme. And once againe the *Numidians* meeting wyth them that brought victuall, destroyed many of them, as well noble men as other. *Numantine* hurte the Romanes.

Pompey therfore being vexed with so many euils, by the counsaile of the Senatours, remoued, that he shoulde lye the reste of the Wynter in sure places, and the Spring, in Cities. And because a Successoure was to come to him, and he afraid to be accused, he beganne to practise secreatly with the *Numantines*, the which also for the losse of many their chiefe citizens, and for that they coulde not till their ground, and for want of victuall, and for ỳ continuance of war, which was longer than they thought, they sent Ambassadors to *Pompey*, to whom openlye he spake, ỳ they should yelde themselues. For he said, that he knew none other way but that, howe to agree with them, for the dignitie of the Romaynes. But priuily he tolde them, with what conditions he woulde vse them.

Pompey practiseth peace with the *Numantines*.

And so when the thing was agreed, they yelded to hym. *Pompey* required pledges and fugitiues, whiche he receiued. He required also thirtie talentes of siluer, of the which the *Numantines* paide fiftene presently. *Pompey* loked for the reste.

Popilius.

When his successour *M. Popilius Lena* was come, the *Numantines* paide it.

Pompey being deliuered of the feare of warre, knowing the composition that he had made was vnlawfull, being done without the *Romanes* consent, when his successor was come, he denyed he had made any agreement with the *Numantines*. They proued it by witnesse present, of men of degree, of Senatours and Tribunes, and also of the Capitaines of hys horsemen. Therefore *Popilius* sent bothe parties to *Rome*, to pleade the matter before the Senate. The Senate thought beste to holde warre still with the *Numantines*.

Pompey goeth frō his peace.

Lusones.

In the meane season, *Popilius* entred the lande of the *Lusones*, which were neighbours to the *Numantines*, and returned hauing nothing. And *Hostilius Mancinus* succeeded him, and he went to *Rome*. When *Mancinus* came to fight, he was oft ouercome, & at length when he had lost many, he kepte within his camp. There was a rumor that the *Cantabrians* and *Vaccæans*, would come help the enimie, wherefore in the night, without light, he fled to the abandoned Campe of *Nobilior*, where beyng vnlike, neyther

Cantabri. *Vaccæi*.

hauing fortifyed the place, nor otherwise able to defend, the *Numantines*, beseeging him and all his armye in hard state, least hee should make a dishonorable peace with them, he made a league and amitie betweene the *Romanes*, and with the *Numantines*, with equall conditions, to the which, he bound himselfe: whyche thing, when it was knowen at *Rome*, they were all very sory, because the league was shamefull. Therefore *Aemilius Lepidus* another Consull was sente into *Spayne*. *Mancinus* was called to iudgemente, whome the Embassadors of the *Numantines* followed, *Aemilius* loking for aunswere from *Rome*, being werie of rest, for now such Generalles driuen by desire of false glorie, or profite, or triumph, went to their prouinces, not for their coũtreys profite, pretẽding a false crime against the *Vacceans*, accusing them, that they had holpen the *Numantines* with victuals, and inuaded their land, and beseeged their chiefe Citie *Pallantia*, whiche had not offended against the league. And when he had sent *Brutus* his sonne in law into other partes of *Spayne*, to make him partaker of the warre, *Cinus* and *Cæcilius* came Embassadors from *Rome* to them, shewing the Senate did dote, that after so many losses receyued in *Spayne*, *Aemilius* would sowe new warres, and declared the decrée of the Senate, that he shoulde not make warre vpon the *Vacceans*. But he hauing begunne the warre, and sent *Brutus* abroade, because he thought the Senate did not knowe that the *Vacceans* did helpe the *Numantines* with victuall, money, and souldyoures, fearing also, if he lefte warre, all *Spayne* would reuolt, as done for feare, he sent the Embassadoures without delay, and so wrote to the Senate. He fortifyed a certaine Castell, and bestowed the time in gathering of men and victuall. *Flaccus* being sent a forraging, and falling into traynes which came vpon him, a word was craftily cast forthe, that *Aemilianus* had wonne *Pallantia*, at the whiche, when the Souldioures made a crie, as the manner is in victorie, the *Barbarians* hearing it, and beleeuing it to be true, were afrayde, and departed. And by this meane, *Flaccus* deliuered his men from perill, and his forage from spoyle.

Mancinus maketh peace dishonourably.

Aemilius.

Generalles of prouinces for profite.

The army saued by a worde.

The seege continuing long at *Pallantia*, the *Romanes* wanted victuall,

Pallantia.

victuall, and hauing consumed all their Cattell, they waxed so weake, that some dyed for hunger. The Captaynes *Aemilianus* and *Brutus*, suffered the want as long as they could, but at legth being ouercome with the mischiefe, *Aemilius* commaunded to breake vp, therefore the Tribunes and *Centurians* went aboute the Campe, and commanded the souldioures to departe before day, so they forsoke all, euen the sicke and wounded souldyoures, who embraced them, and recommended themselues vnto them. They departing confusedly, and without order, as men that flée, the *Pallantines* ranne vpō them euery where, and much troubled them, following them from morning till night. When it was darke, the *Romanes* being scattered, wente into diuers places as lucke serued them. The *Pallantines* lefte chasing of them, as being called frō their purpose by the power of God. These things chanced to *Aemilius Lepidus*, whiche, when the *Romanes* vnderstoode, they put *Aemilius* from his prouince and Consulshippe, and so hée returned a priuate man to *Rome*, and was punished. The *Numantines* and *Mancinus* were heard in the Senate. They broughte forth the capitulations of the league. He layde all the blame vpon *Pompey*, that was ruler of the prouince before hym, of whome he receyued a rude and cowardly army, by ỹ whiche, being oft euill handled and ouercome, he made peace wyth the *Numantines*, being thereto compelled, as *Pompey* hadde done, by whose league, he affirmed this warre to be vnlucky to the *Romanes*. The *Romanes* were angrie with both, yet *Pompey* was acquit, being accused of the same afore. The Senate decréed, that *Mancinus*, who had made so dishonorable a league, without consent of the Senate, should be giuē to the *Numantines* after the old example, which gaue the Captayne to the *Samnites*, bycause he agréed to so shameful a peace. So they cōmanded *Furius* to leade *Mancinus* into *Spayne*, depriued of al things and naked, who was not receiued of the *Numantines*, against whome *Calphurnius Piso* was made Generall. He entred the land of the *Numantines*, and then walked part of the *Pallantines*, and spent the rest of his time in harborough in *Carpentania*. The people of *Rome* being weery of this long and tedious warre with the *Numantines*, that it might

Cowardly departure of the *Romanes*.

Aemilius put frō his office.

Sp. Postbumius Consull, was deliuered to the *Samnites*.

Mancinus is deliuered to the *Numantines*. *Calphurnius*.

Carpentania.

might once be ended, chose *Cornelius Scipio* Cõsull againe, ẏ wõne *Carthage*, as one ẏ only could ouercome ẏ *Numãtines*. And where he could not be Consul for his age (for he was but yong) a decrée of ẏ Senate was made, that the Tribunes should dispense with the law for that yeare, and restore it ẏ yeare following. Therefore *Scipio* being made Consull, made spéede to goe against ẏ *Numantines*. He ledde none with him of the souldiours by choyce, both bycause they wer troubled with war, and also bycause many of them were in *Spaine*. He had some voluntary, which were sent of kings & cities, by the consent of the Senate. He led many seruants with him frõ *Rome*, and made one band of fiue C. companies and friẽds, which he called *Philonida*, that is, the band of friẽds or felows. And whẽ he had appointed four M. of his souldiours to his cousin *Buteo*, he wẽt afore with great spéede to the army, which he vnderstood was corrupted with ydelnesse, riote, & sedition. knowing he could not ouercome his enimies, except he restreined & kept his souldiours in awe, with ẏ temperance & integritie of his gouernemẽt. So sone as he was come, he put out all merchants, harlots, & southsayers, whome the souldiours in their feare, would aske many questions: and forbad any thing to be brought to the Camp that was not necessary. And he forbad the sacrifices, by the bowels whereof, things to come were enquired. And he would suffer but few slaues and drudges, and cõmanded to sell all the beasts of burthen, except a fewe nédefull. He would haue the souldiours haue no cokes. He forbad any other instruments, or vessells of kitchen to be carried, but a spit, a panne, and a vessell for drinke. He would haue thẽ eate no flesh otherwise dressed, but sodde or rost. So he appointed measure to their diet. He forbad thẽ featherbeds, and he was the first ẏ lay vpõ a bed of hay. He forbad his souldiours in their iourneys, to ride on Asses or Mules, for he saide, there was little good to be hoped of that man in warre, that could not go afoote. Likewise, he reproued them ẏ vsed ministers in hote houses, and called thẽ Mules, which for ẏ they wãted hãds, had néed of other to rub thẽ. And thus he made his souldiours obediẽt & temperate, & by litle & little, acquainted thẽ with reuerẽce & feare, being hard to heare their quarels, or grãting any thing ẏ was not iust. He had oft ẏ

A disputation to make *Scipio* Consull.

Philonis a band of friends.

Buteo.

Scipio reformed his Camp.

Cokes, souldioures in the Camp.

sentence

Fauourable Captaynes.

sentence in his mouth, that easie, fauourable, and affable Captaynes, were profitable to the enimie, which though they were beloued of their souldyoures, they set little by them. They that be hard and seuere, haue their souldyoures ready and obediente at all assayes: the whiche though he had thus instructed, yet he durst not bring them into the fielde, till he had exercised them with much labour. Therefore going daily by one field or another, he made diuers Campes, one after another, whiche being defaced, he called the Souldyoures to worke agayne, to digge the ditches higher, and to fill them againe, to make high walles, and to pull them downe againe, and he stode from morning till night to ouersée the pioners. When he made any iourney, he went with a square battell, that it shoulde not be scattered by any suddaine attempte, as had happened to other. He rode about the army, and sometime to the hindermost, and bad the sicke should be borne on the horsemens horses. He toke the burdens from the Mules that were too much laden, and diuided it to be borne of the footemen. When he kepte himselfe in the house in sommer, the troupes of horsemen that he sent to espye, he commaunded at their returne to stand without at the trech, till another bande of horsemen had viewed all: and all the labour and worke was diuided among the pioners, that is, some to make trenches, some ditches, and some walles, and some to pitch tentes, and to euery of them a certayne time was appointed to doe it. When he perceyued his armye to be made fierce, obediente, and paynefull in sommer, he encamped nygh *Numantia*, yet did he not chose places very strong for his Camp as other were wont, nor diuided his men, least if anye losse should happe at the first, he shoulde be contemned of his neyghboures, whiche were wont to laugh at him. Neither did he encounter with the enimie, waying the nature and end of warre, and the strength of the *Numantines*, least they would come vpon him with all their force. Therfore he commaunded to wast all things, the corne to be cutte whilest it was grene, which being wasted, he must nedes goe further. The way that went to *Numantia*, by the playne, was shorter, and many persuaded him to

Numantia nowe of some is called *Cæsar Augusta*, of some *Sona*.

goe

go that way, to whome *Scipio* sayd, he considered the way to re- Hard vvay sure.
turne, for the enimie was full of shotte, to come out to the fight, and had the Citie at their backe, to returne safely againe. But we (said he) being laden with victual and weary, should be farre to weake for them. Beside that, we haue beastes of burdens, and cartes and carriage, so the fighte shoulde be hard, and very vnequall, for we being ouercome, should be in great perill, and if we did ouercome, we should haue no great gayne, and it were a folly, to put hymselfe to perill for a small matter, and he is an euill Captayne that fighteth without profite, and he is valiante and wise that entreth the danger of fight, when he is constreined by necessitie. He brought an example of Phisitians, which come not to cut and burne, till they haue tryed the sicke place with medicines, which when he had said, he cõmanded the Captaines to leade ẏ further way. Then he cõmanded to goe further to the lande of the *Vacceans*, where the *Numantines* had their victuall. Their fieldes being wasted also, and the corne gathered for the vse of the souldioures, he burned the rest. The *Pallantines* had laide many in awayte vnder certaine hilles, adioyning to that playne, called *Coplanium*, and then openly molested thẽ that were at harueste. Therefore *Scipio* sente *Rutilius Ruffus* that was hys Tribune (who after committed this warre to wrighting) with four bands of horse to stop their rangings. Therefore *Ruffus* be- Rutilius Ruffus in danger.
gan to follow them boldly, and to chace them to the toppe of the hilles where the ambush was, whiche discouering themselues, *Ruffus* commanded his mẽ, neyther to followe, nor to encounter the enimie, but holde them at the speares poynte. *Scipio* seeyng *Ruffus* going further to the hilles than was appointed him, began to follow him with his army, fearing the worst, and when he was come to the place of the traynes, he diuided his horsemẽ, and commanded to giue onset vpon the enimie both wayes, and when they had cast their dartes, to returne, not right on, but a soft pace, that they that were behinde, might ioyne with them: and by this meane he brought his horse safe into the playne. After this, when *Scipio* would remoue, there was a water hard to be passed, and myre, at the which, the enimie lay hidden, which Coplanium.

when it was knowen, he lefte that way, and ledde hys army by another longer way, but sure from decepts, and went by night, and commanded many welles to be made for thirst, in the most part of ꝑ which, salt water was found. Neuertheleſſe the army wēt on safe, though with great payne, but some horses & Mules were killed for drought. Then he entred the lands of the *Cauceans*, whome *Lucullus* had inuaded, contrary to the league, all the which, he cōmanded by his crier, to goe quietly euery one to hys owne. From thence, he wente to the *Numantines* grounde to winter, where he remained, till *Iugurtha*, the nephewe of *Maſſiniſſa*, came to him with .xij. Elephants, and archers and slingers well armed. And being occupyed in walking and spoyling the countreys that were nigh, he was almost entrapped at a Village, the which was enuironed with a great fenne of one side, & of ꝑ other with an hilly place, in ꝑ which ꝑ traynes were layde. And where *Scipios* host was diuided into two partes, entring the towne, and leauing their ensignes without, they went to spoyle. Other a few horsemē rode about the towne, who were beset of the ambush, & defended thēselues. *Scipio* being about ꝑ ensignes, called ꝑ souldioures out by trumpet, before ꝑ which could come, he with a M. horsemen, ranne to help thē that were in distresse. And when the most part of the souldiours were come out of the towne, he made the enimie to flée, yet did he not follow thē, but a fewe being killed of both sides, retired to his camp. Then laying two Camps before *Numātia*, he made his brother *Maximus* ruler of the one, and the other he gouerned himselfe. Whiles he was in this sort, the *Numantines* came forth, and offered to fight, but *Scipio* contemned them, thinking not better to fight with thē that were in desperation, than to tame them by famine, and driue them to yélde. And when he had made seauen trenches about the Citie to prelle them the rather, he sente letters to the confederates, in the whiche it was conteyned, what and howe many souldioures they shoulde sende, whyche when they were come, he diuided them into many partes, as he did his owne, and commaunded their Captaynes and leaders, to make ditches and enclosures about the Citie. The compasse of *Numantia* was

Salt water.

Iugurth.

Scipio like to be entrapped.

Two Campes before *Numantia*.

foure

four and twenty furlongs. The enclosure was as muche, or more, and all that was distributed to the Tribunes, whiche, if they were let of the enimie, they should signifie it by day, with a redde cloth vpon a speare, and in the night, by a fire, that he and his brother might aide thē that were circumuented, whiche being done, and they that were set for gard, were sufficient to resist the enimie. He commaunded another beside that to be made, and to plant stakes about it, or next them, to build a newe wall, the breadth of the which was fiue foote, and the height, tenne, beside the pinnacles and towers distant by equall space. The fenne that was nerte the wall, because he coulde not compasse it with a wall, he made a trench as high as a wall, and that might serue for a wall about it. And this *Scipio* was ẏ first as I thinke, that compassed a Citie besieged with a wall, the whiche did not refuse to fight. The flood *Dunar* that ranne by the Campe, was very commodious to the *Numantines*, to bring in victuall, and to receiue men out and in, or to swimme vnder water, or to send boates out full sayle, when the winde was bigge, or to rowe, when the time serued. And because a bridge coulde not be made vpon it for the breadth and vehemence, *Scipio* caused two Castels to be made on either side the banke, and betweene both, he hāged certaine long beames with ropes, and let them goe into ẏ water. In the beames were laide plates of swords on euery side, and other weapons pricking, whiche with the continuall course of the water being turned, did not suffer the enimies Shippes, nor swimmers to passe. This was the thing that *Scipio* most desired, that none should go to the besieged, to tell what was done abroade, whereby they shoulde be destitute both of councell and comfort. These being thus disposed, engines were placed in the towers, and instruments ẏ cast arrowes & dartes, & stones. The walles were ful of stones & shot. The Castels were kept of shooters and slingers. He placed also many men in the trenches, that should both day & night signifie what new thing hapned, in rākes, one frō another, holding vp an ensigne at ẏ tower ẏ was in nēd, and that the other towers should do the like, whē the token was sēn that ẏ first made. This was done, that in a momēt of time

Three myles.

A vvall about a Camp.

Dunar.

Policie of *Scipio*.

he might know what happened, and for those things that must be declared in déede, he would haue brought to him by certayne messengers. He deuided his army, which, with the confederates was. lx. M. into two partes, of the which, he set one to garde the sea, and vsed the other to goe for things requisite, as occasiõ required. Twenty thousand were appointed to fight when néede was, to the ayde of the which, other xx. M. of confederates were assigned. Euery mã had his place, from the whiche, he might not go without leaue. So euery mã repaired to his place, and to the token that was made, when the enimie made any thing adoe: so orderly & wisely had *Scipio* considered euery thing. The *Numantines* made many salies vpon the ordinary wardes, nowe héere, now there, but they were sone made afraid of the dreadful sight of them that came so sone to helpe, and also with the ensignes that were set vpõ the wall to shew ẏ matter, and with ẏ kéepers of the towers & trenchies, and with the sound of the trumpets, in so much, as all the cõpasse of ẏ trẽches, which was 50. furlongs, was in a moment a terror to them all. This place *Scipio* rode about euery day to sée it, and by that meane hauing shut in his enimies, he thought they could not lõg continue, seing they could be holpen by no man, neither of victuall, mẽ nor armour. *Ritogenes* a *Numãtine*, & chiefe of thẽ, with v. fellowes, persuaded by him, & so many seruants & horses, in the darke night, passing that space that was betwéene the towne & the Camp, and comming ouer ẏ trenches, with a ladder made to scale, gote vp, and killed the watch, and sending their seruãts back into the citie, they got away, & went to the *Aruacceãs*, holding vp their hãds, & prayeng thẽ to help ẏ *Numantines* their kinsfolke. The *Aruacceãs* would not receyue thẽ, but bad thẽ goe their way. There was a Citie of power xxx. furlongs from *Numantia*, called *Lucia*. The youth of this Citie much fauoured the *Numantines*, and moued theyr Citie to help the *Numantines*, of the which the auntientes certified *Scipio*. Therefore *Scipio* at the eyght houre of the night, toke his iourney, and by day was at *Lucia*, and beséged the Citie, and required the heads of the youth to be giuen him. The townesmen answering, that they were fled, he threatned spoyle

Ritogenes auenturech for his countrey.

Aruacceans.

Lucia.

of

of the Cittie, vnlesse they obeyed. Whiche the Citizens fearing, brought forth foure hundred young men, whose handes he cutte off, and went away with great spéede, and the next day betimes, was at his campe. Foure hundred yong mens hãds cut of.

The *Numantines*, now oppressed with famine, sent fyue men to *Scipio*, with commission to know, that if they woulde yelde to him, if he would vse them mercifully, and be content with a moderate fine. But *Auarus* the chiefe of them, a man of an highe courage, did muche set out the valiantnes and entente of the *Numantines*, affirming they did not offende, then being in so greate daunger, fyghting for their wiues, children, and libertie of their Countrey. Wherefore *Scipio* (saide hée) it shal be almost rightful thing, if thou being a noble man of so great vertue, wilt pardon so noble a people, and appoint vs that paine, that we shal be able to beare. We knowe the mutation of fortune, and that the safetie of oure Country, was not in vs, but in thée. Then take our Cittie being content with moderate punishement, or if thou hatte vs in contempt, thou maiste hope to sée it perish and be ouerthrowne, by defending it selfe. *Numantines* sue for peace. Bosting out of time.

When *Auarus* hadde saide thus, *Scipio* knowing by the Captiues what was done in the Cittie, saide, he woulde haue them frely yelde themselues, and their Cittie, with their armoure: Whiche when it was tolde the *Numantines*, and thoughte so before, inflamed with anger, for the greate desire of libertie, bycause they had neuer bin acquainted to obey, and being more taken with rage and furie, they killed *Auarus* and his companye, as bringers of euill newes, and conspiring with *Scipio* to saue themselues. The *Numantines* kill them that yvent for peace

Not long after, all victualls faylyng them, hauing neyther fruite, nor cattell, nor hearbes, firste they eat leather mollified in water, as other in necessitie haue done. When leather failed them, they eate deade mens flesh sodden and roste. Then hauing no respecte to the sicke, the stronger forced the weaker, thinking nowe none acte cruell or violent, their mindes being turned into wilde creatures, and their bodies into beastes for the meate they did eate. Therfore being killed with hunger, and The necessitey of the *Numantines*.

consumed with pestilence, with hear and beardes horrible, they at length yelded to *Scipio*, whiche commaunded them the same daye to bring their armour into a place appointed, and the next day, to come themselues into another place assigned. But they deferred a daye, confessing there were yet many in the city, that for the loue of libertie, would end their liues with sword and famine, and desired a time to kill themselues: so greate loue of libertie, so gret vertue was there in a barbarous & litle citie, whiche when they flourished in peace, wer eight thousand good men, the whiche, what thinges they had done againste the Romanes it is euident, and how many leagues they made with them with lyke and equall condition, which coulde neuer be brought to doe it with any other nation. Who their Captaine or Generall was, I nede not to rehearse: yet *Scipio* he being in the fielde with .lx.M.men, was many times prouoked of the *Numantines*, to fight. But *Scipio* was better and wyser than other generals, for he thoughte not good to deale with those wylde men, by the force of armes, but to conquere them by famine, whiche is a thing ineuitable, by the whiche euill, the *Numantines* coulde be only taken, as they were. These thinges I had to say, of the *Numantines*, when I consider their small number, their sufferaunce of labour, and noble actes, and how long they were inuincible. Therefore of the *Numantines* they that so determined, ouerslye killed themselues. The reste the thirde daye came to the place appointed, al vgly, filthie, and horrible to beholde, which had bodies foule and full of heare, with long nayles, full of filth and stincke, worne garments of euill sauoures, by whiche thinges they were miserable to their ennimies, and yet fearesul to loke vpon: therefore they were beholden of the Romaines with admiration, considering in them, the straunge affection of their bodies that was felt in the ayre, of the dolour and labour whiche they had suffred. and also of their conscience, that one had eaten anothers flesh. *Scipio* chosing oute some of them for the pompe of his tryumphe, commaunded the other to be solde, and their Cittie vtterly to be destroyed. This Generall of the *Romanes*, these two Cities being taken, harde to be wonne, *Carthage* for the

Numantines kil themselues.

A pitiful yelding of the *Numantines*

the greatneſſe of the Cittie and the power thereof, by the decrée of the Romaines be preſerued, for the commodity of the lande & ſea. *Numantia* hée raſed, a little Cittie that helde but a fewe, of the whiche the Romanes had not determined, eyther bycauſe he was irefull and harde of nature againſte them that he toke by violence, or bicauſe (as ſome ſay) he thought his glorie to be the greater, by the greateſt calamities of other. Therefore to this day he is called *Affricane* and *Numantine*, of the deſtruction he gaue to thoſe Citties. Then the places nighe *Numantia* being aſſigned and ſetled, and if any were ſuſpected, put in feare by payment of money, he returned to *Rome*.

The *Romanes* as the maner was, ſent tenne men of the Senatoures into the places of *Spaine*, that were of their gouernment, that thoſe that *Scipio*, or *Brutus* had taken, might be brought into the forme of a prouince. After a certain ſpace, when newe ſtirre was made in *Spaine*, *Calph. Piſo* was ſét thyther with authoritie, to whom *Ser. Galba* ſucceéded. But a multitude of *Cimbrians* comming into *Italy*, & *Sicilie*, afflicted with ẏ ſecond ſeruile war, they ſent no army into *Spaine*, bicauſe of theſe wars, but would haue lieutenãts go to pacifie al as wel as they could. When the *Cimbrians* wer repulſed, *Tit. Didius* wẽt thither & killed twenty thouſand *Arvacceans*, and brought *Termentum* a great Cittie, which ſcarcely would euer obey the *Romanes*, the ſtrong place in which it was ſcituated, into the plaine, willing them to dwel in houſes diſperſed wythout wals. And when he had beſieged a city called *Colenda*, he toke it the ninth moneth of the ſiege. *Didius* ſolde all the *Colendans* with women & children. The *Celtiberians* inhabited an other Cittie nert to *Colenda*, with other mixed, to whom, *M. Marius*, bicauſe they ſerued him againſt the *Portugalls*, he gaue thoſe places to kyll by decrée of the Senate. But they compelled for néde, exerciſed robberies. Therefore *Didius* minding to kyll them by conſent of the yr. men that were with hym, told their Captains, ẏ he would ſoyne to them the lands of the countrymen, bicauſe they were in néd. Which offer whẽ he perceyued they accepted, he bad them tel ẏ people ẏ they might come with their wiues and children to diuide the lands. Who when they came, he willed the ſouldiours to go oute of the campe, and

Calphurnius Piſo.
Ser. Galba.
Termentum.
Colenda.

that

that they ſhould enter, as though the number of the men and women ſhould be tolde, and ſo be appointed to the lands, and when they were entred within the trenches, they were al killed of the ſouldioures by his commaundement, for the whiche acte he triumphed. And when the *Celtiberians* reuolted againe, *Flaccus* beeing ſent to that prouince, killed .rr.M. in the Cittie of *Belgeda* when the people was turned to rebel. &c. ¶ with whom was authozit ie to aſſemble the Senate, when he was doubtful what to determine, he burned the whole Senate. *Flaccus* when he came, puniſhed al the Authoures of that wickednelle.

Celtiberians killed by craft. *Flaccus*. *Belgeda*.

Here vvanteth.

I haue founde theſe thinges of the *Romanes* agaynſte the *Spaniardes* worthy of writing. After a while, when the ciuill warre was hotte betweene *Cinna* and *Sylla*, the countrey being diuided in that ſedition, *Q. Sertorius* of the faction of *Cinna*, being created a Generall in *Spayne*, allured the *Spaniardes* to rebell againſt the *Romanes*. Then getting a gret army, and a number of his friends, choſen after the forme of the Romayne Senate, he determined to come towarde *Rome*. *Sertorius* was a bolde man, and of a noble harte and knowen vertue and ſtrength, inſomuch as the Senate being afraid of him, created many worthy Captains, *Cæcilius Metellus* firſt with a great army, that any way he coulde, he ſhould keepe warre from *Italy*, which was vexed with great diſſentions. A certayne man called *Perpenna*, of *Sertorius* faction, killed him and made hymſelfe Generall, and *Pompey* killed him in battell. And ſo had that warre an ende, the which put the *Romanes* in a great feare. But theſe things be ſhewed more plainly in the booke of *Syllas* ciuill warres. After the death of *Sylla*, when *C. Cæſar* was choſen Generall to make warre againſte all men, he appeaſed all the tumultes in *Spaine*, and any other nation that moleſted the *Romanes*, and compelled all to obey the people of *Rome*. Alſo *Octauius Cæſar Auguſtus*, ſonne to *C. Cæſar*, made ſome warre with them that practiſed rebellion. From that tyme the *Romanes* diuided *Iberia*, whiche is nowe *Spayne*, into three parts, into two of the which, the Senate ſent yearely officers, and the Emperor ſent a preſident into the thirde, the time of whoſe prouince, dependeth of the pleaſure of the Emperour.

Sertorius.

Cæcilius Metellus

Perpenna.

Sylla.

Cæſar.

Cæſar Auguſt.

The ende of the *Romanes* vvarres vvith the *Spaniardes*.

¶ The Romane warres with Antiochus the Great, King of Syria: by Appian of Alexandria.

ANtiochus descended of Seleuchus and Antiochus, kyng of Syria, Babylonia, and other nations, the firste from that Seleuchus who reigned in Asia to the floude Euphrates after Alexander, inuading Media and Parthia, and other regions yͤ had reuolted, being a prince of greate courage, and named Antiochus the Greate, aduaunceing himselfe by his actes and this name, did violently take from Ptolomeus Philopator kyng of Aegipt, and yet a child, Celesyria and Cilicia, and nowe conceyuing no small matters, inuaded them of Hellespont, the Aeoleans and Ionians, as subiect to the ruler of Asia, bicause they of olde time, did obey the kings of Asia. Then he sailed into Europa, and subdued Thracia, and al that would not yelde, he compelled. He fortified Cherronesus, and builded Lysimachia, which Lysimachus kyng of Thracia after Alexander, erected, to be a bridle to the Thracians, and they after his death pulled it down, and this Antiochus sette it vp againe to be inhabited, and called home the banished men of the Cittie, and redeeming auye that were in thraldome, to whome he ioyned others, and gaue them oxen, and shepe, and yron for their tillage, leauyng nothing that might helpe to the spedy renuyng of it. For he thoughte it a very fytte place for to deale with all Thracia, and a store-house most commodious for all the reste that hee entended to do.

Many obeyed him and receyued his garrisons for feare of his power.

But the Smyrneanes and Lampsaceans, and some others, refusing so to do, sent to Flaminius the Romane Generall, who lately had ouerthrowne Philippe of Macedonie, in a great battell in

Thessalia.

This part of Syria is called in Greeke Συρία κοίλη. that is Syria the hollow, bicause it lieth betweene the floudes Euphrates and Tygris and is named Mesopotamia. Cherronesus is a place compassed with water, saue in one parte.

Lysimachus is restored by Antiochus.

Philippe the Sonne of Demetrius.

This is left out in the Italien.

Theſſalia. For the time was, that the matters of *Macedonie* and *Grecia*, haue béene intermedled, as the ſtate and time ſerued, as we haue ſhewed in the hiſtorie of *Grecia*. Betwéene *Antiochus* and *Flaminius*, were diuerſe Ambaſſages, and practiſes in haue. And the *Romanes* & *Antiochus*, ỳ one had ỳ other in great ſuſpition: They, bicauſe they thought *Antiochus* woulde not be quiet, being proude of his great kingdome, and happy ſucceſſe. Hée, bycauſe the *Romanes* only, might be moſte greate impediment to his encreaſe, and reſiſt his paſſage into *Europe*. But no euident cauſe of enmitie being giuen by him, there came Ambaſſadours to *Rome* from *Ptolomeus Philopator*, praying he might be reſtored into *Syria*, and *Cilicia*, which *Antiochus* had taken from hym.

Ambaſſadours from *Ptolomie* of *Egipt*.

The *Romanes* gladly toke this pretence comming in good ſeaſon, & ſente Ambaſſadoures to *Antiochus*, in ſhewe, to reconcile *Ptolomeus* and *Antiochus*, but indéed, to eſpy the meaning of *Antiochus*, and to hinder it as muche as might be. *Cneus* the Ambaſſadour, required of *Antiochus*, that *Ptolomeus* a friend to the *Romanes*, might enioy the Kingdome that his father lefte him, and that the Cittes of *Aſia*, which *Philip* of *Macedonie* hadde taken, might be free: For it was not iuſte that *Antiochus* would enioy, ỳ places that the *Romanes* had take from *Philip*. Finally, he ſaid it was to bée doubted, why *Antiochus* ſhould bring ſuch a nauye and an armye from *Media* out of *Aſia* into the ſea, & inuade *Europe*, builde Cittes in it, and ſubdue *Thracia*, but for to lay a plat to another warre.

The Romanes ſẽd ambaſſadors to *Antiochus*.

The anſwere of *Antiochus*.

He anſwered, that *Thracia*, belonged to his anceſtors, and was for lacke of quietneſſe reuolted, and nowe he hauing leyſure, recouered it again, & he reſtored *Lyſimachia* to be a dwelling for his ſon *Seleuchus*. That he would leaue the cities of *Aſia* free, if they would thanke him, & not ỳ *Romanes*. As for *Ptolomie* (quoth he) I am his kinſman, and ſhortly I ſhal be his father in law, & I wil cauſe him to giue you thankes. But I doe doubt alſo, by what right the *Romanes* can meddle with *Aſia*, ſince I doe not deale with *Italy*.

A report of death of *Ptolomie*.

Thus breaking vppe without anye concluſion, they vttered manifeſt threatnings, one againſte another. It was reported & thought

thought that *Ptolomeus* was dead, wherfore *Antiochus* went with spéd toward *Egipt* to get the kingdom voide of a prince. And being at *Epheſus*, *Annibal* of *Carthage* came to him, fleeing his country for the hate of his enimies, accuſing him to the *Romanes*, as contentious and ſéking warre, and coulde not liue in reſt. For then the *Carthaginenſes* did agrée with the *Romaynes* as confederates. *Antiochus* receyued *Annibal* gloriouſlye for the fame of his valiantneſſe, and hadde him aboute him, and vnderſtanding at *Lycia* that *Ptolomie* was aliue, he refrayned from *Egipt*, and thought to take *Cyprus* in ſteade of it, & ſayled thither with great ſpéde. But being Winter, at the ſtonde *Sarus*, he had a wrecke, and loſte many ſhippes with diuerſe of his men and friends, and ſayled to *Seleucia* in *Syria*, and there repaired his ſhaken nauie, & made a mariage of his children *Antiochus* and *Laodice*, ioyning them in matrimonye.

Antiochus hath a ſhipwracke at *Sarus*.

And nowe bycauſe he knewe that euident warre woulde folowe betwéne the *Romanes* and him, he allied himſelfe wyth the kyngs his neighboures, and ſent *Cleopatra* called *Syra* to *Ptolomeus* giuyng him *Cæloſyria* for hir dowry, whiche hée had taken from hym, ſo to pleaſe the young man, that hée mighte be quiete in the warr with the *Romanes*. *Antiochida* hée ſent to *Ariarathes* king of *Cappadocia*, and an other that was lefte, to *Eumenes*, king of *Pergame*, but he perceyuing he meante to make warre vpon the *Romanes*, and for that purpoſe, would make affinitie with him, did refuſe him. And when his brethren *Attalus* and *Philetayrus*, dyd maruel at him, that he reiected the alliaunce of ſo greate a king hys neyghbour, and ſéking it, he aunſwered, that it was lyke that warr would be, which in the beginning ſhoulde be equall on both ſides, but in time the *Romanes* woulde ouercome for their good conditions & taking of paines. Then (quoth he) the *Romanes* being Conquerors, I ſhal hold my kingdom ſurely. But if *Antiochus* ouercommeth, I feare al will be taken away of my neighboure, and I feare, if I haue my kyngdome, I muſte be a kyng vnder him. For theſe conſiderations did he refuſe this mariage.

Antiochus hath his alliaunce vvith his neyghbours.

Enimies refuſe his alliaunce.

Antiochus ſtraight went from thence to *Helleſpont*, & ſayled to *Cherroneſus*, where he ſubdued and ouerthrewe many places of *Thracia*, he made frée the *Grecians* y inhabite *Thracia*, and granted

Helleſpont is the ſtreight of *Gallipoli*.

Byzance nowe *Constantinople*. These be called the French Greekes.

many things to the *Byzantines*, hauing a Cittie verye commodious at the mouth of that sea. The *Galathians* he pleased w̄ gifts, and drew by feare also, to the societie of his determination, thinking them good confederates for the bignesse of their bodies.

Antiochus sendeth ambassage to the Romanes

Then he wente to *Ephesus*, and sent Ambassadoures to *Rome*, *Lysias*, *Egeseanactes*, and *Menippus*, in deede to feele the minds of the Senate, but in worde, *Menippus* saide, the King was desirous of the *Romanes* amitie, and that he woulde be their confederate, if they woulde accept him. Yet he did maruell that they would require him to leaue Cities in *Ionia*, and lose his tributes, and not to deale with certain of *Asia*, and to forgo *Thracia*, that had euer bin hys progenitors, whiche were things, not for friendes, but for conquerours to commaunde to the conquered. The Senate perceyuing their comming to bs but an espiall, shortelye answered: If *Antiochus* do suffer the Grecke Citties in *Asia* to be free, and refraine from *Europe*, he shall be a friende to the *Romanes* if he will. Thus the *Romanes* answered, and made none other shewe of cause.

The answere of the Romanes

Antiochus minding firste to inuade *Grecia*, and there to begin the warre againste the *Romanes*, asked *Annibals* opinion in the matter. He saide, that *Grecia* was easy to be ouercome, bycause of their long affliction. The war that is made at home, is moste grieuous for dearth that followeth of it, but abroade it is more tollerable: neither should he ouercome the *Romanes* in *Grecia*, seeing they myght haue sufficient prouision and helpe from home. Therefore his opinion was, he should inuade the *Romanes* in *Italy*, whether, if he went, he shoulde fynd the *Romanes* weaker, both at home and abroade. I haue, saide he, experience of *Italy*, and with.x.M. men I can take fitte places of it, and I will write to my friends at *Carthage*, to stir the people to reuolte, being sory for me, & angry with the *Romanes*, & being full of hope, & hart, wyll thinke I will once againe get *Italy*.

The opinion of *Annibal* touching the warre.

The king hearing this aduice very well, and thinking the accesse of *Carthage* to make muche for the furtherance of hys warre, badde hym send letters to hys friendes, sute of hande, but hee sente not, for he thoughte it not sure, the *Romaynes* lying

in

in wayte euery where, and the war not being yet proclaymed, and many being in discord at *Carthage*, and the common wealth hauing no firmenesse nor certentie, which shortly after was the destruction of *Carthage*. Yet he sent *Ariston* a merchant of *Tyrus*, vnder pretence of marchandise, to his friendes, exhorting them, that when they vnderstode that he inuaded *Italy*, they should stirre the people of *Carthage* to be reuenged. *Ariston* did so, but when *Annibals* enimies perceyued *Aristons* purpose, they made much adoe, that any innouation shoulde followe, and diligently sought for *Ariston*. Yea, that the friendes of *Annibal* should not beare all the blame, secretely in the night, sette vp a writing at the common house, in the whiche *Annibal* exhorted all the Senate to reuenge their Countrey vnder *Antiochus*, and when he had so done, he sayled away. When daye was come, all the suspition was taken from *Annibals* friends, bycause the matter belonged to all the state. The people was ful of yre, angry with the *Romanes*, but not able to hurte them. And thus went the matters at *Carthage*.

Annibal sendeth *Ariston* to practice at *Carthage*.

The deuice of *Ariston* to saue *Annibals* friends.

The *Romanes* sente other Embassadors, and with them *Scipio* that ouercame the *Carthagies*, to proue the kings minde, and to espie his preparation. And when they founde the king to be gone to *Pisidia*, they tarried his returne at *Ephesus*, and in the meane time, had many times talke with *Annibal*, that seeing *Carthage* was in league, and *Antiochus* not yet a manifest enimie, they blamed him that he would flee from his countrey, seing the *Romanes* had not offended against him, nor any other of the *Carthagies* sithe the league was made. This they did, to make *Annibal* suspected to the king as they did in deede, by their ofte resorting and talking with him. And though *Annibal* were a very circumspect man, yet he did not foresee this. For when the king heard of it, he suspected *Annibal*, and was not so ready to trust him. Beside, an enuie and hatred grewe againste him, least he should haue the prayse of the things that were done. Among other talkes, they say, there was one betweene *Scipio* and *Annibal*, in a Scholehouse, where many were to learne, and presente to heare, touching the excellencie of a Captayne: And whereas

Scipio goeth Embassadour to *Antiochus*.

Pisidia, a countrey in *Asia*, nigh to *Lycaonia* and *Pamphilia*.

Annibal is brought in to suspition with *Antiochus*.

Enuie.

The talke of *Annibal* and *Scipio* touching the best Captayne.

Scipio asked him, whome he thoughte to be the best Captayne, he answered, *Alexander* of *Macedonia*. *Scipio* stayed at that, and gaue place to *Alexander*. Then he asked him, whome hee thought the second next *Alexander*, he sayde *Pirrhus* of *Epirota*, putting the vertue of a Captayne in boldenesse, for there can not be found a more couragious kyng, than hee. *Scipio* now was greeued, and againe asked him whome he thoughte to bee the thirde, thinking verily he woulde haue named him: he answered my selfe, for being a yong man, I subdued *Spayne*, and with mine armie passed the Alpes into *Italy*, the firste after *Hercules* that so haue done. I inuaded it, when none of you durst doe any thyng. I ouerthrewe foure hundred Townes, and broughte youre Citie many times into daunger, hauing neyther money nor men sent me out of *Carthage*. When *Scipio* perceyued he dyd so of purpose aduance himselfe, he smyled and sayde, in what place wouldest thou haue put thy selfe (O *Annibal*) if thou hadst not bin ouercome of me. He perceyuing this emulation, sayde, I woulde haue set my selfe before *Alexander*. So dyd *Annibal* continue in his lofty talke, and yet secretely please *Scipio*, as making hym better than *Alexander*.

Thys talke being ended, *Annibal* desired *Scipio* to hys lodging, *Scipio* sayde he woulde come very gladly, but that it should cause suspition betweene *Antiochus* and the *Romanes*. Thus these noble Captaynes ended theyr malice, when the warre was ended, but so dyd not *Flaminius*. For when *Antiochus* was ouercome, and *Annibal* fledde, and sauing himselfe in *Bithinia*, he being sente Embassadour for other purpose to *Prusia*, not being inflamed by *Annibal*, nor commaunded of the *Romanes*, nor to be feared, because the power of *Carthage* was abated, kylled him with poyson by *Prusias* consente, of the whyche it is sayde, hee was warned before by an Oracle after thys sort.

Malice endeth in fame, when matter ceasseth.

Oracle of *Annibals* death.

The londe of *Libyssa* shall couer *Annibals* body.

Libyssus.

He thoughte he shoulde haue dyed in *Libya*, but *Libyssus* is a flood in *Bithinia*, and the Countrey is called *Libyssa* of the flood.

Thus

This remembrance haue I made of the noble myndes of *Anniball* and *Scipio*, and of the cowardly heart of *Flaminius*. Noble minds.

Antiochus comming from *Pisidia* towarde *Epheſus*, gaue audience to the Embaſſadoures of the *Rhodians*, and promiſed that the *Rhodians*, the *Byzantines*, and *Cyzicencans*, and other Greeke Cities in *Aſia*, ſhoulde be free, if he entred league with the *Romanes*, the *Aetoleans*, and the *Ionians*, he would not grant ſo to be, bycauſe for the moſt part, they had bin vſed to obey the barbarous kings of *Aſia*.

The *Romane* Embaſſadoures bringing nothing to paſſe, for they came not to doe any thyng in deede, but to eſpie, they returned to *Rome*.

The Embaſſadors of the *Aetolians* came to *Antiochus*, of the whiche, *Thoas* was chiefe, offering him the leading of their armie, and wiſhing he woulde ſayle into *Grecia* as to a ſure thing, not tarrying for hys armie to come out of high *Aſia*, but ſettyng forthe their owne ſtrength, promiſed him the ayde of the *Lacedemonians*, and of *Philip* kyng of *Macedonie*, (angry at the *Romanes*,) ſo hée woulde make hys voyage wyth ſpéede. *Antiochus* is perſuaded by the *Aetolians*.

Hée was moued very lightely, and woulde not ſtay his haſt, although he hearde out of *Aſia* that hys ſonne was dead, and with tenne thouſande only, ſayled into *Euboia*, all the whyche he gotte, they yéelding for feare. *Micithion* his Captayne ſetting vpon the *Romanes* at *Deles*, whyche is an holy place of *Apollo*, kylled part of them, and part toke alyue. *Micithio* killeth the *Romanes*. The *Romanes* be killed at *Deles*.

Aminander kyng of the *Athamanes* came into league with *Antiochus* by this occaſion. *Aminander* king of *Athamanes* people of *Aetolia*.

One *Alexander* of *Macedonia*, béeing brought vp in *Megalopoli*, and made free of that common wealth, fayned himſelfe to come of *Alexander*, ſonne to *Philip*: and to gyue credite to hys deuice, he named hys children *Philip* and *Alexander*, and *Apamea*, whome he married to *Amynander*. *Philip* hir brother going with hir to the marriage, and perceyuing that *Amynander* was a weake man, and of little experience, remayned wyth hys brother in lawe to gouerne the kyngdome. *Megalopolis*, one in *Arcadia*, another in *Aſia*. Counterfet *Philip*.

This

This *Philip Antiochus* promised to restore the kingdome of *Macedony* as his owne, and by this meane, had the *Athamanians* his confederates. He had also the *Thebanes*, and wente to *Thebes* to speake to the people. Thus he very rashly, in so great a war, put his truste in the *Aetolians*, *Thebanes*, and *Amynāder*. Then he consulted, whether it were better to inuade *Thessaly* out of hand, or to tarrie till Winter were past.

Anniball being at this consultation, and saying nothing, the king cōmaunded him to say his opinion first, and thus he spake.

Anniball sheweth his opinion touching the warre.

‘Thou mayest easilie ouercome the *Thessalians*, eyther now, or after winter, for the people, hauing bin much vexed, do turne to thee now, and so will doe to the *Romanes* if any innouation commeth. We be come with our owne power, giuing credite to the *Aetolians* persuasion, that the *Lacedemonians* and *Philip* will take our part, of the which, the *Lacedemonians* be our Enimies, as I heare, and so be the *Achaeans*. As for *Philip*, I can not see, that he can be any great ayde vnto thee in this warre, being on thy side, nor make any great power whatsoeuer part he taketh: but this is mine aduise, that thou sendest for thine army with all spæde into *Asia*, and not put thy truste in *Amynāder*, or the *Aetolians*: when the army is come, to send it into *Italy*, that being occupyed with troubles at home, they may leaue them vntouched, and being afraide of themselues, may not vexe other men. And now, that manner is not to be held of vs, that I spake of afore, for we must vse the one halfe of oure naue, to waste the coast of *Italy*, the other halfe we must haue a flote, to vse as occasion shall require, and thy selfe, with all thy footemen, must remaine in that part of *Grecia* that is next *Italy*, making a shewe of inuasion, and if nede be, to inuade indede, and to induce *Philip* by all meanes possible, to agree with thee: for it shall much auaple, which part he taketh in this warre. If he will not be broughte in, thou shalt sende thy some *Seleucus* into *Thracia*, and molest him with euils at home, that he be not profitable to thine enimies abroade.

Thus *Anniball* said, and it was the best of all, but for enuie of his fame and wisedome, as well other, as the king himselfe, that

that *Annibal* shoulde not seeme to passe them all in the arte of warre, nor he haue the prayse of that shoulde be done. All hys counsell was reiected, sauing that *Polyxenides* was sent into *Asia* for the army. *Polyxenides.*

When the *Romanes* hearde of the entring of *Antiochus* into *Grecia*, and of the killing and taking of the *Romanes* at *Delos*, they determined warre. Thus *Antiochus* and the *Romanes* warre growing long before of suspition one of another, did now first breake out in deede. And bycause *Antiochus* had the rule of many nations in high *Asia*, and of all that inhabite the sea coast, sauing a fewe, and for that he was entred *Europa*, and hadde a dreadfull name, and a greate preparation, and otherwise hadde done many notable things, by the which he had gotten ỳ name of Greate, the *Romanes* thoughte this warre would be daungerous, and of long continuance. They had *Philip* of *Macedonie* in suspition, being ouercome of them not long before. And in the league with the *Carthaginians*, they had no great trust, *Annibal* being with *Antiochus*. And of their other subiects, they had some doubt, least the glory of *Antiochus* should make them take new attempts. Therefore they sente garrisons to euery one, to gouerne them in peaceable manner, and sente Captaynes to the armyes, whome they call of fiue aries, bycause the Consuls hadde twelue, and twelue roddes, as the olde kyngs vsed: and bycause these officers had halfe authoritie, they hadde halfe the shewe. And as in a greate feare, carefull for *Italy*, least some disturbance mighte happen to them, eyther by the violence, or fauour of *Antiochus*, they sente a greate bande of footemen to *Tarento*, there to bee ready at all assayes, and a Naute sayled ouer all the coast. So great a feare of *Antiochus* was at the first. The warre beginneth. Consuls. Proconsuls. Officers of fiue axes. Foresight of the *Rhodians*.

When they hadde thus at home giuen order in all things at the beginning, they gathered theyr army against *Antiochus*. Of themselues they hadde twenty thousand, of theyr confederates twice so many, with the whyche they woulde passe into *Ionia*. And in thys preparation they spente the whole Winter.

Antiochus wente into *Thessalia*, and being come vnto *Cynocephalis*

Cynocephalia is a place or people like a dogges head. Antiochus buryeth the dead.

chephalia, where the Macedonians hadde a greate ouerthrowe of the Romanes, he honorably buryed those that laye vnburyed, thynkyng thereby to winne the Macedonians to him, and withdrawe them from Philip that hadde lefte hys Souldyoures vnburyed, that serued vnder hys Standerd.

Bebius.

Philip hearyng thys, was in a greate perplexitie wyth hymselfe whyche parte he shoulde take, but yet dyd cleaue to the Romanes, and streyghte sente to Bebius, a Captayne of the Romanes, lying not farre off, to come to hym to a certayne place, assuring hym, that hee woulde take the Romanes parte against the Kyng. For the whyche, Bebius thanking hym, was the more bolde to sende Appius Claudius out of Macedonie into Thessaly with two thousande fotemen. And when Appius was at Tempe, and perceyued where Antiochus lay wyth his army, he made many fyres to couer the fewnesse of hys armye. But Antiochus thynkyng, that Bebius and Philip hadde bene come togyther, was afrayde, and brake vp hys Campe, making Winter the pretence, and wente to Calcida. There hée was caught wyth the loue of a mayde, beeyng aboue fiftye yeares of age, and hauyng so greate a warre in hande, hée woulde neuer marry hyr, and make pastymes, whereby hée broughte hys armye to greate yolenesse and change that Winter.

Appius.

Tempe, is the pleasant place that is so muche praysed of Poets.

Antiochus renoueth, and is caught in loue vvhen he vvas aboue fiftie yeares of age at Calcide now Negroponte.

When the Spring was come, hée wente to Acarnania, where he perceyued that hys armye was vtterly vnprofitable through yolenesse, and then repented hym of hys marriage and feastings: and when hée hadde gotten some of the Countrey to hys obedience, and subdued the rest, hearing that the Romanes were passed into Ionia, hée returned to Chalcide.

Acarnania parte of Epirus, bringing foorth very good horses.

The Romanes wyth diligence, and two thousande good Horsemen, and thirtie thousande fotemen, and some Elephantes, Acilius Manius Glabrio beeyng Generall, from Brundusie arriuing at Appolonia, wente to Thessalie, and delyuered the Cities of theyr enimies. And where they founde any garrisons of the Macedonians, they put them out, and Philippus of Magalopolis was taken prisoner, hopyng yet for the kingdome of

Acilius. Manius. Glabrio. Appolonia now Vallona.

Macedo-

Macedonia, and they toke three thousande of *Antiochus* men.

And whyles *Manius* did this, *Philip* inuaded *Athamania*, and made it all subiect, *Amynander* fleeing into *Ambracia*. Whyche when *Antiochus* hearde, and the speedy doyng of the thynges, hee was in feare, bycause of the suddayne change and alteration, and then vnderstoode that *Annibal* gaue hym good counsell. Therefore hee sente one after another to *Polyxenida* to stirre with all speede, and hee gathered as many as hee coulde in all places, and thys done, hee hadde of his owne footemen tenne thousande, and fyue hundred Horse, wyth the whyche, and some confederates, he toke *Thermopyle*, that hys enimies might haue the harder passage, and hee tarrie for hys armye out of *Asia*.

Thermopyle is a streighte, and a long passage, the whyche a rough Sea withoute portes, dothe partly compasse, and a Fenne deepe and without way. *Thermopyle* is the long hill of *Grecia*, vvhere the streight passage is, and the hote vvaters.

Two toppes it hathe in the rockes of the hylles, the one is called *Tichiunta*, and the other *Callidromus*. *Tichiunta*. *Callidromus*.

The place hathe welles of hote water, and thereof is called *Thermopyle*.

Antiochus made a wall double at it, and placed engines at the wall, and sente the *Aetolians* to the toppes of the Mountaynes, that no man shoulde passe by that that was called *Atropos*, where *Xerxes* came agaynste *Leonida* the Captayne of the *Lacedemonians*, when no man kepte the hylles. *Xerxes*. *Leonida*.

The *Aetolians* placed one thousande in eyther toppe, and wyth the rest, besieged the Citie *Heraclea*. *Heraclea*, many Cities of that name.

When *Manius* perceyued thys preparation of the enimies, hee gaue order to fyghte the verie morning, and commaunded two of hys Tribunes, that is, *Marcus Cato*, and *Lucius Valerius*, that they shoulde assayle in the nyghte whyche of the hylles they woulde, and if they coulde, dryue the *Aetolians* from the toppes. *Lucius* was repulsed from *Tichiunta*, the *Aetolians* there beeyng too good for hym. *Marcus Cato* wente The order of the Romanes. *Cato* dothe great feate

againſte *Callidramus*, and paſſed the enimies being aſléepe, to the laſt watche, and then hadde a greate conflict, ſtriuing to gette the high and rocky places, and the enimies to kéepe hym backe.

Manius ledde hys armye on the face of *Antiochus*, diuided into ſmall bandes, for ſo coulde he only doe in the ſtreightes.

The order of the Kings battell.

The kyng commaunded the lighte harnelled, and target men, to fyghte before the mayne battell, the whyche hée placed before the Camp.

On the righte ſide, he ſette the ſlingers and archers in the hygh places, and the Elephantes on the lefte ſyde, and the bande that was euer about hym, he wylled to ſtande at the Sea ſide.

Heere the Italian miſſeth, and ſo doth the Latine.

The fyghte being begunne, the ſhotte running hyther and thyther, dyd muche trouble *Manius*, but hée reſiſting manfully, and gyuing backe, and agayne commyng on, hée putte them to flighte. Then the battell of the *Macedonians* opening themſelues, receyued them, and cloſed agayne, and thruſt forthe theyr long pykes, thycke togyther in order. By thys manner,

This was called the Phalanx of the *Macedonians* as the legion among the *Romanes*.

the *Lacedemonians* vnder *Alexander* and *Philip*, dyd trouble their enimies that durſt not approche to the pykes ſo long, and ſo many. Then of a ſuddayne was ſéene the fléeing and crying of the *Aetolians*, dryuen to *Antiochus* Campe, the whyche at the firſte, was not knowen what it was, whyche ignorance cauſed trouble and doubte, till *Cato* appeared, followyng them wyth a greate ſhoute, and béeyng come to the Kyngs Camps, *Antiochus* menne that hadde hearde muche of

The fight that was firſt made betweene the *Romanes* and *Antiochus*.

the *Romanes* valiantneſſe, were afrayde, and acknowledged theyr owne yolenelle and delicateneſſe the Wynter paſſed, to be the cauſe why they thys time were the worſe to doe theyr office, and not ſéeyng perfitlye what number *Cato* hadde, and for feare thinking he had more than he had, and beyng afrayde of the Campe, they fledde to it out of order, to kéepe away the enimie. The *Romanes* comming vppon them, entred the Campe wyth them. Then was there another foule fléeyng of *Antiochus* menne. *Manius* followed them

to

to *Scarpheia*, killing and taking some: then comming from *Scarpheia*, he spoyled the Kyngs campe, and he drowe the *Aetolians* from the Romanes campe, which they had taken in his absence presently. In this fighte was slaine of the Romanes two hundred, with them that folowed the chase. *Antiochus* lost twinne thousand with them that were taken. The king himselfe at the first change ranne with fiue hundred horse to *Velatia* neuer staying, and from *Velatia* to *Calcida*, and to *Ephesus*, with *Eubia* his newe wyfe, for so was hir name: with his shippes he fledde, but not with all, for the admirall of the Romanes, had taken some that came to him laden with victuals.

Scarpheia an Ilād. The kings cāpe spoyled.

The king flyeth

Velatia.

Eubia the yong wyfe of olde *Antiochus.*

At *Rome*, when this victorie was heard, and seeming to be very happily and spedily obtained, they gaue thankes to God, all men beyng gladde that the firste triall had so good successe, in the warre that was so fearful to them for the fame of *Antiochus*. And to requite *Philip* for his true confederacie, they sent him his sonne *Demetrius*, that was pledge with them. *Marius* released the *Phoceans* and *Calcideans*, and other that followed *Antiochus*, of the feare they were in. But the *Aetolians*, togither with *Phillip*, he inuaded and ouerthrewe their Citties. He toke *Damocritus* their Generall that was hidden, and had threatned *Flaminius*, that he would encampe at *Tiber*.

The Romanes gratifye *Phillip.*

Damocritus.

Then he went to *Calipolis*, by the hyll called *Coraca*, the highest and hardest to be passed of al other, being verye rockye, with his army laden with spoile. Many fell from the harde way into the stony partes, and tumbled downe with their armor and burdens: And where the *Aetolians* might haue troubled them, they appeared not, but sent Ambassadours to *Rome* for peace.

Calipolis a cittie and an Ile also.

The Romanes passe the hilles laden to their losse.

Antiochus with greate diligence called hys armye from the land rulers, to the sea side, preparing his nauye, of the whyche, *Polixenides* an outlawe of the *Rhodes*, was Admiral, and sayled to *Cherronesus*, and fortified it again, and sent garrison to *Sestus* and *Abydus*, by the whiche, the *Romanes* muste passe into *Asia*. He made *Lysimachia* the store-house of the warre, bringing thither muche armoure and victualls, thinking the *Romanes* would come be there, with great power and nauy.

Polixenides admiral to their king

Lucius and Publi. Scipio be sent into Asia.

The *Romaynes* appoynted *Lucius Scipio*, brother to *Publius Scipio*, that ouercame *Carthage*, and was fyrste named *Affricanus*, succeslloure to *Manius* in thys warre, beeing then Consull: And bycause hee was not practised nor experienced in the warre, they sente hys brother wyth hym as a Counselloure: and these brethren prepared themselues.

Liuius that hadde the charge of *Italy*, was sente successloure to *Attilio* in the naupe, and straycht wyth his owne shyppes, with the whiche hee scrowzed the coaste of *Italie*, and with certaine that were lent of the *Carthagies*, and some other frendes, hee sayled to *Pireo*. and receyuing the naupe of *Attilius* wyth fourescore and one armed Shyppes, *Eumenes* following hym wyth fyftye of hys owne, halfe of them beeyng armed, they arryued at *Phocida*, subiect to *Antiochus*, who for feare, receyued them, and the nexte daye, they weare forthe to the fight by sea.

Carthagies lende shippes to the Romanes. *Pireum.*

Polixenides the Admirall of *Antiochus* came forthe wyth two hundred Shyppes, lighter than the enimy, whych was happy for them, the greate Shyppes of the Romaynes not beeyng yet practised.

The fight on the Sea.

Beeyng two of the *Carthagies* comming before, hee toke them bothe wyth three of hys, but emptye, the *Lybians* beeing leapte into the Sea.

Liuius, wyth great vehemence gaue the fyrste charge vppon these three, wyth hys Admirall shyp, goyng far afore the rest of the naupe. They not fearing thys one Shyppe, dyd caste theyr hookes of yron, & the Shyps beeing grapled together, it seemed a fyght vpon the lande. The Romanes beeyng more valyant, they bourded and ouercame them, and wyth one ship, carryeng awaye two, they returned.

Thys was a skirmishe to the fyghte: For then the whole naupes foughte together, the Romaynes beeyng the better in strength and courage. But bycause of the beauinesse of theyr vessells, they coulde not ouertake the other fyghte Shyppes, whych they dydde wyth all speede, to *Ephesus*.

The Romaines haue the victori by Sea.

pheſus. And the Romanes went to Xio, whither ſeuen and twenty of the Rhodian Shippes, theyr friends, came to them.

When Antiochus heard of thys fyghte by ſea, hée ſente Annibal into Syria, for other ſhyppes, from Phœnicia and Cilicia, and when he came, the Rhodians droue him into Pamphilia, taking parte of hys Shyppes, and lying in wayte for the other. *Annibal is ſent for ſhippes, and looſeth part of them.*

Publius Scipio came into Aetolia with the Conſull, and hauing the armye of Manius, hée diſdayned to make ſiege to the Cittics of Aetolia, as a ſmall matter, and gaue them leaue to ſende another Ambaſſage to Rome. Hée would tryc it with Antiochus, before his brothers office ſhoulde ende. And ſo paſſed by Macedania and Thracia, to Helleſpont, whyche was a paynefull and harde waye vnto hym, notwithſtanding that Phillippe of Macedonie did guide hym, making bryages, and preparing victuals for him. For the which, the twoo Scipions releaſed hym of the reſte of the money that he hadde to paye, for ſo they had order of the Senate, if they founde hym faithful. *Courage of Scipio.* *Philip is releaſed*

When they ſente to Pruſias kyng of Bythinia, declaryng howe manye kyngs the Romaynes hadde aduaunced, that were their confederates. And nowe to Philippe of Macedonie, whome they had ouercome of late, they graunted his kingdome, they reſtored his ſonne that was pledge for him, and forgaue the mony he oughte them.

When Pruſias hearde this, he ioyned with them againſt Antiochus. *Pruſias ioyneth with the Romaines.*

When Liuius the Admirall of the Romane nauye, heard that the Scipions were commyng, he left Pauſimachus the Rhodiane with the Rhodian ſhips in Aeolide, and parte of his owne nauy, & with al the reſt, he ſailed to Helleſpont, to receiue the armye. And Seſtus, Rhœteion, the portes of the Actheans, yelded to him. Abydon that diſobeyed, he beſieged. *Seſtus. Rhœteion.*

When Liuius was gone, Pauſimachus made manye deuiſes and inuentions, and ſundry engines, and faſtened vpon veſſells carrying fyre, to long Shippe ſtaues, to heaue vppe manye fyres in the Sea, and to caſte it into hys

his owne shippes, when he shoulde ioyne with his enimyes.

A false countrey man

Whiles he was thus deuising, *Polyxenides* the Admirall of *Antiochus*, a *Rodian* also, and banished from hys Countrey for certayne causes, went aboute to deceyue hym, promising to deliuer to hym *Antiochus* nauy, if he woulde helpe to restore hym to hys Countrey. He suspected this crafty subtil man, and toke good heede of him. But when *Polyxenides* diode write a letter of hys owne hande of this treason, and departed from *Ephesus*, and sent the army a forragyng for a fashion. *Pausimachus*, seeyng hys departure from thence, and that not trusting any man with this treason, he woulde wryte it with hys owne hande, whych was not lyke to be done of a dissembler, he gaue credite to it, and kept lesse guarde, and sent his men to forrage abroade also.

When *Polyxenides* perceyued he had deceyued him, he gathered hys army, and sent *Nicander* a Pirate wyth a fewe to *Samos*, to come vpon *Pausimachus* on the backe by lande. At mydnyght he set forwarde, and at the mornyng watche, beyng asleepe, he assayled hym. He being taken thus sodainelye and vnpreparedy, commaunded hys souldioures to leaue their shippes, and resiste the enimy by lande. But when *Nicander* came vpon him on the backe, thinking the land beset also, not onely of them whom he sawe, but of many mo, beyng yet night, he returned agayne to hys shyppes wyth muche adoe, and was the firste that fought, and the firste that fell, vsing himselfe very valiauntlye. The other were eyther taken or funcke, sauing the seauen that carryed fyre, wyth whome none durste meddle for the flame, which fledde. The rest *Polyxenides* ledde awaye as prysoners to *Ephesus*.

The *Rodian* shippes are destroyed by falshode.

Cyme in *Aeolia*.

After thys victorye, *Phocea* once againe, *Samos* and *Cyme* reuolted to *Antiochus*.

Liuius beyng nowe afraide of hys shyppes that he lefte in *Aeolide*, sayled thither in haste, and *Eumenes* with hym.

The *Rodians* sent the *Romanes* twentye shyppes more, making no delaye, all wyth good courage, sayled to *Ephesus*, preparyng themselues to the fight.

But when none of the other came against them, they lefte the halfe of their shippes, a good time in the sea, and with the o-

ther

ther halfe, they spoyled the coaste of the enimie, tyl *Nicander* came vppon them from the lande, and taking their praye from them, droue them to their Shippes. They came again to *Samos*: and nowe was the time of *Livius* office expired. The Romanes driuen to their Shippes.

At this tyme *Seleucus*, *Antiochus* his sonne, inuaded *Eumenes* lande, and besieged *Pergame*, shutting the men within the Cittie. Eumenes is besieged. Wherefore *Eumenes* sayled with spæde to *Elæe*, whyche is the porte Towne of his Kyngdome, and *L. Aemilius Regulus* with him, that succéded *Livius* in the matters of the sea. There came to *Eumenes* from hys confederats, one thousand fotemen, and a hundred choise horsemen. Whose Generall *Diophanes*, when hée perceyued the Souldiours of *Seleucus* to play and drinke, he passed little of them, and required the *Pergameneans* to sally out with him vpon the enimy. *Diophanes*.

But when they durste not do it, he armed hys owne thousand fotemen, and hundred horsemen, and leading them to the wall, stode there quietly, the enimies lokyng stil vpon them being so few, & yet durst not set vpon them. But when they were at dinner, he gaue ỹ onset vpõ ỹ warders, the other arming thẽselues, or taking their horses, or flæing from them that folowed, or bæing in confusion, durste not abide it. He hadde a noble victorie, the *Pergamenians* then crying oute of the wall, but yet durste not come forth. He, hauing slaine as manye as he couldo in that shorte onset, and carying away some horses and men prisoners, he toke hys place, & the nexte day brought the *Achæans* to ỹ wal, when as the *Pergamenians* durste not yet come out. *Seleucus* with many horsemen drewe neare and prouoked hym, but hee stode still at the wall, and kept his charge. The valiantnesse of the *Achæans*. The cowardise of the *Pergamans*

When *Seleucus* hadde tarryed tyll middaye, hé tourned and wente awaye. *Diophanes* set vppon the hindermost, and scattered and hurte many of them, whyche bæyng done, hé retired to the wall: And vsyng thys maner continually, and alwaies laying in wayte for them, when they went for forrage and wood, he so troubled them, as he made *Seleucus* to leaue *Pergame*, and droue hym from the other place of *Eume-* *Seleucus* the kings sonne.

t. nes.

nes. Betwéene the Romanes and *Polyxenides*, not long after, was a fyght by sea, at *Myonesium*, in the whiche *Polixenides* hadde ten hundred armed shippes. *Lucius* the Romanes Admirall, hadde .83. of the whiche fyue and twenty were of the *Rhodians*, whereof *Eudorus* beyng capitaine, had the left wing.

Myonesus. is ah lle before *Ephesus.*

When he did sée the other of *Polixenides* to be much above the Romanes, he feared to bée incloſed, therefore he sayled aboute with his lighte shippes, and well practiſed in the Sea. And with his shippes that carryed fyre, he ſet vppon *Polixenides*, flaming on euery ſide with fire.

They durſte not deale wyth them, bicauſe of the fire, but in a circle ſayled about them, and auoyding them, kéeping the sea, ſtroke the ſides of them, till one *Rhodian* shippe fell vppon one of the *Sydonian* Shippes wyth ſuche a vehemence, as an anker fell from the *Sidonian* Shyppe in to the *Rhodian*, and helde them faſte togither. So as there was a fight of shyppes not mouing, as it had bin vpon the lande. Then commyng of either ſide very many to helpe their fellowe, there was a noble fyghte.

The fight by sea

By this meane, themidde battell of the Shyppes of *Antiochus*, beyng lefte naked, the Romaynes ſayled forwarde and encloſed theyr vnexperte enmimyes, whyche, when they perceyued, they turned and fledde, in the whyche, the king loſte nine and twentye, whereof thyrténe were taken, menne, and all.

The Romanes loſte but two: *Polixenides* hauyng taken one *Rhodian*, went to *Epheſus*.

This was the fyghte by Sea, at *Myoneſium*.

When *Antiochus* heard of this, he fortified *Cherroneſus* and *Lyſimachia* verye ſtrongiye, thinking it a greate matter, as it was indeede, to kéepe the Romanes from paſſyng wyth theyr armye to the reſte of *Thracia*, where they ſhoulde haue an harde and paineſull way except *Philip* did conuey them.

But *Antiochus* beyng alwaies lighte and ſone chaunging, when he hearde of the loſſe at *Myoneſus*, hée was vtterlye dyſmayed,

mayed, and thoughte God was againste hym. For where the Romanes hadde the better on the sea, beyonde all reason, in the whiche, he thought himselfe very mighty, and *Annibal* shutte vppe in *Pamphilia*, and *Philip* conquering the Romaynes by the vnknowne wayes, whome he thoughte woulde rather haue remembred the hurte he hadde by them, by all these thinges béing meruellously troubled, and God taking his wits from hym, as commonly hapneth in all calamities, he left *Cherronesus* very fondly, before his enimies were in sighte, not regarding howe greate preparation there was of victuall, armoure, money, and munition, whyche hée dydde not burne, but lefte it whole to his enimyes: and he forsoke the *Lysimachians*, as thoughe the Cittie hadde bene taken, whyche fledde vnto hym with theyr wiues and children weeping: onelye hys care was to kéepe the Romaynes from *Abydus*, putting the reste of his hope of hys warre altogyther in it. Neyther dydde hé kéepe this passage, God taking his sense from hym, but went to the midde lande in haste; to preuente hys enimye, leaning no guarde there.

In calamities sense fayleth.

Antiochus giueth ouer.

Abydus in *Asia*, ouer against *Sestus* in *Europe*.

When the *Scipions* hearde of thys departure, they went to *Lysimachia* in all haste, and toke all the armoure and money in *Cherronese*, and quickelye passed *Hellespont*, voyde of defence, and came to *Sardies*, where the kyng was, before he perceyued it.

Then hé was confounded and vtterlye defeated, and laying hys owne faultes vppon Fortune, hé sente *Heraclides* of *Byzance*, to the *Scipions* to make an ende of the warre, offering *Smyrna* and *Alexandria* at *Granico*, and *Lampsace*, for the whithe, the warre béganne, and halfe the expences of the warre. And hé willed him, if néede were, to graunte the Cities of the *Ionians* and the *Eolians*, that toke the Romaynes parte in thys warre, and whatsoeuer thyng the *Scipions* woulde require, and thys he willed *Heraclides* to speake openlye, but priuatelye to offer *Publius Scipio* promise of much money from *Antiochus*, and also the libertye of hys sonne:

Granico a flouds in little *Asia*.

Antiochus seeketh peace.

Here the Author seemeth to take one for another.

For *Antiochus* had taken him in *Grecia* saylyng from *Calcide*, to *Diametriade*.

Scipio the yonger prisoner to *Antiochus*.

And this son of *Scipios* was he that toke and destroyed *Carthage* the seconde time, and the seconde man that was named *Affricanus*, sonne of *Paulus*, that ouercame *Perseus* of *Macedonia*, beyng *Scipio* his fathers sonne by degrée, and hys sonne by adoption.

The *Scipions* openly made thys aunswere to *Heraclide*,

That if *Antiochus* will haue peace, he muste not only leaue the Cities of *Ionia* and *Aeolia*, but all the Countrey aboute *Taurus*, and defraye the whole charges of the warre, of the whiche he hath bin the cause. Yet priuately *Publius* saide thus to him.

If *Antiochus* had offered these conditions of peace, when hée hadde *Lysimachia* and *Cherronesus*, the *Romanes* woulde willingly haue accepted it, and peraduenture, if he hadde forbidde, onely to passe *Hellespont*. But nowe that they were vppon the lande, and in safe place, and hadde not onely the bridle, as they say, but also were mounted the horse, with the bridle, they woulde not accept suche conditions by wordes. And that he did giue the kyng thankes, for hys great offer, and woulde gyue hym greater, if he sent him his sonne. And for the present time, would wyth him to take the conditions, bëfore he were driuen to the proofe of greater burden.

The Romaines haue both the bridle and the horse.

When that *Publius* hadde saide thus, he went to *Elea*, for his healthe, leauing *Cneus Domitius*, legate to his brother.

Antiochus, as *Phillippe* of *Macedonie*, thinking no more coulde be taken from hym by this war, than was propounded, gathered his armye in the plaine of *Thyatira*, not farre from hys enimies, and sente *Scipio* his sonne to *Elea*, and hée counselled the bringers, that the kyng shoulde not fighte, tyll hee came againe to the Campe. *Antiochus* giuing credite to hym, encamped at the hill *Sipylo*, and defenced hys Campe wyth a strong wall, and put the floud *Phrygio* betwéene him and his enimies.

Elea an Ile in *Propontide*, and a towne in *Eolide*

Domitius being desirous to trie the fight by himselfe, passed the

the flood very boldly, and going within two myle and an halfe of *Antiochus*, encamped there foure dayes together. Either of them set their men in order before their Camps, neyther of the beginning the fight. The fifth day, *Domitius* set in order againe, and came forth very proudely, and when *Antiochus* came not against him, he remoued his Camp nigher to him. One day beeing past, he proclaymed in the hearing of the enimies, that hee would the next day fight, whether *Antiochus* would or no. Hee being troubled again, changed his purpose, and where he might haue kept within his Camp, or manfully resist these, till *Publius* had come, he thought it a shame to refuse the fighte, being more in number: wherefore he take order for the battell, and both of them came forth at the last watch, being yet nighte, and eyther of them thus arayed themselues. Tenne thousand of the *Romane* fotemen helde the left wing at the very flood, and with them were other tenne thousande *Italians*, in three seuerall bands.

Antiochus prouoked to fighe.

With the *Italians*, the army of *Eumenes* was placed, and the target men of *Achaia*, about three thousand. This was the left battell.

The order of the *Romanes*.

The right, was the horsemen of the *Romanes*, *Italians*, and *Eumenes*, and they no more but three thousand. There was mixed with them all the light armed, and the archers. And about *Domitius* was foure bandes of horsemen. All these made thirtie thousand.

Domitius ledde the right battell. In the middle he placed the Consull.

The left battell he committed to *Eumenes*.

The Elephants that he had out of *Libya*, he thoughte to be to no purpose, for they be lesse that be at *Libya*, and afrayde of the greater, and they were but few, and therefore sette them last of all. This was the *Romanes* order.

Elephants of *Libya* lesse than of *India*, and afraide of the greater.

Antiochus armye was.lxx.M. of the whiche, the surest was the *Macedonians* battaile, called *Phalanx*, conteining.xvj.M. men firste appointed by *Alexander*, and *Philip*. It standeth in the middest, diuided by a thousand and fiue hundred into ten parts, and of euery parte of these in the front, were fifty men, and in

The Phalanx of *Macedonia*.

the middest two and thirtie, and in eyther side of eyther part two and twenty. The sight of this *Phalanx* was like a wall, & the Elephãts seemed like Towers. This was the midde battell of *Antiochus*.

The Horsemen were on eyther side of it. The men of armes of the *Galatians*, and the chiefe horsemen of *Macedonia*, called of them *Agema*. These were equally on eyther side the greate battell. There were wings beside these. In the right wing were light armed Souldioures, and other Horsemen with silver shieldes, and archers on horsebacke two hundred.

Agema signifieth the exercised battell of horsemen or footemen that went before the Captayne.

The left wing helde the nations of the *Galatians*, *Tectosagans*, *Trocmans*, and *Tolistouians*, and certaine *Cappadocians*, whome *Ariarathes* sente, and other strangers mingled.

Trocmi people of *France*, that did inhabit *Asia*. *Tolistobij* that went out of *Galatia* to *Bithynia*.

To these were ioyned another company of men of armes, and of his confederates with lighte armour. This order made *Antiochus*, seeming to put his truste in the Horsemen, whome being many, he placed in the front, and very unskilfully he thrust the greate battell in a streighte place, in the which he, he ought to have put his truste, being most strong.

There was also a greate number of slingers, archers, darters, and target men, of *Phrygians*, *Lydians*, *Pamphylians*, *Pisidians*, *Cretes*, *Trallians*, and *Cilicians*, all armed after the manner of *Crete*. There were other archers on horsebacke to these, *Dacians*, *Musoops*, *Celymeans*, and *Arabians*, which being set vppon most swifte Camels, they shote easilie from high, and when they be at hand, vse long and narrowe swords. The armed Chariots were placed at the beginning in the firste fronte, and were commaunded when they had giue the first push, to giue backe. The sight was like two armies, the one to be still the battell, and the other to lye in waite. Either of them being made to as muche terror as coulde be, both in number and forme. *Antiochus* himselfe ledde the horsemen of the righte wing. The left side, his sonne *Seleucus* governed. Of the *Phalanx*, *Philip* the maister of the Elephants had the charge. Of the forewarde, *Media* and *Zeuxis*. The day being cloudy and darke, the sight was taken away of this preparation, and all the bowes were the worse, as in the aire moist and thicke. Which, when *Eumenes* considered, he pas-

Arabians fight vpon Camels.

Shot hindered by moyst ayre.

sed

led not of all the reſt, only he feared moſt the violence of the armed Chariots. Therefore he gathered together the archers and darters, and other lighte harneſſe, commaunding them to goe againſte the Chariots, and to ſhote againſte the horſes, and not the men, for the horſe in the Chariot ſtriuing with hys yoke, the reſt of the Chariot is made vnprofitable, and many times breaketh the other battels, men being afrayde of the ſithes, as it came then to paſſe. For when the Horſes were ſtricken ſo thicke, and the Chariots carried backe of the horſes, the Camels felte the diſorder firſt, being next the Cartes, and after them the men of armes, whoſe horſe for the waighte of the armoure, could hardly eſcape the danger of the ſithes. Great was the trouble, and the confuſion diuers, which beganne chiefly of theſe, and wēt through the whole battell, and for ignorāce, was more than it nēded. For in a long rowe and thicke multitude of men, with a diuers crie, and greate feare, the truth was not perceyued of them that were next the hurt perſons, and ſuſpition made euery man thinke the thing greater than it was. The Chariots were armed with ſythes.

When *Romanes* did ſee the firſte ſucceede happily to him, and the fore-ward, with the Chariots, that the Camels did couer, to be naked, he ſet his owne horſemen, and as many as he had of the *Romanes* and *Italians* againſt the contrary part of the *Galatians* and *Cappadocians*, and the other route of ſtrangers, exhorting thē with loude voice to diſpatch theſe ignorant men, being deſtitute of their defence. They were ready, & giuing a fierce onſet vpon them, they made thē turne, and ỳ men of armes that were ioyned to them, which were diſordred before of ỳ Chariots, & bicauſe theſe coulde moſt hardly flee or turne, by reaſon of theyr waight, they toke thē, and killed thē. And this was done at the left battell of the *Macedonians*. In the right wing where *Antiochus* was, breaking the battell of the *Romanes*, he made them flee, and followed them. The great battell of the *Macedonians* being ſette with the Horſemen in a ſtreight place and quadrate, and voyde of Horſemen on eyther ſide, receyued the ſkirmiſhers that fought at the front of them, diuiding themſelues, and cloſing againe. *Antiochus* at his ſide putteth the *Romanes* to flight.

Domitius with his Horſemen, and lighte harneſſe,

eaſilie compaſſed them, as a thicke ſquare, neither fitte to giue onſet, nor enlarge themſelues being ſo broad. They manfully abode much force, and were greeued, that for all their experience they could do no good, but ſtand to receyue the ſtripes & wounds of their enimies on euery ſide. Only they ſtretched forthe their pikes in ſquare manner, and chalenged the *Romanes* to trie their manhode hand to hande with them, for the which they hadde ſo much prayſe: yet did they not march forth, being on fote & heauie harneſſed, and feing their enimies with horſe, chiefly that they ſhould not diſſolue their ſure aray. The *Romanes* came not vpon them, nor would fight with them, fearing the experience and ſtrength of ſo valiant men, but running aboute them, dyd ſhote and dart at them, and neuer miſſed, ſo many being cloſed in ſo little rome, for neyther could they auoyde the dartes, nor approch to them that threw vpon them. Wherefore when they had endured a long time, of very neceſſitie they gaue backe, and turned their way with threats, very orderly, and fearefull to the *Romanes*, for neither then durſt they ſette vpon them, but hurte them as they could go about them, till the Elephants brake vpon the *Macedonians* battell, whiche would not be ruled by their guides, and then there orderly retiring, was altered. In this, *Lomitius* had the vpper hand, and palling to the Campe of *Antiochus*, forced them that kepte it. *Antiochus* chared the *Romane* legions a great way, which had neither horſemen, nor light harneſſe to gard them, *Domitius* thinking they ſhoulde not nede bycauſe of the floud, till he came to the *Romanes* Campe, where the Captaine that had the charge with freſh Souldiours reſiſted his violence, and to them ioyned they that fledde, and were the more bolder. So the king returned, being very proude and haulte for this victorie, nothing knowing yet of that was happened on the other ſide. *Attalus* brother to *Eumenes*, with many horſemen encountred with the king, through the whiche he paſſed, and hurte them, keping his courſe with the loſſe of a few, not caring for them. But when he did ſee the loſſe, and all the field full of his dead people, men, horſe, and Elephants, and his Camp taken by force, he fledde without ceaſſing, till he came to

The mayne battell is diſordred by the Elephants.

Domitius entreth the kings Camp.

Antiochus chaceth one part of the *Romanes* to their Camp.

to *Sardeis*, aboute midnight, and from *Sardeis*, to *Celæna*, whyche they call *Apamea*, whither hée vnderstode hys sonne was fledde. *Celæna.*

The next daye he went from *Celæna* to *Syria*, leauing hys Captaines at *Celæna*, to receyue and gather togither them that fledde, and sent Ambassadoures to the Consull for to ceasse war, who was burying his dead souldiors, and spoyling his enimies, and gathering the captiues. Of the Romanes that were of the Cittie, there was slaine, foure and twentye horsemen, and three hundred footemen, chiefly of them whome *Antiochus* slewe. *Eumenes* lost no more but fiftéen horsemen. The kyngs losse with hys confederates, was iudged to be fiftie thousand, which could not well be numbred for the multitude: all the Elephants were slaine, saue fiftéene, which were taken. After thys victorie so noble, & beyonde all reason, as some thoughte, not beyng lyke, that so fewe, in a straunge Country, should ouercome so many, especially, where the *Macedonian Phalanx* was furnished full of men, whiche for the valiauntnesse, was terrible, and thought inuincible, the friendes of *Antiochus* accused his rashenesse, in falling out with the Romaines, and his vnskilfulnesse, and follishnesse from the beginning, that he lefte *Cherronesus* and *Lysimachia* oute of hys handes, full of munition and money, before the *Romanes* came alande to trye it, and neglected the guarding of *Hellespont*, the whiche the *Romanes* thoughte they could not easlye passe by force. They blamed also his lasse ouersight, making his chiefe strength vnprofitable, by placing it so streight, putting his truste more in mingled multitude of men that were fresh soldiures, than in men, that for experience and time, were acquainted with the warre, and by the continuaunce of the same, were endued with valiauntnesse and courage. Theese speeches were made of *Antiochus*. The errours of *Antiochus.*

The *Romanes* encreased in courage, and thought nothing too harde for them, bothe for their vertue, and the fauoure of the Gods. This did make to the opinion of their felicitie, that being so fewe against so many, in an expedition, and in the first fight, & in a straunge land, they should ouercome in one daye, so many

nations so princely a power, both for the vertue of the hired souldiours, and the glorie of the *Macedonians*, and for the great dominion of the King, as he hadde gotten the surname of Great: For in their speeche and talke, King *Antiochus* the Great, was a greate word among them. The *Romanes* thus gloried of themselues. The Consul after his brother *Publius* was come recouered from *Elea*, answered *Antiochus* Ambassadors, which required to learne, what *Antiochus* shoulde do to be a friend to the *Romanes*. *Publius* answered thus vnto them.

Answvere to the kings ambassadours.

Antiochus hathe bin the cause bothe of these and former troubles thorowe hys ambition, who having a greate kyngdome, and the *Romanes* suffring him to haue it, take from *Ptolomie* hys kinsman, and friend to the *Romanes*, *Celosyria*, and inuaded *Europe*, where he had nothing to do: he subdued *Thracia*, he fortified *Chersonesus*, and builded *Lysimachia*. He came into *Grecia*, & made the *Grecians* bond, whom the *Romanes* had made free, til he was ouercome in battaile at *Thermopyles*, from whence though he fled, he lefte not his ambition, but being ouercome diuerse tymes of vs by sea, when we were passed *Hellespont*, he desired peace: The conditions whereof, through pride, he contemned, and gathered a mighty army, and with gret preparation he made wat againe against vs, and by compulsion was brought to trye it with his heeles, till he was ouercome, to his greate losse. It were fitte that we should set a greater punishement vpon him, that so manye tymes hathe violentlye dealte with the *Romanes*, but we will not be insolēt for our felicitie, nor aggranate others calamitie. Therefore we giue the same conditions that we appointed before, adding a fewe more which be profytable for vs, and shall be commodious for his safety in tyme to come.

The conditions of peace.

That he refraine from al *Europe* and *Asia* on this side *Taurus*, and to these, limites shall be appointed.

That he deliuer al the Elephantes he hath, and as many ships as we shall commaunde.

That hereafter he haue no more Elephants nor more ships, than we shall appoint.

That he deliuer xx. pledges as the President shall prescribe.

That

That he giue for the expences of the warre, begun by hym, fiue hundred talents of *Euboea*, presentlye, and when the Senate shal approue the league, v. M. v. C. talents, and in xij. yeares after, other xij. M. v. C. talents, parte whereof to be brought to *Rome* euerye yeare. The least talent vvas lx.li.

That he giueth to vs all the prisoners and bondmen.

That he restore to *Eumenes* all that he ought to do, by a league betweene *Attalus* his father and him.

If *Antiochus* wil faithfully performe this, we giue hym peace and friendshyp, when the Senate shal ratifie it. Thus did *Scipio* determine, and the Ambassadoures accepted it, and paide parte of the mony in hande, and deliuered twenty pledges, whereof, *Antiochus* the kings yonger sonne was one, whome the *Scipions* sente to *Rome* with the Ambassadours. *Antiochus* sonne sent to Rome.

The Senate agreed to the conditions, and subscribed to the confirmation of the peace made by *Scipio*, and of some thynges that were not determined they made a little addition.

That two forelandes called *Calycadnum*, and *Sarpedon* should be the limite of *Antiochus* kingdome, and that he doe not passe them to make warre. These be in Cilicia.

That he kepe twelue armed ships onely to rule his subiectes in obedience and if warre be made vpon him, to vse more.

That he harbor none of *Romanes*, nor receiue fugitiues.

That he change his pledges euery iij. yeares, his sonne only excepted.

This was written and sette vppe in a table of brasse in the Capitoll, where other couenants of peace be placed, and a copye was sent to *Manlio Vulsone*, successour to *Scipio*. He gaue ordre to *Antiochus* Ambassadours, at *Apamea* in *Phrygia*, and *Antiochus* to *Rhodes* Tribunes that was sente to hym. And thys was the ende of the warre betwene the *Romanes* and *Antiochus*, that was called Great. And it seemed that he obtained it only for the kindenesse hee shewed to *Scipio* in restoring hys sonne: and some there were that accused *Scipio* for it: and the fiue Tribunes noted hym of corruption and prodition, he deppyng[?] Manlius Vulso.

Scipio is accused.

vii and

and contemning the accuſation, after he was come to the Court that daye, that afore he had ouerthrowne *Carthage*, ſent to make ſacrifice in the Capitoll, and came himſelfe into the Pallaice of Iudgement with goodly ſhew, and not ſad or mourning, like an accuſed man, euery man wondring at him, and fauouring him as a worthye man, and of greate courage being cleare in conſcience.

The conrage of *Scipio.*

When he begamne to ſpeake, he ſaide nothing of the accuſation, but made a rehearſall of his life, his ſeruice and al his acts, howe manye warres he had finiſhed for his countrey, whome he had ouerthrowne, howe ofte he had victorye, in ſo muche, as it was a pleaſure to the hearers, for the noble declaration of his hiſtorie. And when he came to the warre of *Carthage*, moſt of all he delated the manner thereof wyth great vehemence, and audience of the people, ſaying: This daye, *Romanes*, did I conquere, and made *Carthage* to obey you, which til then, was moſt terrible vnto you. This day do I goe to ſacrifice in the Capitoll, and as many of you as loue your Country, accompany me in the ſacrifice that is made for you.

Hauing ſaide thus, he went forth to the Capitoll, not paſſing of his complainte.

The people followed him, and ſo did manye of the Iudges, prayſing him with open voice, and ſaide the like, whiles he was ſacrificing. The accuſers were diſcouraged & durſt not proſecute the cauſe, as of no purpoſe, nor blame the peoples fauoure, perceyuing that his life was of more price, than their ſuſpition and calumniation.

Ariſtides not ſo conſtant as *Scipio.* *Socrates.*

Scipio ſeemeth to me more wiſe, in the ſtoute behauioure and contempte of this accuſation, than *Ariſtides*, beeing accuſed of fraude, and *Socrates*, in the thinges whereof hee was charged, neyther of them anſwering in the like diſcredite, ſauing that *Socrates* ſpeaketh as pleaſeth *Plato*: Yea he was more couragious than *Epiminondas* that was ruler of the *Boetians*, with *Pelopida* and an other. The *Thebanes* hadde ſente them, gyuing either of them an armye to helpe the *Arcadians* and *Meſenians*, that were at warre with the *Laconians*. And bycauſe thynges

Epaminondas.

were

were not done as they entended, they were accused and called home. They deliuered not their armies to their successoures in sixe moneths, in the whiche time, they expelled the *Lacedemonian* garrisons, & placed other of the *Arcadians*, *Epaminondas* compelling his companions to doe it, promising that the doyng therof shoulde not be hurtefull to them. When they were come home, their accusers prosecuting the matter againste euerye of them, they were condemned to dye. For the Lawe iudged hym to die, that by violence would rule in an other mans office. The other escaped, vsing lamentation and many wordes, and laying al the blame in *Epaminondas*, for so he willed them to say, and he would affyrme it.

He being condemned to dye, saide: I confesse it is againste the lawe, to rule thys tyme, and that I compelled them, whome you haue deliuered nowe. I do not desire to be pardoned, hauing transgressed the lawe, but I beseeche you, that for the seruice I haue done, you woulde write thus. *Epaminondas* maner of answere.

This is he, that gote the victorie of *Lenitra*, and that brought his Countrey to *Sparta* it selfe, whiche before coulde not abide those enimies, nor no straunger that ware a *Lacedemonian* hatte, he is condemned of his Countrey, offending the Lawe for the benefite of his Countrey. Hauing saide thus, he came from the Tribunes, and offered his bodye to them that woulde take it.

The Iudges, by the reproch of thys speeche, and maruell of the answere, and reuerence of the person accused, durste not abide the triall, but ran out of the Court. These euery man may iudge as he listeth.

Manlius the successor of *Scipio*, went to the lande that was taken from *Antiochus*, and gaue order for them, and the *Galathians* that aided *Antiochus*, called *Tolestonians*, fleeing to *Mysies Olympos*. He followed painefully thorough the Mountaines, and killed them in the chase, with suche a slaughter and bloudshed, as it could not be numbred for the multitude. He toke prisoners fortie thousand, he burned their armour, and solde their bodies to the nexte *Barbarians*, bycause he coulde not carry suche a com- *Tolestons* were people that came out of *Spaine* to dwell in *Ethmia*.

pany aboute in the warre.

Manius in dāger. The *Tectosagans* and *Trocmans* put him in daunger by deceite, from the whiche he escaped. And returning againe vppon them, remayning and staying, bycause they were so many, he brought his shotte, commaunding them to discharge vppon them, neither all togither, nor too nighe the enimie, and where no arrow was shot in vaine, for the thicknesse of the enimies, he slewe eighte thousande, and chased the other to the flonde *Alys*.

Alys a flood running out of *Taurus*.

Ariarathes kyng of *Cappadocia*, and a confederate of *Antiochus*, being afraide, and praying peace, and with his prayer sending two hundred talentes, he didde not ouerrunne hys lande, but wente to *Helleſpont*, with greate riches, and infinite money, muche spoile, and armye laden: And surely he did very vnwisely, that being Sommer, he woulde not go by sea, not regarding the waighte of the carriage, nor how he coulde leade hys army to continewe and abide so long a iorney, not marching to war, but going home with spoyles.

The error of Manlius.

He went by *Thracia*, a streight, long, and harde waye, in the hote Sommer, neither did he sende to *Philip* of *Macedonie* to conduct him, neither diuided his army into many parts, that they might go the lighter, and be the more readye for all purposes, nor distributing the burdens into seueral bands, that they might be the better kepte, but carryed al togither on an heape, so long a way, that in the middest, so that neither they that went before, nor they behind, could helpe in time for the length and straightnesse of the way. Wherfore the *Thracians* setting vpō the flanks of him euery where, he losse greate parte of the pray, and of the common treasure, and of his army, and with the reste, he saued himselfe in *Macedonia*. And then was it well perceyned, howe much pleasure *Philip* shewed the *Scipions*, and howe muche *Antiochus* erred in leauing *Cherronesus*. Thus *Manlius* wente from *Macedonia* to *Thessalie*, and from *Thessalie* to *Epirus*, and from *Epirus* sayled to *Brundusse*, where sending hys armye euery manne home, he went to *Rome*. The *Rhodians* and *Eumenes* king of *Pergamus*, aduancing themselues for their seruice against *Antiochus*, *Eumenes* went to *Rome*, and the *Rhodians* sent Ambassadours.

The

The *Romanes* gaue to the *Rhodians Lycia* and *Caria*, the whyche, not long after, they toke from them, bycause, when they hadde warre wyth *Perseus* of *Macedonie*, they seemed more enclined to hym, than them. To *Eumenes* they gaue all the reste that they had taken from *Antiochus*, excepte the Grekes there: and to them that payde anye tribute to *Antiochus* his father, they commaunded to pay it to *Eumenes*. The tribute that they paide before to *Antiochus*, they forgaue them, and graunted them to liue frée. Rewards giuen to the *Rhodians*. Reward to *Eumenes*. Rewardes to the Grekes.

Thus the *Romanes* diuided their conquest, and when *Antiochus* the Greate was deade, *Seleucus* hys sonne succeeding hym, hée sente for his brother *Antiochus* that was pledge at *Rome*, and putte hys sonne *Demetrius* in hys place. *Antiochus* the great dieth.

When *Antiochus* was come to *Athens*, *Seleucus* was killed of one *Heliodorus* that was aboute him. And *Eumenes* and *Attalus* droue *Heliodorus* oute of the kingdome whiche hée vsurped, and restored it to *Antiochus*, to haue hys friendshippe, for nowe they were growne into some suspition with the *Romanes*. *Seleucus* killed.

Thus *Antiochus* the sonne of Greate *Antiochus* was kyng of *Syria*, who of the *Syrians* was called the Notable, bicause whe his kingdome was ranished by others, he shewed to be their naturall king. Making league with *Eumenes*, he raigned ouer *Syria*, and the nations aboute it mightilye. He made *Tymarxus* lieutenaunt of *Babylon*, and *Heraclides* hys Treasourer, beyng brethren, and in great fauour wyth hym. He made warre vppon *Artaxes* King of *Armenia*, whome, when hée hadde taken, hée dyed, leauing *Antiochus* his sonne of nine yeares of age, whom, for his fathers vertue, the *Syrians* called *Eupater Lysias* brought vppe this child. *Antiochus* the Noble. *Antiochus* the second dieth. *Antiochus Eupater*.

When the *Romanes* heard that *Antiochus* was deade so sone, who in a little tyme had gote great fame, they were glad. *Demetrius*, the sonne of *Seleucus*, brother to *Antiochus* the Notable, nephew to *Antiochus* the Greate, a cosin to this child, being pledge at *Rome* and of three and twentye yeares of age, requyred to be admytted to the kyngdome, as more neare to him, but it was denied

denyed hym, not thinking it good for them, that a lustye young man shoulde raigne in a childes place. And vnderstanding that there were manye Elephantes in *Syria*, and more Shyps than was agreede, they sent Ambassadoures to kyll the Elephantes and burne the Shippes. It was a grieuous thing to see those beastes tame and rare killed, and the ships to bee sette on fyre. Wyth the whiche fighte, one *Leptines* in *Laodicia*, being offended, finding *Cnem Octauius* that was chiefe of this Embassage in a Schoole house, kylled hym, and *Lysias* buried hym.

The ships and Elephants burned.

The Romaine Ambassadour is killed.

Demetrius comming againe into the Senate, desired onelye to be released of his Ostageship, being put there for *Antiochus*, and nowe *Antiochus* beyng dead.

Demetrius flyeth from Rome.

The whiche when he coulde not obtayne, he fledde awaye priuily, and being receyued gladlye of the *Syrians*, hee toke the Kingdome vpon him, and killed the child, and *Lysias*, and droue awaye *Heraclides*, and killed *Timarchus* resisting him, and euill vsing the *Babilonians*, for the whiche the *Babilonians* gaue him the name of *Soter*, and of them it had the beginning.

Sauiour.

Demetrius hauing the rule, sent a Crowne of tenne thousande Crownes to the *Romanes*, to thanke them for the tyme hee was pledge with them, and also, *Leptines*, that killed *Octauius*. They accepted the Crown, but would not take *Leptines*, reseruing that quarrell againste the *Syrians*.

Demetrius putteth out *Ariarathes*.

Demetrius droue *Ariarathes* oute of his kingdome, and putte in *Olofernes*, that was accounted hys brother, for a thousand talentes, the *Romanes* thinking it good, bothe brethren shoulde rule togither.

Occasion of the warre with Mithridates.

These being gone, and *Ariobarzanes* afterward ouercome of *Mithridates* king of *Pontus*, the warre of *Mithridates* followed of this and other occasion, the greatest and most variable, made with so manye nations, and continuing fortie yeres. in the whiche time, there were many Kings of *Syria* in a little time, yet all descended of the royall bloude. There were many changes and tumults in that kingdome. The *Parthians* reuolting from the rule of *Seleucide* toke from them *Mesopotamia*, that was wont to obey them.

Selencides, the royall blond. *Parthians*.

Tigranes

Tigranes, the ſonne of *Tigranes* king of *Armenia*, tolde certayne nations aboute him that had their proper princes, thinking to be their king, and ouercame *Seleucides* ſubiectes that would not obey him. *Antiochus* the God, not able to reſiſt him, he gotte all *Syria* to *Euphrates*, and all the generation of *Syria* to *Aegipt*. He gote alſo *Cilicia* that obeyed the houſe of *Seleucides*, making *Magadates* Lieutenante, who ruled them fourctene yeares: but when *Lucullus* the Romane Generall did follow *Mithridates*, fleing to *Tigranes*, *Magadates* wente with this army to help *Tigranes*, and ſo *Antiochus*, ſonne of *Antiochus* the God, was broughte into *Syria*, whome the *Syrians* obeyed with good will. And *Lucullus* that firſte made warre againſt *Tigranes*, and put him from the lands he had wonne, did not enuie the auntient kingdomes. But *Pompeyus* that followed *Lucullus*, and ouercame *Mithridates*, and compelled *Tigranes* to rule in *Armenia*, did caſt out *Antiochus* from the kingdome of *Syria*, hauing not offended the *Romanes* in deede, byeauſe it was an eaſie thing with ſuch an armye to ſpoyle a king that had no army, but in pretence, byeauſe the *Seleucidians* were expelled of *Tigranes*, it was not reaſon they ſhould rule *Syria* any longer, *Tigranes* being ouercome of the *Romanes*. And thus the *Romanes* got *Cilicia* and *Syria* the inside region, and *Caloſyria* and *Phœnitia*, and *Paphlagonia*, and all other partes of *Syria*, from *Euphrates* to *Aegipt*, and to the Sea coaſt, without any fighte. The nation of the *Iewes* only remaining, *Pompey* conquered, and ſent their kyng *Ariſtobulus* to *Rome*, and beate downe their greateſt and holyeſt Citie *Hieruſalem*, which *Ptolomeus* the firſte king of *Aegipt* did ouerthrowe alſo, and *Veſpaſianus* agayne deſtroyed it, after it was reedifyed, and in my time *Adrianus*, and therefore the *Iewes* haue a greater tribute ſet vpon euery body, than their ſubſtance is worth. The *Syrians*, and the *Cilicians* alſo, payed euery man the hundred part. And *Pompey* put ſeueral kings and Princes in the realmes, that obeyed the bloud of *Seleucus*, as he did to the *Galathians* in *Aſia*. To theſe Princes he confirmed the iuriſdiction of a fourth part, that ſerued him againſt *Mithridates*. And not long after, they fell to the *Romanes* in *Cæſars* time, and chiefly

Tigranes.

Lucullus fauoured the auntient Kinges.

Pompey ſeeketh cauſe to put the kings from *Syria*.

Iewes conquered.

Veſpaſianus.

Adrianus.

Pompey maketh Kings and Tetrarches.

to *Auguſtus* as the caſe ſtode. *Pompey* appointed *Scaurus* to rule *Syria*, who had bin a Treaſourer in his camp. And after *Scaurus* the Senate ſent *Philippus Marcius*, no after *Philippe*, *Marcelinus Lentulus*, being of the degrée of Prætors. Bothe theſe ſpent theyr tyme in ſubduing the *Arabians* that were tumultuous. And for this cauſe Lieutenants were ſent afterward into *Syria*, of them that ruled in the city, that they might haue power, both in peace & war, as the Conſulls had. The firſt of theſe was *Gabinius* that came with an army to make war. And *Mithridates* king of *Parthia* being driuen out of his kingdome by *Herodes* his brother, came to *Parthia* againe by the *Arabians*. And *Ptolomie* the eleauenth King of *Egipt*, being alſo put out of his kingdome, obtayned by much money, that he would inuade *Alexandria* in ſteade of *Parthia*: and ſo *Gabinius* making war vpon them of *Alexandria*, reſtored *Ptolomie* into his kingdom, wherefore he was baniſhed of ỹ *Romane* Senate, for that he made a war without cõmiſſion, that was thought vnlucky to the *Romanes*. For it was forbidden by *Sibylla*. After *Gabinius*, I thinke, that *Craſſus* ruled *Syria*, & making war vpon the *Parthians*, receyued a great loſſe. And *Lucius Bibulus* gouerning *Syria* after *Craſſus*, the *Parthians* inuaded it. And *Saxa* ruling after *Bibulus*, they ranged as farre as *Ionia*, the *Romaines* being moleſted with ciuil warres one againſt an other. But theſe ſhal be declared perfectly in ỹ booke of ỹ *Parthians* war. In this booke, being of *Syria*, ſhal be ſhewed how the *Romanes* got *Syria*, and holde it, as they do nowe. It ſhall not be amiſſe to ſhew how the *Macedonians* got *Syria*, and raigned there before the *Romanes*. For *Alexander* the King had *Syria* beyonde *Perſia*, and was king of al ỹ he won. When *Alexander* was dead, leauing children, one very yong, another in his mothers womb, the *Macedonians* for the loue of *Philips* houſe, chooſe *Aridem* to be their king, that was *Alexanders* brother, although he was thoughte not to be wel in his minde, calling hym *Philip* in ſteade of *Aridem*, *Alexanders* children being yet with tutors, & the mother with child diligently kept. The friends diuided the nations, & *Perdiccas* was ỹ diuider, vnder king *Philip*. And the kings being dead not long after, the great men were made kings. The firſt

Scaurus. Philippus. Marcelinus. Lentulus.

Gabinius banniſhed for making warre vpõ *Egipt.*

Craſſus. L. Bibulus. Saxa.

The race of the kings of *Syria.*

Perdiccas.

prince

Prince of *Syria* was *Laomedon* of *Mitilene*, set in by *Perdiccas*, and after by *Antipater* that were kings. *Ptolomeus* sailed to *Laomedon* that was ruler of *Siria*, and perswaded him by muche money, to lette him haue *Syria*, being an entrie to *Egipt*, and a defence to *Cipres*, the whiche he denying, he toke hym. And he decepuing his kepers, fledde to *Alceta* into *Caria*. And a certaine time *Ptolomie* had *Syria*, and when he had left garrisons in the Cittie, hee sayled into *Egipt*. *Antigonus* was prince of *Phrygia*, *Lycia*, & *Pamphilia*, being left ouerseer of all *Asia*, of *Antipater*, when he sailed into *Europe*, to make warre vppon *Eumenes* that was Prince of *Cappadocia*, being iudged to be an enimy of the *Macedonians*, he fled and got *Media* for himselfe. But *Antigonus* followed and killed hym, and proceeding, was royally receyued of *Seleucus* prince of *Babilon*. But when *Seleucus* had punished one of the Captains, & not made *Antigonus* of counsell, being present, he was angrye, and called him to accompte both of money and substaunce. Hee beyng too weake for *Antigonus*, fledde to *Ptolomie* into *Egipt*. *Laomedon* the first prince in *Syria*.

Ptolomie taketh *Laomedon*, who escapeth.

Antigonus straight after the fleyng of *Seleucus*, remoued *Blitora* from his office, that ruled in *Mesopotamia*, bicause he furthered *Seleucus* in his departuke, and toke to himselfe *Babilon*, *Mesopotamia*, and other nations of the *Medeans* to *Hellespont*. *Antipater* being deade, he was by and by suspected to al the other prouinces, hauing so much land. Therfore by the persuasion chiefly of *Seleucus*, *Ptolomie*, and *Lysimacus* Prince of *Thracia*, and *Cassander* son to *Antipater* and ruler of *Macedonia* after his father, they confederated togither, and sent a common Ambassage, requiring hym to diuide the lande and money, that hee had gotte, among them and the other *Macedonians* that had losse their prouinces. *Blitora*.

Antigonus laughing at the matter, they made a common war againste him. He prepared agaynste them, and threwe oute al the garrisons that *Ptolomie* had in *Syria*, and seyzed to himselfe, *Phœnitia* and *Celesyria* that yet obeyed *Ptolomie*. Then he wente to the straights of *Cilicia*, and lefte his sonne *Demetrius*, two and twenty yeares of age, in *Gaze* with an armye, to resist *Ptolomies* inuasions from *Aegipt*. But *Ptolomie* ouercame him at *Gaza* in a great fighte, and the yong manne fled to hys father. *Ptolomie* sente *Seleucus* by and by to *Babylon*, to recouer his rule, A common warre against *Antigonus*.

Gaze a Cittie in Perside.

and gaue him a thousande fotemen, and three hundred horsmen.

And with these fewe, *Seleucus* wente to *Babilon*, where he was gladly receyued of the inhabitantes, and in shorte time hadde a mighty dominion.

Antigonus was reuenged of *Ptolomie*, and ouercame him in a greate fighte by sea, at *Cyprus* in the whiche *Demetrius* his sonne was Admirall, by the whiche being muche renoumed, the armye called them both Kynges, *Antigonus* and *Demetrius*, the Kynges being deade, *Arrideus Philips* sonne, and *Olimpiades*, and *Alexanders* children. And *Ptolomeus* armye called him King, that he shoulde seeme not to be inferiour to them that had the victorye: and thus a like effect folowed of a contrarye cause. The other straight followed these, and of rulers they were made Kynges. So was *Seleucus* king of *Babylon*, and King of *Media*, *Nicanor* being killed of hym, who was lefte Gouernoure of *Media* by *Antigonus*: he made manye warres againste the *Macedonians* and *Barbarians*, and two chiefye against the *Macedonians*. The laste whereof was against *Lysimachus* king of *Thracia*, and the first, against *Antigonus* at *Ipsum* in *Phrygia*, where *Antigonus*, beyng foure score yeares of age, playde the parte bothe of a Captaine and Souldiour, and being slaine at that field, as manye Kings as toke parte with *Seleucus* agaynste *Antigonus*, diuided his kingdomes betwéen them.

Ipsum.

The valiantnes of *Antigonus* an olde prince.

Nowe hadde *Seleucus* all the rule of *Syria* beyonde *Euphrates*, to the sea, and of the midde lande of *Phrygia*. And euer he laide for the nighe nations, and being able bothe by force to compel, and by worde to perswade, he got *Mesopotamia*, *Armenia*, and *Cappadocia* called *Seleucida*, and *Persia*, and *Parthia*, and *Bactria*, and *Arabia*, and *Tapyria*, and *Sogdia*, and *Araxosia*, and *Hyrcania*, and all other nighe nations to the floude *Indus*, whiche *Alexander* ouercame, so that he, after *Alexander*, hadde moste regions in *Asia*. For, from *Phrygia* to the floude *Indus*, all the highe lands obeyed *Seleucus*, and going into *Indus*, he made warre vpon *Sandracoto* king of those *Indians* that dwelt aboute it, till alliaunce being made, they came to peace. Some of these thinges hée did before the death of *Antigonus*, and some after hys death. They

The greate dominion of *Seleucus.*

Sandracoto.

saye

saye, that being a souldiour, and following the King into *Persia*, he sought the Oracle in *Didumæo*, to knowe of their returne into *Macedonia*, and it was aunswered. Make no haste to *Europe*, *Asia* is much better for thee. Anon in his fathers house in *Macedonia*, the harth did caste forth a great fyre, no man touching it, and his mother had a dreame, to gyue a ring that she shoulde finde, to *Seleucus*, for he should be a King where that ring should fall from hym, and she found a ring of yron, with an anker graven in it, and he lost his signet at *Euphrates*, and it is saide also that going to *Babilon* an other tyme, he stumbled on a stone, and the stone being remoued, an anker was seene: and where the Soothsayer contended that it was a token of delay, *Ptolemæus Lagus* that went wyth hym saide, an Anker was a token of safety and not of delay. And for this cause, *Seleucus* beyng a king, vsed an Anker for his Signet, some thinke also, that *Alexander* being aliue, and beholding it, another token was shewed to *Seleucus* of his kingdom. As *Alexander* returned frō *India* to *Babilon*, and sailed the Fens of *Babilon*, because *Euphrates* had ouerflown ỹ land of *Syria*, a sodain wind did blow off his *Diademe* into a place ful of rēdes, where was a Sepulchre of an old king, whiche was a token also of *Alexanders* death. And that a mariner did swimme to it, and set it vpon his heade, to bring it dyre to *Alexander*, and for his good seruice, the King rewarded him with a talent of siluer, the Soothsayers counselling *Alexander* to kill him, and some saye *Alexander* did so, and some saye no. And some affyrme, that the Mariner did not swimme for it, but *Seleucus*, and that he put it vpon his heade, to bring it dyre, and that it was a token of bothe their fortunes. For *Alexander* died at *Babilon*, and *Seleucus* had the greatest part of *Alexanders* lands of any of his successors. Thus much haue I vnderstanded of the tokens of his felicitie.

Tokens of *Seleucus* his kingdom

Anker, token of safetye.

Alexanders Crowne blowne of his heade.

Immediatly after *Alexanders* death, he was made captain of the Guarde of horsemen, whiche *Ephestion* had in *Alexanders* time, and after him, *Perdiccas*. After this office of horsemen, he was Gouernour of *Babilon*, and of a Gouernoure was made a King, and bycause he was victorious in his wars, he was called

Nicator is a conquerour.

Nicator, and therefore (I thinke) he had this name, rather than for killing of *Nicator*. He was of a great and mighty body, in so much as when a wild Bull did breake his bandes at a sacrifice that *Alexander* made, he only stopped him, and with his hands only staid him, therefore they put hornes vpon his Images. He

Cities builded by *Seleucus*.

builded Cities al ouer his kingdomes, fifténe, named *Antiochia*, of his father, and fiue *Laodicia*, to his mother, nine of his owne name, four for his wiues, three named *Apamea*, and one *Stratonicea*, of the whiche, two remayne most noble to this day, *Seleucia* at the Sea, and *Seleucia* at the floud *Tigris*, of his owne name, and *Laodicia* in *Phœnitia*, and *Antiochia* at the hill *Libamo*, and *Apamea* of *Syria*. He named other of *Greece* and *Macedonia*, eyther of some feate, or in the honor of *Alexander* the King, whereby there be in *Syria*, and in the barbarous Countreys beyond them, many Cities of the *Greeke* and *Macedonian* names, as

Greek names to diuerse Cities.

Berroia, *Aedessa*, *Perinthus*, *Maronea*, *Callipolis*, *Achaia*, *Pella*, *Orotos*, *Amphipolis*, *Arethusa*, *Astacos*, *Tegea*, *Chalcis*, *Ecatopolis*, *Achaia*, in *India*, *Alexandrinopolis*, in *Scythia*, *Alexandrescata*, and after his victories, *Niceporam* in *Mesopotamia*, *Nicopolis* in *Armenia* that is next *Cappadocia*.

Seleucia at the Sea.

They saye, that when he builded *Seleucia* at the Sea, there was a token of a lightning, therefore nowe they sacrifice, and sing Himnes to the lightning, because it was then sente as a token from God.

Seleucia at Tigris.

When he builded *Seleucia* at *Tigris*, he commaunded the Southsayers to appoynt a good day, and an houre of that day, when the worke shoulde begynne. The Southsayers tolde a false houre, because they would not haue that worke to prosper, and *Seleucus* sate in his tente, tarrying for the houre, when the armie of themselues, on a suddayne, hauing tarried with silence for the houre that *Seleucus* appoynted, beganne the worke at the happie houre indéede, thinking some man had commaunded them, and wrought so vehemently, as no Proclamation coulde call them backe, tyll they hadde made an ende.

The wonderful chaunce in building a Citie.

Seleucus being very sory, asked the Southsayers what

should

shoulde become of this Citie: they crauing pardon sayde: O king, the destinie that is appointed, be it good or badde, neyther man nor Cittie can auoyde. For there is a destinie of Cities, as well as of men. And this Citie shal be of moste long continuaunce by the appointment of God, being begon at this houre. We, fearing this building would haue bene a byrde to vs, went about to put by the destinie: but that is of greter force than eyther the subtiltie of the Southsayers, or the ignorance of the king: For god gaue the happy time to the army, and by that only, you may learne, and thinke we can not nowe deceiue you. For thou the king diddest set with thyne armye, and thy selfe diddest commaund they should tarry. And where they haue alwayes bin moste obedient to thee in perils and paines, they could not now holde nor stay at thy commaundement, but went to it, not by partes, but altogither with their captaynes as they had bin commaunded, and they were commaunded in deed, for when thou commaundedst to the contrarye, they would not heare it: what is there then greater among men, than a king, but God, who is the ruler of thy will, and thy guide of this citie in steade of vs, and being offended with vs, and al our nation here about, for how can our things stande, when a stronger generation riseth vpon vs: This citie shall be happy, mighty, and long continuing. Confirme thy pardon to vs, that haue erred for feare of the losse of our priuate goods. When the wisemē had sayd thus, *Seleucus* was glad and pardoned them. And this muche haue I learned of *Seleucia*. God guideth kings.

Seleucus being aliue, made his sonne king of all the high landes. And although this may appeare a princely and royall acte, yet more princely and moderate was the taking of hys sonnes loue, and the tempering of the affection therof.

Antiochus loued *Stratonica* wife to *Seleucus* and mother in lawe to hym, and had borne a childe to *Seleucus*. *Antiochus* being ashamed of this straunge passion, neyther prosecuted so euill a thing, nor vttered it, but was sicke, pyning away, & gladly procured his own death.

The

The marueilous loue of *Antioch*.

The notable phisition *Erasistratus*, of counsell wyth *Seleucus* in moste waighlye affaires, coulde not coniecture the disease, till he had perceyued that his body was sounde in all partes, then he iudged the disease to be of the minde, by the loue or affection of the whiche, the body is afflicted. Sorrow, anger, and care, be commonly discouered, but loue is kepte secreate in a modest mynde. Of the whiche, *Antiochus* woulde vtter nothing to hym, thoughe hee vsed all gentle meanes to learne it secretly. He sate by him and obserued all the mutations of hys bodye, howe they stode when any came in, and finding that at all other hys body was quiet and feeble in like sorte. But when *Stratonica* the Greate came in, to see him, his minde was vexed with shamefastnesse and conscience, and he then moste disquiet and silent, and his pulses of it selfe, more lively and mouing, and when she was gone, feeble againe. The Phisition therefore tolde *Seleucus* that his sonne was sicke of an incurable disease.

The King asking howe, and crying out for griefe, he sayde, the sicknesse was Loue, and the loue of a woman, but it was impossible to haue hir. *Seleucus* marueilling, that there shoulde bee anye, that hee, being King of *Asia*, could not perswade to marry with his sonne, either for fauour, for money and gifts, and for his whole Kingdome, which shoulde descend to the sicke prince, the whiche he woulde giue him presently, if any would preserue his healthe, and only praide him to tell him whose wife it was. Then saide *Erasistratus*, it is my wife that he loueth. Then *Seleucus* spake thus: O good *Erasistratus*, for the friendship and benefites that thou hast receyued of vs, for the rare wisedome and vertue that is in thee, wylte thou not saue a young man and a King, and the sonne of thy friend and a King, vnfortunate and temperate, hiding his euill, and more ready to dye? wilt thou so little passe of *Antiochus*? wilte thou so little regard *Seleucus*? He framing still hys matter, saide, It is a thing by reason, that cannot be auoyded, for though you be his father, your would not let him haue youre wife, if he loued hir.

A singular Phisition.

When *Seleucus* heard this, he sware by all the kingly Gods, that

that he woulde willingly and gladly let him haue hir, and be a noble example, of the loue of a good father to a sonne, sober, and continent in affliction, and vnworthy such aduersitie. Speaking many such things, he began to be greeued that he could not be a Philitian to the sicke man, but that he must haue neede of *Erasistratus* in the matter.

When he perceyued the king to be so earnest in deede, and not to dissemble, he declared the cause, and shewed how he founde it out, for all his hiding of it. *Seleucus* being marueilous glad, had yet two things to do, the one to perswade his sonne, and the other to perswade his wife. When he had so done, he called the armie togither, which peraduenture had heard somewhat of the matter. He rehearsed vnto them the actes that he had done, and the great dominions that he had gotte aboue any of *Alexanders* successoures, he sette out at length. And bycause it was to muche for an olde man to gouerne, I will (quoth he) diuide the greatnesse of it, for your better assurance in time to come, and I will giue part to them that I loue best. It is reason that all you do ioyne with me in all things, who haue bin encreased to so great rule and power vnder me, after *Alexander*. The chiefest things that I haue, and most worthy my kingdome, is myne eldest sonne and my wife. They shall not be long without children being young, and so shall you haue more stayes of this state. In your presence I ioyne the togither in marriage, and I sende them to be kings into the vpper regions. And I institute, that not rather the custome of the *Persians*, or other nations, be a lawe among you, than a common law to you all, that it is euer iust, that is ordeyned among you by the king. Thus he sayde. The armye made acclamations, that he was the most noble king since *Alexander*, and the most worthy father.

A rare example of a princely fatherly loue to an afflicted modest sonne.

When *Seleucus* had said as muche to *Stratonica* and his sonne, he celebrated the matrimony, and sent them to their kingdoms, an acte more glorious and victorious, than all that euer he had done in the warres. He hadde vnder him threescore and twelue Princes, of so greate a Countrey was he king. Hauing gyuen the most part to his sonne, he kept only Syria coast at *Euphrates*.

A most glorious acte

The laſt warre that he hadde, was with *Lyſimachus* in *Phrygia*, nere *Helleſpont*, in the which he ouercame *Lyſimachus* that was killed in the fight. He paſſyng *Helleſpont* and going to *Lyſimachia* was killed. For *Ptolomie* following kylled him. He was called *Ceraunus*, the ſonne of *Ptolomeus Soteros*, and *Eurydices*, daughter to *Antipater*. He fledde oute of *Egipt* for feare, bycauſe he ſuſpected that *Ptolomie* woulde giue the kingdome to his yongeſt ſonne. And *Seleucus* receyued him and kept him as the ſon of his friend, and ledde hym aboute with hym that ſhould kyll him.

The noble king *Seleucus*, is killed by treaſon, of *Ptolomie Ceraunus*, vvhom he kept from his fathers fury.

Thus dyed *Seleucus* at lxxiij. yeares of his age, and xlij. of his raigne. And I thinke the ſaying was meant of hym: Make no haſte to *Europe*, *Aſia* is better for thee: for *Lyſimachia* is in *Europe*, and this was the firſt time that he ſailed into *Europe* ſince he followed *Alexander* in the warre. They ſay that aſking once of his death, it was aunſwered by Oracle:

If thou auoydeſt *Argos*, thou ſhalte haue thy naturall age,
But if thou goeſt to *Argos*, thou ſhalt dye before thy time.

Argos.

Diomedes.

There is *Argos* in *Pelloponeſe*, and *Argos Amphilochion*, and *Argos* in *Oreſtiade*, of the which come the *Macedonians* called *Argeades*, the which *Diomede* did build when he fled into *Ionia*. And whatſoeuer *Argos* was named in any place, he fought for it, and toke hede of it. But when he went to *Lyſimachia* from *Helleſpont*, there was an Altare in his ſight greate and goodly, and when he vnderſtode the name was *Argos*, he didde aſke if the *Argonants* made it, when they ſayled into *Colchos*, or the *Achaians*, when they went to the battell of *Troy*, and, if therfore the inhabitants call the Altare *Argos*, or for that the ſhyppe was periſhed there, or for ỹ it was the Country of *Atrida*. And whiles he was aſking theſe queſtions, he was killed of *Ceraunus* comming behinde hym and diſpatchyng hym. *Philetærus* ruler of *Pergamo*, didde bying *Seleucus*, buying his bodye of *Ceraunus* for a great ſumme of money, and ſent the aſhes to hys ſonne *Antiochus*, who didde make a Sepulchre for him at *Seleucia* nere the Sea, with a temple and a Chappell, and named the Chappell

Ceraunius is a name giuen for boldnes and ſvviſneſſe of vvitte.

Philetærus bought the dead body of *Seleucus* to bury it.

Nicatorio,

Nicatorio. We learn that *Lysimachus* was one of *Alexanders* gard and on a tyme runnyng by him a greate whyle, as faste as he rode, being weary, he helde hys horse by the taple, and ranne on, and being hurte in the foreheade with the ende of the kinges speare, and bleeding, the king, for lacke of other cloth stopped the woounde with his Crowne, wherebye the Crowne was full of bloude: and that *Aristander*, that was *Alexanders* prophete, seeyng thys chaunce of *Lysimachus*, saide, he should be a king, but he shoulde raigne with great difficultie. Token of *Lysimachus* raigne. *Aristander* southsayer.

He raigned.xl. yeres, with them that he was a ruler, and raigned with great paines: and being.lxx. yeares of age, fought a field and was slaine, *Seleucus* that killed him, liuing not long after him. His body lying on the grounde, a dog of hys kepte a long time, defending it safe from foules and beastes, till *Thorax* of *Pharsalie* found it and burned it. Some saye that *Alexander* his son, did bury it, fleeing for fear to *Seleucus*, because *Lysimachus* had killed *Agathocles* an other son of his, lōg seeking his body, ỹ was kept of the dog, & finding it putrified. His bones were burned in a Temple of *Lysimachia*, & called it the temple of *Lysimachus*. This ende had either of these Princes, moste valiaunt of minde, and bigge of bodye, the one beeyng.lxx. yeares of age, and the other three score, fighting with their own handes to the death. When *Seleucus* was deade, his children succeeded him in the kyngdome of *Syria*, after this soate. First this *Antiochus* that loued his mother in lawe, who was called *Soter*, driuing awaye the *Galatians* that came out of *Europa* into *Asia*, the secōd, another *Antiochus*, gotten in this mariage, whome the *Milesians* called first a God, bycause he killed *Timarchus* their Tyranne. But this God hys wife killed with a potiō. He had two wiues, *Laodice*, and *Berenice*, being despoused for loue, both the daughters of *Ptolomie Philadelphus*. *Laodice* killed him, and after him *Berenice* and hir childe. And *Ptolomeus* the son of *Philpdelphus* in reuenge, killed *Laodice*, inuaded *Syria*, and toke *Babilon*. And the *Parthians* didde begynne to reuolte from the kyngdome subiecte to the *Seleucidæ*, bycause it begaune to be molested. After hym that was called God, reigned *Seleucus* his sonne by *Laodice*, named *Callinicus*. Thorax. The faythfulnes of a dogge. Two noble princes. The succession of *Seleucus*. *Antiochus Soter* that is sauioure. *Antiochus Deus*. *Laodice. Berenice.*

Seleucus, Calinicus.

Seleucus. Antiochus Magnus.

Artaxia king.

The Senate of Popilius.

Elymæa at the coast of Eupater.

Alexander the counterfaite getteth the kingdom of Syria. Nicator.

Diodotus bringeth in the bastards son Riphon

After *Seleucus*, two children of *Seleucus* in order; *Seleucus* and *Antiochus*. *Seleucus* being weake and feeble, and having a disobedient armie, was poysoned of his friendes, after he had raigned two yeares. Then *Antiochus* the Great, of whom I haue written, who was ouercome of the Romanes. He raigned xxxvij. yeares. Of him and his children I haue spoken before, both being kings, *Seleucus* and *Antiochus*, *Seleucus* twelue yeares weak and doyng nothing for his fathers misfortune: *Antiochus* not fully two yeares, in the whiche he ouerthrewe *Artaxia* of *Armenia*, and inuaded *Egipt* against *Ptolomie* the sixte, who, with his brother, were left *Orphanes*. And whiles he was in camp at *Alexandria*, *Popilius* the Romane Ambassadoure came, bringing a decree, in the whyche was written, that *Antiochus* shoulde not make warre vpon the *Ptolomies*, whiche when he vnderstoode, he saide he woulde take deliberation. Then *Popilius* made a circle with a rodde, and saide: In this take thee aduisement. He being afraide, brake vp his camp, and spoyled the Temple of *Venus* of *Elymæa*, after the which he died of a consumption, leauing a sonne of nine years of age, *Antiochus Eupator*, of whom I haue spoken, and of *Demetrius* his successoure, who being pledge at *Rome*, fledde and was King, and called also *Sotor* of the *Syrians*, the second after *Seleucus Nicators* son. *Alexander* counterfaiting hymselfe to be of the house of *Seleucides*, rose against him, whom *Ptolomeus* King of *Egipt* maintained for hate of *Demetrius*. And *Demetrius* losing his kingdome by *Ptolomie*, died, but *Demetrius*, sonne to hym that was called *Sotor*, expelled *Alexander*, & bicause he did ouercome a bastarde by birth, he was called *Nicator* of the *Syrians*, the second after *Seleucus*. He also, after *Seleucus*, made warre vpon the *Parthians*, where being captiue, he liued with *Phraarta* the King, whose sister *Rodogine*, he marryed. For want of a king *Diodotus* a seruaunt of the kings, brought in *Alexander*, sonne to *Alexander* the bastard, & *Ptolomies* sister, & made him king, then he killed the childe, & raigned himself, changing his name into *Tryphon*. But *Antiochus*, brother to *Demetrius* the captiue, hearing of his captiuitie at the *Rhodes*, with muche ado killed *Tryphon*, after he was come into the Countrey. Then he

he made war againſte *Phraartes*, requiring his brother, *Phraartes* was afraide of him, and bettuered *Demetrius*. *Antiochus* neuertheleſſe fighting with the *Parthians*, was ouercome, & killed himſelfe. And when *Demetrius* was returned to his kingdome, *Cleopatra* his wife killed him, for ielouſie of his other wife *Radogine*, for the whiche cauſe he was marryed to *Antiochus Demetrius* brother. She had two children by *Demetrius*, *Seleuchus* and *Antiochus* called *Grypus*: by *Antiochus*, ſhe had *Antiochus* called *Cizicenus*. She ſent *Grypus* to *Athens*, *Cyzicenus* to *Cyzic*, to be brought vp. *Seleucus*, ẏ ſucceded after his father, ſhe killed with an arrow, either fearing ẏ reuengement of his father, or ẏ ſhe vſed a furious hate in al things. After *Seleucus*, *Gripus* was king, who cauſed his mother to drinke ẏ poyſon that ſhe had prepared for him. Thus was ſhe puniſhed. *Gripus* was a fit ſon for ſuch a mother, for he laide waite for *Cyzicene*, though they were both of one mother, which, when he perceiued, he fought with him, & droue hym out of his kingdom, & raigned in his ſtede in *Syria*. But him did *Seleucus* ẏ ſon of *Grypus* ouerthrow, though he was his vncle, & bi cauſe he was a very cruel tyran, he was burned in a ſchoolehouſe at *Mopſueſtia*, *Cilicia*. *Antiochus*, ſo of *Cyzicenus* ſucceded him, who ẏ *Syrians* thinke eſcaped the trames of his couſin *Seleucus*, for his goodneſſe, therfore they call him the God. But his woman ſaued him, being in loue with his perſon. Yet I thinke the *Syrians* gaue him this name in deriſiõ. For this *Euſebes* maried *Selene*, ẏ was firſt his fathers wife, & then *Gripus* his vncles wife. Therfore by the wil of God, he was expulſed his realme by *Tigranes*, who ſent his ſon ẏ he had by *Selene*, to be brought vp in *Aſia*, and therfore was called *Aſiaticus*, whom *Pompey* put from ẏ kingdom of *Syria*, as we haue ſaid, being ẏ. xviij. K. of *Syria* of the houſe of *Seleucus*. For I leaue out *Alexander*, & *Alexanders* ſon as baſtards, & their ſeruãt *Diodotus*, raigning but one yere, whiles *Põpey* was about other buſines. The rule of *Seleucus* race cõtinued 270. yeres. And if a man loke from *Alexander* to the Romaynes time, he muſte adde to theſe 270. yeares. 14. of *Tigranes*.

Antiochus killeth himſelfe.
Demetrius is killed of his wife.
Seleucus is killed of his mother.

Grypus killed his mother to ſaue himſelfe.
Cyzicenus driueth out *Grypus*.
Seleucus driueth out *Cyzicenus*.
Mopſus is a free Citie in *Cilicia* vvhich *Strabo* calleth *Mopſueſtia*. *Euſebes* good or deuotiuſull.

Pompey taketh the kingdome of *Syria*.

This I thought good to write of the *Macedonians*, vulgig in *Syria*, as in a treatiſe by the way.

The ende of the *Romanes* vvarre vvith *Antiochus* the Great, King of *Syria*.

¶ The Romaines warres with the Carthaginenses: by Appian of Alexandria.

THe *Phœnitians* did builde *Carthage* in *Libya*, fiftie yeres after the taking of *Troy*, the builders of it, *Xerus* and *Carthedon*. But as the Romanes and *Carthaginees* themselues think, *Dido* a woman of *Tyria*, whose husbad *Pygmaleon* a Tiran of *Tirus* had killed and kept the act secret. She knowing it by a vision, rode with a greate deale of money, and as many as hated the Tirannie of *Pigmaleon*, and sayled to *Libya*, where nowe is *Carthage*, and beeyng driuen away by the *Libyans*, they desired so muche place to inhabite, as they coulde compasse with the hyde of a Bull. A laughter was made of this trifling speeche of the *Phœnitians*, who were ashamed to denye so little a matter: but chiefly they maruelled howe a Cittie could be made in so little a space, and being desirous to see the subtilty, by oth they promised to giue it. They cut the hide into one thinne thong, and compassed that part, where now the tarrie of *Carthage* is: and of this it was called *Birsa*. In time comyng from thence, and fighting with their neyghbours, for whom they were to gwd, and by the vse of their shippes, keping the sea after the *Phœnitian* manner, they buylded the Cittie that is without *Birsa*, and waxed so mightie, as they were Lordes of *Libya*, and a great parte of the sea. Then they made warres in farre Countries, in *Sicelie* and *Sardinia*, and other Iles, that be in the sea, and in *Spaine*. They sent out many inhabitations, and had a dominion in power comparable to the *Grecians*, and in riches to the *Parthians* 700. yeares after the beginning, the Romanes toke from them *Sicelie* & *Sardinia*, and in the seconde warre *Spaine* also. Thus they inuading one another with great armies, the one by the conduct of *Annibal*, xvj. yeares togither warred *Italie*, the other *Cornelius Scipio* the elder being Captaine, afflicted *Libya*, til they toke from *Carthage*, rule, naule, and Elephãts, and apointed them to paye mony by daies. When the seconde peare being made betwen the Romanes & them, continued 50. yeres, til being broken, they made the third & last war betwen the In-

which

The proper name of *Dido*, was *Elisa* who killed hirselfe rather than she would marry with a *Barbarian* king *Tyrus* is now called *Porta di Suri*. It was an Iland. *Alexander* ioyned it to the land. *Pygmaleon* son to *Belus* king of *Tyrus*, killed *Sycheas* his sisters husband.

Byrsa is an hyde or a skinne.

Phœnitia is in Syria neare the *Iewes*. In euentrice of letters and nauigation, they two chief cities were *Tyrus* and *Sydon*.

whiche, the *Romanes* ouerthrewe *Carthage*, *Scipio* the yonger being Generall, & determined it shoulde neuer be inhabited. Yet they sent an habitation thither of their owne people, nerye nighe the former place, to be a fitte defence againste *Libya*. The matters of *Sicelie*, be tolde in that Treatise: The doings of *Spaine*, in the *Spaniche* Historie: And what *Annibal* did, when he inuaded *Italie*: in the warr of *Annibal*. This booke doth comprehend all that was done in *Libya* from the beginning. The *Romanes* entred this warr, after that of *Sicelie*, & with .v. C. xxx. ships, sayled into *Libya*, and toke many cities, & left *Attilius Regulus* with a power, Generall there, who toke .ij. C. cities more, whiche being nearye of *Carthage*, yelded to him, & he went on, & wasted their land. The *Carthaginians* sent to the *Lacedemonians* for a Captaine, thinking that they were ouercome for lacke of a good leader, they sente *Zantippus* vnto them. *Attilius* encamped at a Fen, & in the hote tyme, went about the Fen against his enimies: laden with heauy harneste, and nered with thirst, heate, and hardneste of way, & beaten with the shot from the high places. When it was almoste night, he drewe nigh, & a floude did diuide them, therefore he passed the floud, that so he might stray *Zantippus*. But he hauing set his army in order, brought it forth of his cay, thynking to ouermatch them that were hote & weary, & that the night should help his victorie: and he was not deceyued of this hope, for of xxx. M. men which *Attilius* led, a fewe hardly escaped to the citie of *Aspis*, the rest were al slaine or taken, & with them *Attilius* the General & Consull was captiue. The *Carthaginians* being weary, sent him not long after, with their Ambassadors to *Rome*, to worke their peace, or to returne, & he, in secret, with the best of the *Romanes*, persuaded them to continue the warr earnestly, & returned willingly to the sea. The *Carthaginians* put him in a Caue beset with yron pricks, & killed him. This felicitie of *Zantippus*, brought his own calamitie. For the *Carthaginians*, pretending to send him home honorably with manye giftes to *Lacedemonia*, in certaine galleys, commaunded the Captaines to drowne him and them that sayled with him. This reward hadde he for his well doyng. And these were the good and euil happes that the *Romanes*

The Greeke worde ἐπαρατον, which signifieth accursed or a place that may not be inhabited. The habitation was ledde by *C. Gracchus* and *Flaccus*, when the citie was troubled for the lawe of landes but not then allowed.

The *Carthagies* send to *Lacedemonia* for a Captaine.

Santippus is sent frō *Lacedemonia*.

Aspis or *Clupea* of the likeneſſe of a buckler, is a Citie in *Affrica* in the promontorie of *Mercurie*. *Regulus* disswaded the peace in *Rome*, and is tormented to death at *Carthage*.

The ingratitude of the *Carthaginians* towarde *Santippus*.

had

had in the first war in *Libya*, til the *Carthaginians* gaue place to the in *Sicelie*: and how they gaue place, it is declared in the warre of *Sicelie*, after the whiche there was peate betweene Rome and *Carthage*.

After 24. yeares vvar, the Carthaginians vvere driue out of Sicelie C. Lucrarius Catullus being Consul.

The *Libyans* that were vnder *Carthage* and serued them in *Sicelie*, and the French, that were hyred, had a quarell against the *Carthaginians*, for withholding their wages, and made them sharpe warre. They of *Carthage* sente for helpe to Rome, as to their frendes. The Romaines onely graunted them to gather men of *Italy* for this warre. For this also was doubtfull in the capitulations: and they sent some to pacifye the matter, whom the *Libyans* would not heare, but woulde make their Cities subiect to the Romaines if they would, but they did not accept the.

The Carthagies kill the Romaine merchāts.

The *Carthaginians* with a great nauy molested their Cities, and kept victuals from them by sea, and being in want also by lande, as is wont in warre, the *Libyans* were ouercome, and the merchauntes that passed, were spoyled of the newe sorte: and such of the Romanes, as they killed, they threw ouer boorde, that it should not be seene: and it was not knowen a great while: and when it was knowen, desyring to make recompence, warre was decreed against them by the Romanes, in the whiche they gaue *Sardinia* for a payne, and it was written in the former conditions. Not long after the *Carthaginians* inuaded Spain, and gote it by little and little, till the *Saguntines*, seeing the Romanes, the limites of *Carthage* in *Spaine*, was not passe the floude *Hiberis*. These agreements the *Carthaginenses* brake, and went beyonde, *Annibal* being they? Capitayne, leauyng *Iberia* to be kept by other Captaines, he went into *Italie*.

Iberus nouv Ibrois a floud in Spaine, that diuideth Aragon.

The Romaines Captaines in *Iberia*, *P. Cornelius Scipio*, and *C. Cornelius Scipio*, being brethren, and hauing done many noble actes, were both slaine of the enimies, and the Captaines after them did but euill, till *Scipio*, the sonne of *Publius Scipio* that was slaine in *Iberia*, sayled thither, and putting an opinion in all men, that he went in gods name, and vsed a diuine counsel in all his doings, he had a glorious victorie, and being therfore of great renoume, he deliuered his army to them that were sent to be his

An opinion of diuine inspiratiō in Scipio.

sup-

succeſſours, and went to Rome: he obtayned an army to be ſent into *Libya*, to driue *Annibal* out of *Italie*, and to plague the *Carthaginiãs* in their own countrey. Some of the rulers of the citie, ſpake againſt it, that becauſe *Italy* was troubled vñ ſo great war, *Annibal* yet walking of it, & *Mago* in ẏ ſides of it, byring ſtrãge ſouldiers in *Ligurie* & *France*, it was not good to make war vpon *Libya*, nor to inuade another Country, til the preſent hurt were healed at home. Some thought that the *Carthaginians*, whyche now without feare, did ouerrunne *Italie*: bycauſe they were not vexed at home, if warre were made vppon them, woulde ſende for *Annibal*. Thus it was obtained to ſende *Scipio* into *Libya*, not ſuffering him to gather men in *Italy*, being yet walked by *Annibal*, but graunting him to leade ſuch, as would willingly goe with hym, and to vſe them that were yet in *Sicelie*, gyuing him leaue to prepare feme gallies, and to make ſupply for thẽ, and to take them that were in *Sicelie*. Money they gaue him none, except any man for friendſhippe would contribute vnto him. So ſlenderly began they this warre at the firſt, which after redounded to their great honour. Thus *Scipio*, inflamed as from God, againſt *Carthage*, and gathering. vij. thouſand horſe and fotemen at the moſt, ſayled into *Sicelie*, hauing with hym for his guarde thrée hundred choſen yong ſtriplings, whom hée commaunded to folow without armoure. He appointed thrée hundred of the wealthy *Sicilians*, to come at a day aſſigned, furniſhed with as good armour and horſe as they coulde. When they were come, he graunted them, if they would, to giue other to ſerue in their place: wherewith being all content, he brought forth the thrée hundred that were vnarmed, and willed them to chaunge with them, they willinglye deliuered both horſe and harneſſe: & ſo *Scipio* had 300. *Italians*, for as many *Sicilians*, very well furniſhed with goodly horſe and armoure, who gaue him great thanks, and he had thẽ continually moſt ready in ſeruice.

Contention in the Senate for *Scipio* going to *Carthage*.

The ſlender ſetting forth of *Scipio* to ſo great a vvarre.

The pollicie of *Scipio* to arme 300 *Italians*.

The *Carthaginians* hearing this, ſent *Aſdrubal Giſcones* ſon, to hunt for Elephants, and ſent to *Mago*, that made men in *Liguria*, fiue thouſande fotemen, eight hundred horſe, and ſeauen Elephãts, commaunding him with as many more as he could,

Liguria is that part of *Italie* vvhich nowv be longeth to the *Genowais*.

to scoure the *Tuscane* sea, and to kepe *Scipio* frō *Libya*. *Mago* made no hast, bicause he could not ioyne with *Annibal* being so farre of, & also for that he euer foresaw the end. *Asdrubal* cōming frō the hunting, gathered of the *Carthaginians* and *Libyans* sixthousand fotemen of either sort, 600. horse, and he bought 500. slaues, to row in the gallies, and 2000. horsemen of the *Numidians*, and hyred strangers, and trayned them all, 200. furlongs from *Carthage*. The Princes that were in *Libya*, were of seuerall dominions, of al the which, *Syphax* was of greatest honour with al men. *Massinissa* also the sonne of a noble king of high bloud of *Massulia*, was nourished and brought vp in *Carthage*, of goodly body & good behauiour. *Asdrubal Gisgo*, inferiour to none in *Carthage*, had disposed him to his daughter, though she were of *Carthage* and he a *Numidian*: when he had ensured them, he carryed the yong man with him into *Spaine*, where he was Captaine. Now *Syphax* that was in loue with the mayde, inuaded the *Carthaginiās*, and made league with *Scipio*, comming from *Spaine* to inuade *Carthage*. The *Carthaginiās* hearing of it, and thinking it a great furtherance to the Romanes war, to haue *Syphax* ayde, they gaue the Virgin to him, vnknowen to *Asdrubal* & *Massinissa*, being in *Spain*. *Massinissa* disdayning at this, did also confeder with *Scipio* in *Spaine*, keping it secret, as he thoughte from *Asdrubal*. Who vnderstanding of it, was grieued at the iniury that was made to his daughter and the yong man, yet thought it beste for his Countrey, to dispatche *Massinissa*, and where he should go into *Libya* from *Iberia* after the death, of his father, he sent some to conduct him, commaunding, as secretely as they coulde, to kil *Massinissa*. He perceyuing it, fledde, and gotte hys fathers kingdome, and gathered horsemen with continuall exercise day and night, vsing them vō much shot on horsebacke, to giue onset and retire, and to charge againe, all their fight consisting in flying and chasing. And hauing gathered twentye thousande of them, he ledde them to huntings or prayes of other nations, by the which he thought to make them endure payne and labour. For the *Numidians* can abide hunger, and vse herbes in steade of corne, and drinke water altogither. Their horse

Massinissa is made sure to *Sophonisba*.

Syphax in loue vvith *Sophonisba* maketh vvarre vpon the *Carthaginians* and allieth vvith *Scipio*.

Massinissa allieth vvith *Scipio*.

Sophonisba is giuē to *Syphax*.

Massinissa escapeth traynes.

Massinissa traynеth his men.

The hardnes of the *Numidians*.

neuer

neuer taſte barley, but alwayes eate graſſe, and drinke but ſeldome.

The *Carthaginians* and *Syphax*, thinking this exercise that this yong man made, was againſt them, for they were not ignoraunte wherein they had offended him, determined firſte to make war, and ouercome him, and then to mete with the Romanes. *Syphax* & the *Carthaginias* were many moe, with chariots and cariage for aboundaunce. *Maſſiniſſa* would himſelfe begin the labour, hauing only horſemen, no cariage nor forrage, that he might the more eaſily flie and turne again vpon his enimies and retire to ſtrong places, and being many times circumuented, diuided his armie, that they might the better flée by partes, he hiding himſelfe with a fewe, till they might come to him by night or day, as was appointed. He being the third man, dyd once lye hidde in a caue, the enimies camping about it. We neuer ſtayd in campe, but euer led his army, to be vnknown wher he was, ſo as the enimies coulde not come to hands with him, but only kepe him backe, when he came to them. His fode was euery day, what he could get at night, were it in field, town or Citie, catching and ſpoyling euery thing, and diuiding it to hys companions. Wherefore many *Numidians* came vnto him, no wages being appointed, but to take the gayn, that was much better. Thus did *Maſſiniſſa* warre with the *Carthaginians*. Whē *Scipio* had made all thing ready in *Sicilia*, he ſacrifiſed to *Iupiter* & *Neptune*, & came toward *Libya* with. 52. long ſhips 400. ſhips of burden, and many pineſſes and foyſts folowed. He led an army of ſirténe thouſand fotemen, a thouſand fire hundred horſemē, he caried alſo much armour and munition, and much victuall, and ſayled on. The *Carthaginians* and *Syphax* hearing of it, purpoſed to decepue *Maſſiniſſa*, and to draw him to ſotietie, till they had ouercome *Scipio*. He not being ignoraunt of their deceites, layde the like for them, & cōmunicated al with *Scipio*, & as he had bin reconciled, came to *Aſdrubal* with his horſemen. And being all in camp not farre aſunder at the Citie of *Vtica*, vnto the whiche, *Scipio* being brought by the wynde, dyd encampe there alſo.

The manner of *Maſſiniſſa* in the warre.

Vtica was the fayreſt citie in *Affrica* next *Carthage*, thirtie miles of, in the which *Cato* killed himſelfe when *Cæſar* folowed him.

Asdrubals campe was not much from him, hauing twenty thousand fotemen. vij. thousande horsemen, and a hundred sirtie Elephantes. *Syphax* eyther afrayde, or being distrusted of both pretending his kingdom in diuerse parts to be molested of his neyghbours, went to his countrey. *Scipio* sente to skirmish with *Asdrubal*, and toke some of his Cities. In the night *Massiniſſa* came secretly to *Scipios* campe, and giuing him his hande, wished him the next day to send v. M. to lye close at a place. xxx. furlongs from *Vtica*, where is a tower, that *Agathocles* Tiran of *Syracuſa* did make, and by day he perſwaded *Asdrubal*, to send *Hanno* the Cappitaine of his horsemen, to espie the number of the enimies, and to ride to *Vtica*, that they made no mutation when the enemie should be at hand, and he, if he would so commaund, would follow. *Hanno* toke a thousand choyse horsemen of *Carthage*, and a number of *Lybians*: and *Maſſiniſſa* led his *Numidians*. When they were come to the tower, and *Hanno* roade towarde *Vtica* with a fewe: part of the ambushe appeared, and *Maſſiniſſa* then commaunded him that hadde the charge of the *Carthaginian* horsemen, to set vpon them being but fewe, and he followed straight as to helpe them. The *Libyans* being in the middeſt, and ſtill more of the traynes appearing, they were all killed on both sides, of the Romaines, and *Maſſiniſſa*, except iiij. C. which were taken prisoners. When this was don, *Maſſiniſſa* went to *Hanno* as his friend, and toke him, and brought him to *Scipio*, and chaunged him for his mother, that was with *Asdrubal*. *Scipio* and *Maſſiniſſa* spoyled the lande, and deliuered the Romaines that were bound, and dygged the fields, being sente of *Annibal*, from *Iberia* and *Sicilia*, and from *Italie* it selfe. They besieging a greate Citie called *Locha*, & had muche trouble at it, when the assault shold be giuen, the *Lochaians*, signifying to yeld vpon conditions. *Scipio* called the retire. The souldiours for anger of the businesse they hadde about it, would not heare it, but mounting the wals, killed women and children. *Scipio* let them go safe that were left, and toke the spoyle from the souldiours, & the Captaines that had offended, he toke by lot out of all, and three he punished with death, and this done, wasted the countrey.

Syphax goeth from the campe

Agathocles was Tiraune of *Syracuſa* and builded this towver vvhen he made vvar against the *Carthagies*.

Scipio getteth a day by the policie of *Maſſiniſſa*.

Maſſiniſſa taketh *Hanno* and claymeth him for his mother.

Locha is spoyled by souldiours furie.

Asdrubal

Asdrubal had traines for them, sending *Mago* with the horse before, hee following behinde with the rest. The *Romanes* beeyng in the middest, diuided themselues, and eyther of them giuing charge vppon the other, they killed fiue thousand *Numidians*, and toke a thousand eight hundred prisoners, the reste they drouc to the ground headlong. A second victorye of *Scipio*.

Nowe *Scipio* besieged *Utica* both by sea and land, and sette a Tower vppon two gallies, from the which he threwe dartes of three cubits, and great stones vpon the enimies. Muche did he anoy them, and was muche annoyed himselfe: hys ships beeyng crushed, he made greate trenches, and beat the walles with hys rammes, and pulled with his hookes al the hydes and lether couertes that they hadde vpon the walles. They within vndermined the rampires, and caught the hookes with strings, and brake the force of the rammes, casting beames against the breastes of them, and sallied oute against the engines with fire, when the winde bare the force to them. Wherefore *Scipio* despayring to get the Citie, determined to win it by long siege. The siege of *Utica*.

These hookes were like sithes to pul the stones out of the wall.

When *Syphax* heard of this, he came with his army, and lodged not farre from *Asdruball*, dissemblyng to be friend to both, and delaying the warre of purpose, till the other ships that were come, were arriued at *Carthage*, and the hyred Souldiors of *Liguria* and *Lumbardie* were come also, and practised a peace, thinking it iuste, neyther that the *Romanes* should warre vpon *Libya*, nor the *Carthaginians* vppon *Italie*. That the *Romanes* shoulde haue *Sicilie*, *Sardinia*, and the other Ilands, and *Iberia*. And them that did consent hereto, he would helpe, and be against them that did not. He practised also to winne *Massiniſſa* vnto him, offering, to confirme him in the Kingdome of *Massilia*, and of his three sisters, to giue him whiche he woulde in marryage. Hee that was the messenger, carryed golde with him, that if he coulde not perswade hym, he shoulde gyue it to one of hys seruauntes, that woulde promise to kyll him: When *Massiniſſa* had refused these offers, the messenger gaue the golde to one to kyll him. He that toke it, shewed it to *Massiniſſa*, and betrayed the gyuer. *Syphax*, thinking he could not any longer delay, openlye ayded *Syphax* cõmeth againe to the field. *Syphax* dealeth for peace. The practise of *Syphax*. A practise to kill *Massiniſſa*.

the *Carthaginians*. He toke a citie in the vpland called *Tholuta*, hauing the *Romanes* munition and victualles by treason, and killed the keepers of it, bycause they wouldde not go awaye vppon truste, and he sent moze great aide of the *Numidians*.

Syphax taketh *Tholuta*, in the vvhiche vvas the Romaynes prouision.

Nowe were the *Merceaurie* souldiozs come, and the Shippes wel appointed, when they agréed of the battel that *Syphax* should set vpon them that were at the siege, that *Asdrubal* should force *Scipio* his campe, and Shippes shoulde fight wyth shyppes, and all at once the nexte daye, that the *Romanes*, bycause they were so fewe, shoulde not be able to resiste. At night *Massinissa* vnderstanding of it bycertaine *Numidians*, tolde it *Scipio*. Hée being in doubt and afrayde, least, if his armye were muche diuided, it shoulde be too weake in all pointes, he called the Captaines that night to a counsell, and when he sawe them in some doubte, hée saide:

The determination of the enmie againste the *Romanes*.

Massinissa saueth the *Romanes* frō a greate danger.

Boldenesse and spéede, (O friendes) and fight of desperation, nowe beséemeth vs. Let vs go and set vpon our enimyes. What we shall winne thereby, now learne. Our sodayne comming vpon them, shal amaze them, and the strangenesse of the feate, that a fewe woulde auenture vppon so many. We shall not diuide oure army into manye partes, but vse it all togither. Nor wée shall not set it againste all the enimyes, but agaynste the firste that wée shall chuse. They are lodged seuerallye, and we shal be equall to euerye parte of them. Let vs onely preuent them with boldenesse and good lucke, and if God graunte vs to ouercome the firste, we shall contemne the reste. But who be first to be set vpon, and what time and manner of our assault we shall take, if you thinke good, I will tel you mine opinion. When they al agréed to him: The time is (said he) to do the matter, as sone as we go from this meeting, beyng yet nighte, by the whiche, the thyng wyll be the more fearefull, and they the lesse prepared, and none of their confederates able to helpe them in the darke. Let vs preuent their purpose in inuading vs to morowe all at once. And where they bée three Campes, their Shyppes are farre off, and it is no fighte wyth Shyps by night. *Asdrubal* and *Syphax* be not farre asunder. *Asdrubal* is the

The oration of *Scipio*, touching the sodaine assalting of the enmye.

heade

heade of the warre. *Syphax* shall dare do nothing in the nighte, a man barbarous, full of daintinesse and feare. Then let vs go a-gainste *Asdruball* with all oure armye. We shall appoint *Maſ-ſiniſſa* to lye in wayte for *Syphax*, if he hap to come forth, contrarye to oure opinion. Let vs goe a fote to *Asdrubals* campe, and assaulte it round about, wyth good hope and lusty courage: This for the preſẽt, is most fit for the horsemen, for we cannot vse thẽ in the night: I wil place them farre off, to compasse the Campe of our enimies, that if wee be driuen backe, they maye receiue vs, and we flee to oure friends, and if we do ouercome them, they may chase and destroy them.

Hauing thus saide, he sent away the Captaines to arme the hoste, and he sacrificed to Boldenesse, and Feare, and that no sodaine feare without cause shoulde happe, but his armye continue bolde. The rest of the thirde watche, was signified wyth the Trumpet, and with a maruellous deepe silence, so greate an armye went, till the horsemen had compassed the enimies. The fotemen went to their Trench. Then a broken showte being made, and manye soundes of trumpes and hornes to make the more terror, they droue the watche from their place, they toke the Trench, and pulled down the rampire. Some of the boldest ranne in, and set the Tents afyre. The *Libyans* beyng waked of their sleepe with terror, and running out of order, to their order, and taking their armor, and not obeying the commaundements for the confusion, neither the Generall himselfe certainly knowing what was done, the Romanes toke them that leapte oute, and were arming themselues in great turmoile, they set manye Tents on fyre, & killed some of them as they came, and some being made afrayd with the crye of the enimie, and with the fight and moste fearefull bustuesse, being in the nyghte, and ignorant of the euill indeede, thinkyng the Campe hadde béene taken, and fearyng the fyre of the burnyng Tentes, leapt of themselues from them, and went into the fielde, as into a more sure place, where as they came by partes, they were miserably killed, and as they fell into the Romaine horsemen that had compassed al, they were dispatched.

This feare is πανικὸς such as cõmeth of a cause vnknowen, and can not be staied, as *Iupiter* put among the *Titanes*.

Feare in the *Carthagies* camp.

Syphax

An other victorye of the Romanes.

Syphax hearing this crye in the nighte, and seeyng the fire, came not forth, but sent certaine horsemen to helpe *Asdruball*. Uppon whom *Massinissa* came sodainely, and killed out of hand. When daye was come, and *Syphax* hadde learned that *Asdrubal* was gone, and that part of his army was destroyed, and part taken of the ennimye, and some dispersed, and that the *Romanes* had his campe with all the munition, he departed and fledde to the nidde land for feare, leauing all behinde hym, thinking that after this ouerthrowe of the *Carthaginians*, *Scipio* would followe him: so his Campe and all the furniture *Massinissa* toke. Thus the Romanes, in a little part of one night did take two campes, and ouerthrew two armies greater than themselues. There died of the Romanes aboute an hundred, and of the enimies, little lesse than thirty thousand: and of prisoners, two thousande fire hundred were taken, and fire hundred horsemen yelded to *Scipio* as he retourned. The Elephants, some were wounded, and some were killed. *Scipio*, of the golde, siluer, armoure, and much puorie, and horses, as wel of the *Numidians* as other whiche hee hadde gote, and by one victorie moste noble, calling the *Carthaginians* on their knees, gaue gifts to the souldioures, and sent the moste precious thinges to *Rome*, and exercised hys souldioures chearefullye, thinkyng that *Anniball* woulde shortelye come oute of *Italie*, and *Mago* from *Liguria*. And thys dyde *Scipio*.

Syphax fleeth.

Scipio rewardeth hys souldioures.

Asdruball fleeth and is condemned, and ryseth againste hys Countrey.

Asdruball the Generall of the *Carthaginians* in the fighte by night, being hurte, fled to *Anea* with fyue hundred horsemen, where he gathered some of the hyred souldioures that were escaped from the fight, and the *Numidians*, and called bondmen to libertye. And when he heard the *Carthaginians* had determined his deathe, as an euill Generall, and had chosen *Hanno*, *Hamilchares* sonne, in his place, he made an army of hys owne, and receyued all malefactours, and ledde them where he mighte haue relefe, and trayned them, hauing three thousande horse, and eight thousand fotemen, as hauing his truste onely in fight. In doing this, he kepte it long hid from both from the Romanes and *Carthaginians*. *Scipio* led his army to the walles of *Carthage*, and boldlye

Anea.

called

called them to fight, but none came forth.

Asdrubal Admirall of *Carthage*, with an hundred shippes came vppon the nauy of *Scipio*, thinking to destroye it in his absence, hoping easily to take twenty gallies with an hundred.

When *Scipio* sawe him vnder sayle, he sent to shut the mouth of the Porte, and that the greate Shippes shoulde lye at anker with a distaunce one from another, that the gallies might come by them, as out of a gate, when nede shoulde require, and that they shoulde fasten and tye the ships togither with their sayle yardes, that they might be as a wall: and he came to them and furthered their worke.

Scipio saueth the *Romane* shippes.

The *Carthaginians* were receyued both by sea and lande, and from the wall with shot and artillerie, their shippes were hurled, and other being weary, went away at night. And when they were going, the *Romane* galleis wente out of the spaces, as was appointed, and sette vpon them, and when they were to weake, they retired, one they toke boyde of men, and broughte hir to *Scipio*. When they went both to their wintring harbours. The *Romanes* had plenty from the sea: the *Numidians* and *Carthaginians* being in want, robbed the Merchantes, till other *Romane* shippes were sent to *Scipio*, whiche, in set places, kepte the enimie from robbing. They were more and more in hunger. Toward the end of Winter, *Syphax* being neare, *Massinissa* desired the thirde part of the *Romanes* armye to be ioyned to hys, the which he receiued, and by the leading of *Lelius*, pursued *Syphax*, he fleeyng till he came to a floude, and there stayed to fight.

Massinissa and the *Romanes* against *Syphax*.

The *Numidians* (as their manner is) made shotte very thick one againste an other. The Romanes being couered with theyr shieldes, went to the fight. *Syphax* came with fury vppon *Massinissa*, who went cherefully against him, and the fight being greate betweene them, *Syphax* men fleeing, he passed the floude, whose horse being hurte, ouerthrewe his Maister. Then *Massinissa* ran vpon hym, and toke him, and one of his sonnes, and sente them straight to *Scipio*. There were slaine ten thousand of *Syphax* side: of the *Romanes*, lxxv. of *Massinissa* three hundred: of *Syphax* foure thousand were taken prisoners, whereof two thousand fiue hun-

The fighte betweene two Kinges, *Syphax* and *Massinissa*.

Massinissa taketh *Syphax*.

dyed were *Massulians*, whiche fled from *Massinissa* to *Syphax*. *Massinissa* desired them of *Lelio*, whom, when he had receyued, he killed. Then they ouerranne the *Massulians* and the land of *Syphax*, parte wherof they appointed to *Massinissa*, parte they receyued by submission, and the disobedient sorte they destroyed. There came Ambassadoures to them from *Cyrtis*, to deliuer the Palaice of *Syphax* to them. And some came priuately to *Massinissa*, from *Sophonisba*, *Syphax* wife, to excuse the necessitie of that mariage. *Massinissa* receyueth hir gladly, and went againe to *Scipio*, leauing hir at *Cyrta*, to see what was best to be done hereafter.

Cyrtis, nowe *Constana*, where *Iugurth* killed *Adherbal*.

A priuie message frō *Sophonisba* to *Massinissa*.

Scipio sayd to *Syphax*: What spirite toke thee, when thou wast a
c friend to me, & praying me to come into *Libya*, to breake thy faith
c with God, by whom, thou diddest sweare, & after God, to breake
c it wt the *Romanes*, & to chose to make warre for *Carthage*, against
c the *Romanes*, seeing the *Carthaginians* not long before were thyne
c enimies. He said: *Sophonisba* the daughter of *Asdruball*, whome I
c loued to my losse, the louing hir Country so dearly, & able to per-
c swade a man to what she list, turned me from you, to hir coūtry,
c and from so greate felicitie, hath brought me to so great misery.
c Therefore I counsell thee (for nowe being yours, and put from
c *Sophonisba*, I ought to be sure unto you) to kepe *Sophonisba*, least
c she turne *Massinissa* to what she wil: for it cannot be hoped that
c she wil take the *Romanes* part, so greatly doth she loue hir Citie.
This he spake eyther truly, or for gelousie of *Massinissa*, to hinder
him as much as he could. *Scipio* perceyuing *Syphax* to be wise, &
expert in that coūtry, led him about with him, & made him priuy
of his mind & counsel, as *Cyrus* vsed *Croesus* king of *Libya*. When
Lelius was come, & said he heard as much of *Sophonisba* to be of
many reported, *Scipio* commanded *Massinissa* to deliuer *Sophonisba*
Syphax wife. He refusing it, & excusing that was done afore, *Scipio*
commanded him more sharply not to withholde by violence
a Romane prisoner, but to bring hir forth, & then to alleadge and
say what he could. Then went *Massinissa* with the *Romanes* to deliuer *Sophonisba*. But priuily he came firste to hir, & brought hir
a poyson, & told hir she must presently drinke it, or remayne a
slaue to the *Romanes*: speaking no more, he twke his horse. She

Syphax biddeth *Scipio* beware of *Sophonisba*.

Scipio vseth *Syphax* friendlye as *Cyrus Croesus*.

Massinissa is loath to leaue *Sophonisba*.

shewing

shewing the cuppe to hir nurse, prayed hir not to bewaile hir noble death, and dranke the poyson. *Asdrubal* shewed hir to the *Romanes*, and when he had buryed hir honorably, he returned to *Scipio*. He praysed hym, and tolde him he was rid of an euill woman, and crowned hym for his seruice against *Syphax*, and gaue him many gifts. When *Syphax* was come to *Rome*, some thought good to saue hym, bicause he had bin a friend to the *Romanes*, in *Iberia*: some thought to punish him, bycause he had made warre against his friendes: but he being sicke for sorrow, dyed. *Asdrubal* hauing wel exercised hys souldiors, sent to *Mago* ỹ was generall of the *Carthaginians*, that he would make him his fellow in ỹ warre, shewing that there were many *Iberians* with *Scipio*, whom if a man would corrupte with golde & promise, they might burne *Scipio* his Campe: and he, if the time were prescribed, would be at the feate. Whē *Hanno* heard this, he wrought wiles against *Asdrubal*, yet he dyd not refuse the enterprise, but sente a faithfull man with gold, as a run-away into *Scipios* Campe, who persuading suche as he found, corrupted many, & the day being appointed, he returned to *Hanno*, who sent to *Asdrubal* of the day. Whē *Scipio* sacrificed, euident danger of fire was signified, who sent aboute the campe, to see if there were any great fire, and to put it oute. And thus he sacrificed many dayes, and alwaies the sacrifice shewed fire: wherefore he was grieued, and determined to change his campe. An *Iberian*, seruant to a horseman of *Rome*, being tolde of ỹ conspirators, fained as he had bin made priuie, & so learned al. & told it to his maister, who brought him to *Scipio*, & bewrayed al. *Scipio* killed them, & threwe their heads oute of the camp. *Hanno* perceyued it saue, being so nighe, & came not at the daye appointed. But *Asdrubal* being ignorant, came, & when he saw the number of ỹ dead, he suspected the matter & retired. Whē did *Hanno* greatlye accuse hym to the multitude, that he shoulde come to *Scipio* to betray him, & he would not receyue him. And *Asdrubal* after this was in more hate at *Carthage*.

She dyeth like a noble harted Ladye.

Syphax is sent to *Rome*.

Syphax dyeth in prison.

Practise against *Scipio*.

Sacrifices signifying fyre.

The conspiracy bewrayed.

Asdrubal is accused falsly.

About this tyme, *Amilchar* secreatlye sayling vppon the Romane Nauye, toke one galley, and fire Shyppes. *Hanno* came vpon them that besieged *Vtica*, and was repulsed.

Romane ships taken.

Scipio leaueth the siege at Vtica.

Scipio hauing bin so long at the siege of *Vtica*, and doyng no good, dissolued his campe, and sent his munition against the Citie of *Hippon*, and doing no good there, burned his vnprofitable engins, and ranged the Countrey, some he receiued to amitie, and some he destroyed.

Hippon, this seemeth to bee the country of saint Austen.

The *Carthaginians* being weary of so many displeasures, made *Annibal* Generall and sent an Admirall with a nauy, to haste hys comming, and in the meane tyme, they sent Embassadors to *Scipio* for peace, thinking to obtaine one of these either to haue peace, or delay of time, till *Annibal* came. *Scipio* gaue them a truce, and taking the costes of his Campe, gaue them leaue to sende messengers to *Rome*. They sent and yet kepte warde in the Cittie, as they hadde bin still enimies.

Expenses.

Beyng brought into the Senate, they desired forgiuencsse of their faulte. The Senatoures partely accused the *Carthaginians* of their infidelitie, whiche they had oft made and broken, and what hurt *Annibal* had done the *Romanes*, and their confederats, the *Iberians* and *Italians*. Part of them thought this peace was as profitable for them, as for the *Carthaginians*, *Italie* beyng wasted with so manye euills, and vttering their feare of things to come, *Annibal* saylyng out of *Italie*, and *Mago* from *Liguria*, and *Hanno* from *Carthage*, with greate armies against *Scipio*. Vppon the which, the Senate doubting, sent counsellours to *Scipio*, with whom, he might from henceforth conferre, and do that should seme expedient. He made peace with *Carthage* with these conditions.

A treatie of peace.

Diuerse opinios in the Senate.

1 That *Mago* should sayle from *Liguria* out of hande, and from henceforth leade no straunge armies.

2 That they should haue no more but thirtie gallies.

3 That they should not meddle beyonde the ditche called *Thæniarius*.

4 That they should deliuer all the prisoners and run-awaies to the *Romanes*.

5 That they should pay them in tyme. 1600. talents of siluer.

6 That *Massanissa* should haue the *Massilians*, and what he could get of *Syphax* lande.

These

These were the conditions, and ambassadours sayled to *Rome* to sweare to them before the Consuls, and so did some from *Rome* to have them sworne at *Carthage*.

The Romaynes rewarded *Massinissa*, with giftes of confederacie: they sent him a crown of gold, and a signet of gold, and a Chayre of Ivorie, and a purple garment, and a robe of *Rome*, and a horse trapped with golde, and an armour for hys whole body. When this was done, *Annibal* sayled to *Carthage* against hys will, suspecting the unfaythfulnesse and disobedience of the people to their rulers, and thinking the peace would not be made, and if it were made, would not long hold, he went to a Citie of *Libya*, *Adrumete*, and gathered victual, and bought horses. And he made friendshippe with a prince of *Numidie*, called *Arcacides*. Foure thousand horsemen that fled unto hym, frō *Massinissa*, that had bene *Syphaces*, as suspected he shot to deathe, he deuided their horse to his souldiours. And *Mesotulos* another Prince, came unto hym with a thousand horsemen, and *Vermina* one of *Syphax* sonnes, hauing the most part of his fathers kingdome.

Annibal in *Affrica.*

Adrumete is so far from *Carthage* as *Annibal* rode in post, two dayes and two nightes.

Arcacides.

Mesulas.

Vermina.

The Cities of *Massinissa* hee gotte, some by yelding, and some by force. *Narces* he got by treason after this sort: hauing want of victuals, hee sente to them as his friendes, and when he sawe it frame, he sent many with secret weapons, commanding to deale iustly with the sellers, til they heard ỹ trumpets, then to kill euery man, and kepe the gates: and so was *Narces* taken.

Annibal getteth *Narces* by treasō.

The people of *Carthage*, lately making peace, and their ambassadors not yet come from *Rome*, and *Scipio* still present, spoyled the victuall of *Scipio*, that was driuen to *Carthage* by windes, and bound the bringers of it, the Senate of *Carthage* sore threatning them, and warning them not to breake the league lately made. They blamed the league, as vniustly made, and sayd ther was more feare to bee had of famine, than of breaking league. *Scipio* would not beginne warre againe, after the peace, but desired, as of his friendes, that the offendours might be punished.

People of *Carthage* do spoile the Romanes in time of peace.

They would haue slayed the ambassadours also, till they were

came from *Rome*. But *Hanno Magnus*, and *Asdrubal Eriphus*, did take them from the multitude, and sent them awaye with two gallies: other perswaded *Asdrubal* the admiral, to go to the tower of *Apollo*, and when the gallies did returne, to set vppon *Scipios* shippes, and he was perswaded. So soone of the ambassadours were shotte to death, other wounded of them, got to the port of their power, and leapt out of the ship, ready to be taken: so nere were they to be taken prisoners. When the Romaines in the Citie heard this, they commaunded the ambassadours, that yet were ther about the peace, to depart as enimies. They in their iourney were driuen to *Scipios* nauy. When the admirall asked *Scipio* what was to be done with them, he sayde, not as the *Carthaginians* haue done with vs, and let them goe vntouched. When the olde men of *Carthage* saw this, they rebuked the people of their rashnesse, and counselled them to desire *Scipio* to kepe the league, & to receiue punishment for their offence of ẏ *Carthaginians*. They being offended with the Senate for ẏ long euil gouernment, & being stirred of ẏ cõmon sort, as not loking wel to ẏ cõmon profitte, & being deceiued with vaine hope, called *Annibal* with his army. He considering the greatnesse of ẏ warre, caused them to cal home *Asdrubal* with his power. Thus *Asdrubal* being quit of his offence, deliuered his armor to *Annibal*: yet durst he not appeare at *Carthage*, but hid himself in the citie. *Scipio* placing his ships before *Carthage*, kept victual from them by sea. At this time was a fight of horsemẽ betweẽ *Scipio* & *Annibal* at *Zama*, in ẏ which, *Scipio* had ẏ better: & there was daply skirmishes betwixt thẽ, til *Scipio* heard ẏ *Annibal* was in great wãt, & loked for his forragers to come, & in the night sent *Thermus* against ẏ bringers of it. *Thermus* toke an hil in a streight passage, & killed 3000. *Libyans*, & toke as many, & brought ẏ victual to *Scipio*. *Annibal* being driuen to extreme want, & diuising how he might help ẏ present necessitie, sent ambassadors to *Massinissa*, remẽbring to him his norishing & bringing vp in *Carthage*, & desired him to moue *Scipio* to come to accord again, for ẏ offence was of the people, & of ẏ soldiour sort of ẏ people. *Massinissa* remẽbring in deed, ẏ he was brought vp in *Carthage*, hauing ẏ worthinesse

Modestie of *Scipio*.

Zama.

A fight of horsemen.

Victual taken from *Annibal*.

Annibal maketh meane to *Massinissa* to escape present famine.

woꝛthineſſe of the citie in reuerence, & many friends yet there prayed *Scipio*, and bꝛought them again to accoꝛd after this ſoꝛt.

1 That the *Carthaginians* ſhould deliuer the ſhippes, men and victuals, that they had taken of the Romanes, and all that they had taken beſide, oꝛ the ꝓice of it, as *Scipio* ſhould value it.

2 That they ſhould pay a. M. talents, foꝛ a fine, foꝛ the fault.

This was agrẽd, & truce taken, til the *Carthaginians* ſhoulde beare them, & ſo *Annibal* eſcaped beyond al hope. The Senate of *Carthage*, allowed wel of the accoꝛd, and exhoꝛted the people to ſtand to them, remembꝛing the long aduerſity that they had, had, and the ꝓeſent nẽde in the army both of meate and mony: but they, as rude people be wont, fooliſhly thought their gouernours agrẽd with the Romanes foꝛ their owne commodities, that by them they might rule their countrey, as *Annibal* dyd nowe, and *Aſdrubal* had done afoꝛe, betraying the armye to ẏ enimies in ẏ night, not long after meaning to yeld to *Scipio*, & then comming to the campe, and now lurking in the citie, vpon the which, a cꝛye and tumult being made, ſome of them wente out of the aſſemblie to ſeeke *Aſdrubal* round about. He ꝓeuented them, flying into his fathers Sepulchre, and killed himſelfe with a poyſon: they dꝛagged out his carcaſſe, and cut off hys beade, and put it vppon a ſpeares point, and bare it aboute the Citie. Thus *Aſdrubal*, firſt vniuſtly iniuried, and ſecondly falſly accuſed of *Hanno*, & then thus bꝛought to death by the *Carthaginians*, was ſpyted after his death in this wiſe. They ſente to *Annibal* to bꝛeake the truce, and to make warre vppon *Scipio*, & to try it out by ſpeedy fight, bicauſe of wãt. He bꝛake the truce. And *Scipio* taking a great Citie called *Parthos*, camped neare to *Annibal*, and he remoued, ſending thꝛee ſpies to the Romanes, whome *Scipio* toke, and did not kil them accoꝛding to the law of armes, but commaunded them to be led about the campe, to ſee the ſtoꝛe of armoꝛ & munition, & then let them go to tell *Annibal* of euerye thing. He deſired to come to talke, whiche being graunted, he ſayd the *Carthaginians* were grieued with the firſt peace, foꝛ the money, if that might be remitted, & the Romanes contented with *Sicilia*, *Iberia*, & ẏ Iles which they haue, ẏ peace

Annibal eſcapeth famine.

The rude people of *Carthage*

The malice of the people as gainſt *Aſdrubal*.

Aſdrubal killeth himſelfe.

The ſpight of the people as gainſt him.

The peace broken.

Parthos.

Scipio cauſeth *Annibals* eſpies to be led about his army.

Talke betwẽ *Scipio* and *Annibal*.

ſhould

should be sure. *Scipio* answered *Annibal* should gette a greate reward, by flying out of *Italie*, if he myght obtayne thys of *Scipio* and forbadde him to sende anye more to hym.

And so threatning one another, they departed to their seuerall campes. There was a Cittie nygh called *Cilla*, at the whiche was an hil, fytte for the campe, the which *Annibal* perceyuing, sent to take it vp, and followed with his army, but finding it taken before of *Scipio*, he was left in the playne field without water, and spent that night in digging of water pittes. The army pickte out the heapes of sande, and dranke little water full of sande, and was grieued without meate or rest, and some were in their armour all night. Which *Scipio* perceyuing, came vpon them by day, they being weary of their way, watch and thyrst.

Cilla.

Annibal in straightes.

The order of *Annibals* battell.

Annibal was loth to come to fighte, yet bycause he shoulde wante water if he tarryed, and, if he fledde, his enimie woulde take courage and set vpon hym, considering all this, he thought it good for the necessitie, to try it. He put in order fifty .M. and lxxx. Elephants. He placed them before the battel with spaces betweene to make them most terrible. After them was the third parte of the armye, the *Celtians* and *Ligurians*: with these were myxed archers and slyngers of *Marrusia* and *Gymnasias*: after the was the seconde army, whiche was of *Carthagians* and *Libyans*. The third were of them that followed him out of *Italie*, in the which, he trusted most, bicause they feared their case. The horse men were aboute the wings. And thys was *Annibals* order.

Gymnasij be the Iiands called *Baleares* now Maiores and Nicores. *Lacamas.*

Scipio had about xxiij. thousande, and horsemen of *Italie* and *Rome*, a thousand fiue hundred. *Maßhissa* was there with many horsemen of *Numidia*, and *Lacamas* another prince with fyre hundred horse. He set his fotemen in three battels as *Anniball* did: he made a partition betweene the bandes, that the horsemenne might passe easily by them. he made to euery bande a defence at the front with strong perches layde ouer with pyon of two Cubits long and very thicke, to kepe backe the Elephantes as an engine, and he warned them and the other fotemen, to giue place to the furie of those beastes, and to cast their dartes vpon them as fast as they coulde, and when they were nigh, to cutte

Scipio his order.

their

their sinowes if they coulde. Thus were they placed of *Scipio*. The *Numidian* horse he placed in the wings, being acquainted with the fight and fury of the Elephants. The *Italians* horse, because they were not vsed to them, he set last of all, to be readye to passe by the distances, when the fotemen had bidden the first violence of the Elephants. Both sorts of horsmen, had companies of shotte ioyned to them, to annoy the beastes. Thus were his horsemen set. The right wing he gaue to *Lelius*: the left, to *Octauius*: in the middest, was both he and *Annibal*, to kepe their glorie, hauing horsemen attending vpon them, to helpe where nede should be. *Annibal* had three thousand, *Scipio* had two thousande, and the three hundred *Italians*, whom he armed in *Sicelie*. When all was ready, both of them encouraged their men. *Scipio* called the Gods to witnesse, before his army, against whom the *Carthaginians* had offended, as ofte as they brake their promise, and required hys army not to loke to the number of their enimies, but to their owne vertue, whom, being more in number they had ouerthrowen euen in that lande: and if they that ouercome, haue anye feare or doubte, muche more of necessitie must they haue that haue bin ouercome. Thus did *Scipio* encourage and stirre his fewe number. *Annibal* recorded to them the feates that he hadde done in *Italie*, as an enterprise of moste great renoume, not among the *Numidians*, but among all the *Italians* in *Italie*, and shewed how fewe the enimies were now, and exhorted them, not to be worse than a fewe, they being moe and in their own countrey. Both of them did declare vnto their souldiours the daunger and greatnesse of the present fight.

Scipio to his souldiours.

Annibal to his souldiours.

Annibal shewed that *Carthage* and all *Libya* was to be tryed in thys fighte, whether they shoulde be slaues being ouercome, or rule hereafter ouer all they had wonne. *Scipio* tolde hys, that if they were defeated, they had no safe returne: if they dyd ouercome, a great dominion shoulde fall vnto them, and a rest of their present paynes, a going home to their country, and a renoume for euer.

Thus either of them encouraging other, they went to the fight: *Annibal* sounded first: *Scipio* commaunded to answere

him.

The Elephants beganne the fight in moſt terrible maner, being ſpurred with prickes of the riders. The *Numidian* horſemen ranne about them, and threwe their dartes thicke vppon them, ſo as being wounded, they fledde, and troubled their owne parte, that their kepers led them away: and this was the firſt enterpriſe with the Elephants at the wings of the army, but in the midde battel of the Romaines, they trode downe the footemē, being vnacquainted with this fight, and ſo heauy harniſed, that they could hardly giue place, or goe forewarde, tyll *Scipio* brought forth the *Italian* horſemenne that were placed behynde, and with them the ſhotte, commaundyng them to leaue their horſes that were afrayde, and to goe aboute and ſhote at the Elephants. He was the firſt that alighted, and wounded the Elephant that came afore.

The Elephants put backe at the wings.

The Elephants trouble the Romanes foote men, in the battel

Scipio leaueth his horſe to fight with the Elephants.

The other ſouldiours encouraged therby, and hurtyng the beaſtes, made them alſo to go out of the battel. The fighte being cleared of the beaſts, and nowe only of men and horſes, the right wing of the Romaines whyche *Lelius* ledde, putte to flighte the *Numidians* that were agaynſte them, when *Maſſiniſſa* had wounded *Maſſintha* their prince, and *Annibal* comming quickly vnto them, ſette them againe to fight.

Maſtiniſſa wounded *Maſſimba.*

The left battayle, whyche *Octauius* gouerned, had very much adoe with their enimies, the French and *Ligurians*.

Scipio ſente *Thermus* to helpe them with choyſe men. *Annibal*, hauing ſtayde his lefte battayle, roade to the *Ligurians* and Frenchmen, bryngyng another bande of *Libyans* and *Carthaginians*. Whiche when *Scipio* ſawe, he came againſte them with another band.

Scipio and *Annibal* fighte.

When theſe two moſte noble captaines dyd thus contend, there was euidente emulation and care on both ſides, no diligence was lefte on eyther parte: the labour was no ſharper, than their exhortations were behement. The fight beyng long doubtfull, and the Captaines hauing pittie of their wearie ſouldiours, coupled togither, that by them, the ende might be the ſhorter. They threw one at another. *Scipio* hytte *Annibals*

bals shielde, *Annibal* stroke *Scipios* Horse, and the Horse, for the wounde, ouerthrewe *Scipio*. He was mounted againe, and threw at *Annibal*, but missed him, and hurt the Horse was next him.

Massinissa vnderstanding, came thyther, and the Romaynes seeing their Capitayne fighting lyke a Souldiour, toke the more courage againste their enimies, and putte them backe, and chased them, *Annibal* ryding aboute in vaine, prayeing them to staye, and perswading them to turne againe to the fight. *Massinissa* cometh to the danger that *Scipio* was in.

Annibal being in greate doubte, broughte the *Italians* that came with hym, and not yet styrring from the place of succoure, into the fighte, hoping to breake the Romaynes arraye the more easily, because they were folowing the enimye: but they seeing that deuise, called one another diligently from the chase, and put themselues againe in order for the fighte. Nowe hauing no Horse, and their shotte being spent, they fought togyther with their blades. Great was the slaughter, and manye were the woundes and the grones of them that fell, and the shoutes of them that dyd kyll, tyll the Romaynes putte them backe and made them flye also. The Romanes skil in fight.

Then was the victorye euident. *Annibal* seeing the *Numidian* Horsemen stande styl, ranne to them, and prayed them not to forsake hym, whom when he had perswaded, he brought them againste them that chased, thinking to do a notable feate againe. *Annibal* renewyeth the fight.

Firste he mette with the *Massulians* and fought with them: and this fighte was onely betweene *Massinissa* and *Annibal*. They fiercelye going to it, *Massinissa* stroke *Annibals* target, he bitte *Massinissas* Horse, who being a forte, fle we vpon *Annibal*, and killed his Horse, comming vppon hym before all other. The dartes of the other he receyued vppon hys shielde, and drewe one of them that stucke vppon it, and threw it at *Annibal*, missing him, and killed the nexte Horse. *Massinissa* and *Annibal* fighteth.

Then drawing out another, he was wounded on the arme, and went oute of the battell for a whyle. When *Scipio* heard of it, he was afrayde of *Maßiniſſa*, and came to the fraye, and found *Maßiniſſa* horſed and going to the field againe, hauing tyed his wound.

Scipio commeth in relieſe of *Maſsiniſſa*.

The fight was equall agayne, and very ſore on both ſides, eyther being afrayde of their capitaynes, tyll *Annibal* dydde ſee the *Iberians* and Frenchmenne ſtaying vppon an hill, and roade to them to bring them forth againe. They that foughte, not knowing the cauſe, thinkyng his going had bin a flying, lefte the fighte willyngly, and fledde diſorderedly, not lokyng toward *Annibal*, but euery man where he coulde. Thus they brake, and the Romaines, as the fielde hadde bene fully gotte, purſued them out of order, neyther they vnderſtanding of *Annibals* purpoſe, who returned with the Spaniards and Frenchmen.

Errour in the battel.

Wherefore *Scipio* called his men againe from the chaſe with ſpéede, and ſet them in order, being more than they that came from the hyll, wherefore he mighte the more eaſily reſiſt them. *Annibal* being deceyued of this laſte hope, fledde, now vtterly diſpayring of all things.

Annibal flyeth.

Manye horſemen followed him, ſpecially *Maßiniſſa*, beyng grieued with his wounde, euer at hande, and deſirous to haue brought him priſoner to *Scipio*: but the night diuided them, and *Annibal* in the darke, with twentie horſemen, that could folow him, fled into a Cittie called *Thonne*, whither, when he vnderſtoode that many horſemen of *Brutia* and *Iberia* were come from the field, and fearing the *Iberians* as barbarous and cruel, and doubting the *Brutians* being *Italians* and countrey men to *Scipio*, leaſt they woulde leade him to *Scipio*, to be forgiuen their faulte againſt *Italie*, priuily he fled with one horſeman, whom he truſted beſt, and running three thouſand furlongs in two nightes and two dayes, he came to a Cittie at the ſea called *Adrumeto*, where parte of his armye was for victuall, ſending aboute, and gathering them that fledde, he made armoure and munition.

Annibal flyeth to *Thonne*.

Annibal cõmeth in haſt to *Adrumeto*.

Scipio

Scipio hauing got so noble a victorie, burned the vnprofytable spoyle, beyng gyrded, as the Romanes Generalls be wont. He sent to Rome ten talents of golde, and .ij. M. v. C. of siluer, and wrought Iuorie, and the most noble prisoners, *Lælius* being the messenger of the victorie. The reste he toke to honor his souldiours, and gaue giftes to them that did beste, and to *Massinissa* a Crowne, and then he went, and toke the Cities. And this was the ende of *Annibal* and *Scipios* fighte in *Libya*, and the first time that they fought togither. There dyed of the Romaynes two thousand fiue hundred, and of *Massinissas*, more: of the enimies, fiue and twenty thousand: of prisoners were taken eighte thousande fiue hundred: of the *Iberians* three hundred yelded to *Scipio*: of the *Numidians* eight hundred to *Massinissa*. Neyther the *Carthaginians*, nor the Romanes yet hearing of it, they of *Carthage* sent to *Mago*, gathering yet Frenchemen, to inuade *Italie* if hee coulde, or to saple into *Libya* wyth hys hyred souldioures. The Romanes intercepting these letters, sent to *Scipio* an other army of horse, and fotemen, and shyppes and money. *Scipio* sent *Octauius* by lande to *Carthage*, and hymselfe went by water. When they of *Carthage* vnderstode *Annibals* ouerthrow, they set Ambassadours in a pynnesse, of the which *Hanno Magnus* and *Asdrubal Hædus* were chiefe. They set vp a banner of peace on the stemme, and held vp their hands to *Scipio*, desiring pardon. Hee willed them to go to the Campe, where he being plated vpon an highe seate, gaue them audience.

Scipio sendeth *Lælius* with the newes to *Rome*.

Carthage sedeth to *Scipio* for peace.

Carthage sueth for peace.

They, with teares fell to the grounde, and being taken vp of the officers, were commaunded to say what they wouldc. Then *Annibal Hædus* spake.

It is my parte (O *Romanes*,) and this *Hanno*, and as manye, as be wise in *Carthage*, to cleare oure selues of this faulte that you put vppon vs. For your Embassadoures, whom oure people, being driuen by hunger, offended, we saued and sent home, yet wee muste not blame all *Carthage*, for some desired peace firste, and they had it, and kepte it firmely. Cities beseme drawne to the worste, & that whiche is pleasant, preuayleth euer with the multitude, whiche we haue proued, beyng neither able to perswade them,

People in free cities disobedient.

them,nor to slay them. For they that did accuse vs,and take frée speeche from vs,do not iudge vs (O Romanes) of our obedience or counsell:but if it seemeth a faulte to be slowe to obey, blame hunger and the necessitie that droue vs to it,for it was not a cõstrained act of them,to desire peace before,and gyue so much money,and to deliuer al our long shyps, saue a fewe, and to yelde a great parte of oure dominion,and to sweare to them,and to send our othe to *Rome*,our Ambassadors being yet with you, and willingly to offend. But a manne may blame God chiefly, and the storme that droue your corne to *Carthage*. Beside the storme, hũger toke you, (that cannot consider well of other mens things) beyng in néede of all thinges, nor require good reason of a rude and myserable multitude. But if you iudge vs to do vniustlye, & not to be in miserye,we confesse and pray forgiuenesse. Iustification is of them, that do not offend,and submission of them that do offende, to the which, the mercy of them that be in prosperitie ought to be the readier, beholding the chaunces of men, and considering the sodaine mutations,that now we do crie for pardon, that yesterday were able to do hurte:as the citie of *Carthage*, the greatest and mightiest of *Libya*,both in shippes,money and Elephants, and in army of foote and horsemen,& many subiects haue flourished these.700.yeares,and ruled al *Libya*,and other nations and Ilandes, and so great a part of the sea, & comming against you many times in contention, and nowe neyther in Shyppes nor Elephants,nor horse, nor subiects, (all the whiche you haue taken from vs) haue any hope of helpe but in you,whom we haue euill vsed before. The whiche you considering,and marking the alteration of them,ought to vse your felicitie the more temperately, and doe that shall seeme worthye for your magnanimitie(O Romanes) and the fortune that *Carthage* sometime had,& to put the mutations of fate in our misfortunes voide of enuy,you may be without blame afore God,and deserue prayse of all men. There is no feare nowe that the *Carthaginians* wyll rebel, whom so great repentance and paine of their former follie,doth fall vppon . Gods counsell is the keeper of Innocen-

Iustification. Submission.

cie

rie to wise men, to offendoures to repent them, for that they haue suffered, whom, it is like to be the more constant in theyr duelies, than they that had neuer suche experience. Neither is it fit for you to folow the *Carthaginians*, whome you accuse of cruelty, and wickednesse. For in them that be in misery, want and calamitie, is the beginning of offence: to them that be in prosperitie, it is at their pleasure to vse humanitie. It shall be as honorable, as profitable for your authoritie, rather to saue than to kill so greate a Cittie: you bee nowe the better Iudges of youre commodities. Wee bring but two thynges to the assurance thereof: the worthinesse of dominion that *Carthage* somtime hath had, and youre moderation towarde all men, which beyng ioyned wyth armes, hath brought you to so great Empire and power. What conditions you will gyue vs of peace, we will take them, of the whiche, we can say no more, committing all to you.

When *Hadus* had saide thus muche, he ceased. *Scipio* willing them to auoid, conferred with the officers a while, and when he had determined, he called them, and said:

Scipio to the Embassadoures of Carthage.

You be worthy no pardon that so ofte haue broken peace, and lastely defiled oure Embassadoures, so manifestly and wickedly offending againste vs, that you can neyther purge youre selues, nor shewe any matter to the contrary, but that you are worthy extreame punishement. What nede I to accuse them that confesse? you flee to prayer, that woulde not haue lefte the name of *Rome*, if you had got the victory: but we haue done no suche thyng to you, your Embassadours being yet in *Rome*, after you had broken the league, and violated oure Embassadors, our Cittie deliuered, and beyng bryuen to myne armye, I sente vnhurte to you, when you made warre on vs. Therefore you ought to thinke it gaine, whatsoeuer you receiue, hauing condēned your selues, I will saye what I thinke good, and the Senate shall determine what shal please them.

Wee giue you peace once agayne (O *Carthaginians*) if you gyue all youre long Shyppes vnto the Romaynes,

except

except ten, and all the Elephants you haue; and those you take before, and pay for the that be lost, I being iudge of the doubts; and all the prisoners and run awayes, and so many, as *Annibal* brought out of *Italie*: and thus within thirty dayes after the peace is made. And that in threescore dayes *Mago* shall departe out of *Ligiria*, and that you take your garrisons oute of the Cities, whiche be wythout the ditche of *Phœnicia*; and deliuer the pledges you haue of them.

And that euery yeare you shall bring two hundred talentes, of *Eubœa*, for fifty yeares.

That you shall hyre no more Frenchmen or *Ligurians*.

That you shal make no warre vpon *Massinissa*, nor any other friend of ours, nor any of *Carthage* war against them by the common consent.

That you shall haue your citie, and so muche lande, with the *Phœnicians* ditche, as you had when I sayled into *Libya*.

That you shal be friends to the Romaynes bothe by sea and lande, if the Senate do confirme it: and if they do confirme it, that the Romanes shall go out of *Libya* in a hundred and fiftye dayes, and if you will haue truce, to send to *Rome*.

You shall giue vs out of hand, an hundred and fifty Otages, of such children, as I shall chose.

And you shall giue to the expences of the warre, a thousand talents more, and victuall for the army, and when the peace is concluded, you shall receiue your pledges.

When *Scipio* had said thus, the Embassadours bare the faulte to *Carthage*.

The people resorting manye dayes to the counsell, the beste sorte thought it good to accept the conditions, and not to putte all in hazarde, in sticking for somewhat.

People resiste peace.

When the corne shoulde go away, the people not considering more the present perill, than the taking awaye of that they had, did resist, and were grieued, that the rulers should take away their corne for the Romanes, in their famine, and giue it them in steade of Citizens, during the truce. They stode about euery of them, and threatned to burne their houses, and spoyle them,

them.

In the ende knowing that *Annibal* hadde gathered fiue thousand fotemen, and fiue hundred horsemen, staying at a Citie named *Marthma*, they called him to be of counsell in these matters. He came, and the sober sorte being afraide, that he, being a man of warre, woulde haue stirred the people. He perswaded verye gravely to receiue the peace. The people outragiously spake euill of him, and threatned all, till the noble men fledde, some to *Maßinissa*, and some to the Romanes willingly, despayring of the Citie. The *Carthaginians* vnderstanding that *Annibal* hadde gathered corne plentifullye into a Store-house, they made muche adoe for it, tyll they gote it, and diuided it among them. *Annibal* perswadeth peace.

In this meane time, was newes come to *Rome*, of the newe peace, that *Scipio* had made with them of *Carthage*. And the matter being debated in the Senate house, one of the Senatoures saide thus: In this place the Greeke texte is vnperfect.

If wée shoulde not agrée to this peace, it were both iniurious and vniuste to *Scipio*, the whiche he suspecting, as it séemeth, when he had declared his minde vnto vs. He added: That if wée made delay, he woulde make peace. It is like that hée considereth the matter better than we, and séeth more in it, because he hath al before him: if wée doe otherwise, we shall offende hys estimation, a good Citizen, and a noble Capitayne, who prouoked vs vnwilling to sende into *Affrica*, and hauyng no army of vs, did gette one himselfe, and hathe promoted vs so farre as we could not hope. Therefore it is to be wondered, that you that were so faint at the beginning in the warre, are nowe so earnest and vehement. Nowe if any man thinketh all to bée well, and yet feareth that the *Carthaginians* will breake thys league, it is nowe moste like they wyll kéepe the peace, being so ofte afflicted for breaking of it, and that henceforth they will kéepe Iustice better, beyng fallen on the knée, by vnrighteousnesse. It is not a like counsell, nowe to despise the *Carthaginians*, as of no power, and againe to feare, that they might rebell. It is more easie for vs to kéepe them, that they shall no more, Discorde in the Senate house touching the peace.

rise, than to destroy them presently. For nowe they will fighte of desperation, whom we might kepe vnder with feare. They haue euils ynow without vs, wyth whome all their neighbours are grieued for their crueltie. And *Massinissa* a man moste faithfull to vs, shall euer lye in wait of thē. But if any man do contemne al this, and thinketh only how he may succēde *Scipio*, and of hys owne commoditie, and to haue the like successe that hē hath had in the ende, what shall we do with the Citie if we happe to take it? shall we destroy it vtterly, bicause they spoyled our ships and victualls whiche they are content to deliuer with muche more? but we will not do this, to auoide the anger of Gods, and hate of men. Shall we giue it to *Massinissa*? thoughe he be our friend, yet is not he to be made to strong, but to let him and them contende togither, for the common weale of *Rome*. Will wē make a rent of the Country? The armye that we shall kēpe there, will spende all the reuenue, for we shall stand in feare of manye of the nighe nations, and of all the *Barbarians*. But we will send inhabitants in the middest of the *Numidians*, they beyng most strong of the *Barbarians*, will alwaies worke oure wo, and if they get the better hande, they shall be terrible and hatefull to vs euer after, hauing so gret a land, and much better than ours. The whiche *Scipio*, as I iudge, perceyuing, thoughte good for vs to heare the prayers of *Carthage*, therefore let vs consent to their prayers, and our Generall. Thus he said.

Contention in *Rome* for peace with *Carthage*.

What is to be considered in warre.

P. Cornelius speaketh against the peace that *Scipio* offered to the *Carthaginians*.

P. Cornelius, Cornelius Lentulus kinsman, being then Consull, and thoughte good to succēde *Scipio*, spake agaynste it in thys sorte.

In warres onely profite is to be considered: and bicause it hathe bin declared, that this cittie being yet of power, is to bē maintained, we ought to take away their vnfaithfulnesse, togyther with their power and might: but their vnfaithfulnesse we shall neuer take away. There is no tyme so fit for vs to be deliuered from the feare of *Carthage*, as thys present, in the which they all bē poore and weake, before they growe to strength again: yet doe I not warue from consideration of Iustice, nor thinke

thinke oure Cittie shall seeme to deale aute of reason with the *Carthaginians*, who when they be in weale, doe iniurie and despite to al men: in their wo, they sal to prayers: if they obtaine, they forsake their agreement againe: neyther haue they regarde of promise, nor respect of othe, whome we muste saue for the feare of God and enuy of men. I thinke the Gods themselues haue brought the *Carthaginians* to that point, to suffer for their wickednesse, which violating the peace they made with vs in *Sicilie*, *Iberia*, and *Italie*, and in *Libya* it selfe, and with all other haue wrought great mischiefe and trouble to vs, of the which I will shewe some examples of strange nations, before I come to ours, that you may see that all will agree that *Carthage* shoulde be punished. They destroyed *Sagunt* a noble citie of *Iberia*, confederat to them, and a friend to vs, sparing no age without cause.

Sagunt is nowe called *Murnedre*

When they hadde taken *Nuceria*, a Citie subiect to vs, vppon conditions, and swearing that euery man shoulde departe with two garmentes, they shut the chiefe of them within the Baths, and set the Hot-houses afyre, and killed them, and when the people went forth, they shot them to death. They putte the Senate of *Acerra*, after they hadde giuen their faith, into pittes, and ouerwhelmed them with earth. They brought *M. Cornelium* oure Consull, vppon their othes, to see their Captaine that was sicke, and carried him out of *Sicilie* into *Libya* with .xxv. shippes. They killed *Regulus* with torments, an other Captaine of ours, returning to them to keepe his othe. What *Annibal* hathe done, by force, by deceites, by periurie, againste our Cities and armies, and at length againste his owne confederates, ouerthrowing cities, killing his confederates, it were too long to tell. They defaced foure hundred of oure cities, oure prisoners they putte in ditches and riuers, and vsed them for bridges: some they threw to their Elephants, some they commaunded to fighte togither, matching brethren againste brethren, & fathers againste sonnes. Shortly after this, they sent hither Ambassadors for peace, they made request, and gaue their othe, and they spoyled our ships in *Libya*, and putte our Souldioures in prison, whiles their Embas-

Examples of the *Carthaginians* cruelitie and vnfaithfulnesse.

Nuceria, nowe *Nocera*.

Acerra, one in *Umbria*, an other in *Campania*.

Foure hundred cities destroyed in *Italy* by *Annibal*.

cc. ij. sadours

' ſadoures were here preſent, to ſo greate madneſſe didde their
' cruelty driue them. What pittie or moderation is to be vſed,
' with them of others, that vſe modeſtie or courteſie with none,
' who, if they might ouercome vs (as *Scipio* ſaieth) woulde not
' leaue the name of *Rome*? But Faith and Promiſe is ſure. What
' faith? what promiſe? what oth haue they not broken? what cou-
' naunt or pardon haue not they violated? but they ſaye we may
' not folowed them. What couenaunt doe we breake, whiche yet
' haue made none? but we may not folowe their crueltie, there-
' fore we muſte make moſt cruell men, cure friendes and confe-
' derates: neyther of theſe is conuenient. But let them yéld vn-
' to vs after the lawe of them that be ouercome, as manye haue
' yelded themſelues. We will conſider of them, and what wée
' giue them, let them thanke vs, and not thinke it to come of a-
' greement, for t hoſe two differ thus: As long as they couenant
' with vs, they will breake, as they haue done afore, alwayes
' makyng ſome pretence for theyr purpoſe, as not wel vſed in the
' conditions, for there are euer deuiſes to be made to call a matter
' in queſtion. When they giue themſelues, wé ſhall receiue them
' and their armoure, and their bodies ſhall be with vs, they ſhall
' ſuppoſe nothing to be theirs, and ſo their pride ſhall fall. They
' ſhall loue whatſoeuer they ſhall receyue of vs, as of a thing not
' theirs. If *Scipio* thinketh otherwiſe, you haue to iudge by ſéfere:
' if hée agréeth with the *Carthaginians*, wythout vs, why ſendeth
' hée vnto vs? I haue ſaide my minde to you that be Lords, whi-
' che I thinke fitte for the Citie. This ſaide *Publius*. The Senate
' gaue their voices ſeuerallye, and the more parte agréed wyth
' *Scipio*.

Thus the thirde leagne was made betwéene the *Romanes* & *Carthaginians*. *Scipio* ſéemed to moue the *Romanes* hereto, either for ỳ reaſon declared, or bicauſe he thought ỳ *Romane* felicitie to be more, if they toke away the rule of *Carthage*. There be ỳ think, that he woulde haue this nighe Citie, and an enimy to be left to hépe the *Romanes* in good temperaunce, leaſt they ſhoulde grow inſolent thorough great felicitie & ſecuritie. The which conſideration of *Scipio*, not long after, *Cato* reherſed to the *Romanes*, being

Cauſes that made *Scipio* to make peace with the *Carthaginians*.

Rhodes, is a goodlye Ilande in the *Caparthian* ſea, adioyning to *Caria*.

griéued

grieuedly they were incensed against the *Rhodians*. When *Scipio* had set order, he sayled to *Rome* with all his armye, and entred with a triumph, more gaily than had bene before time. And the manner of it, whyche they nowe vse also, was this:

All ware garlands. The trumpetours goe before, and the wagons laden with the spoyle. Towers are borne with the Images of the Cities taken, and pictures and figures of the things done. Then the gold and siluer uncoyned and coyned, and other things of that sorte, and so many Crownes as the Cities confederats, or armies, had giuen y generall for his vertue. Then the whyte kyne and the Elephantes. Then the *Carthaginians* and *Numidians* that were taken. Before the generall, the Macebearers went in purple garmẽts, and a company of mustiãs & Satyres, after the *Tuscane* maner, being gyrded and wearing a Crowne of gold, they go in order againe with song and daunce. They call them, *Ludi*, bycause as I thinke, the *Thoscanes* be an inhabitance from *Lydia*. In the middest of them, one in a robe of purple, decked with rings & bracelets of gold, maketh diuerse shewes to moue laughter, as flouting of enimies. After him a multitude of Perfumers, and the generall among these Perfumers in a chariote, diuersly garnished, for it was set with gold and stone of great price. He was clad with a purple robe with barres of gold, after his Countrey maner, and a Scepter of Iuorie, and a laurel, which the Romane thinketh a token of victorie.

τ' πορίσαι. The Greeke worde sometime signifyed pyperi but here it is *Satis* after the *Tuscane* manner.

Laurel or Bay, dedicate to triumphes and to the gates of Emperours houses.

In the same Chariot be carried boyes and gyrles, and on eyther side going men that be of kin. Then follow they that haue bin scribes, ministers, and pages in the warre. After them the army in bandes and companies, with garlands and Laurell, euery man with his giftes according to his worthynesse: some of the rulers they praise, some they mocke, and some they taunt. For the triumph is priuileged, and lawfull to say what they will.

Priuiledge of triumph.

When *Scipio* was come to the Capitol, the triumph ceased, and he feasted his frendes as the manner is, at the Temple.

cc. iij. This

Thys ende had the seconde warre betwéne the Romaynes and *Carthage*, begonne in *Spaine*, and ending in *Libya*, with these conditions, about the hundred fourtie foure Greeke *Olympiade*.

Masinissa falleth out with the *Carthagies*.

Masinissa falling out with the *Carthaginians*, and trusting to the Romaines, toke a great part of the *Carthagies* lande, as belonging to him.

Partialitie of the Romaines.

The *Carthaginians* desired the Romaynes to agrée *Masinissa* and them. They sente arbitrours, with instructions to helpe *Masinissa* as much as they might. So *Masinissa* hadde the lande, and a league was made betwene them for fiftie yeares, in the whiche, the *Carthaginians* hauing peace, growe into great power and welth by the plentye of their ground, and trafficke of the sea: and againe, as men be wonte in prosperitie, were diuided, some for the Romaines, some for the people, and some for *Masinissa*. Of euery of these the chiefe in fame and vertue gouerned: for the Romaines, *Hanno Magnus*: for the people, *Amilchar Sānis*, and *Carthalo*: for *Masinissa*, *Annibal* called *Opsar*.

Factions in *Carthage*.

Celtiberia is that part of Spaine vvhich nowe they cal *Aragon*.

Boetarch vvas an office of the state hyeer as appeareth in *Plutarch*.

They wayting the Romaynes being at warre with the *Celtiberians*, and *Masinissa* at debate with other *Iberians*, perswaded *Carthalo* the *Boetarche*, and for that office going aboute the countrey, to make a fray vpon such as kept the land for *Masinissa*. He killed some of them, and chased the other, and stirred the *Libyans* of that Countrey againste *Masinissa*, and many conflictes were betwéne them, till the Romaines sent other ambassadours to agrée them, to whome was sayde the like, that they should secretely fauour *Masinissa*: & they cōfirmed to *Masinissa* al that he had taken by this craft. They said nothing, nor they heard nothing, least *Masinissa* should haue had the worst: but being in the middest betwéne thē both, they held vp their hands: and thys was the cōmaundement, and the Attonement.

The Romaines partial.

To hold vp hands in the greeke phrase is to decide and determine.

Not long after, *Masinissa* called into controuersie the greate lande and playnes, of fifty Cities, which they cal *Tysca*, in the whiche the *Carthaginians* fledde againe to the Romaynes.

Tysca a country of fiftie Cities.

They promised to sende ambassadours, and deferred so long, till they thought *Massinissa* had the better. Then they sent the Ambassadours and *Cato*. They comming to the bateable land, required both partes to stande to their arbitrement. *Massinissa* was cõtent, bicause hée trusted the Romanes and got by them. The *Carthaginians* suspected, as them that before hadde iudged not rightly. They sayde the league made by *Scipio* néeded no iudgemente nor correctours, bycause there was no breach of them. *Cato, Arbiter.*

The ambassadours not allowed to iudge of parte, wente their waye, and diligentlye marked the grounde, verye well laboured, with great preparation, and when they went into the Citie, perceiued of what strength it was, and howe the people was encreased since *Scipio* hadde ouercome them, whiche was not long. Being come to *Rome*, they sayde they had not suspition ynough of *Carthage*, a Citie aduersarie, and a neighbour, that was exceédinglye increased. And *Cato* chiefliye sayde, that *Rome* coulde not be sure, nor in libertie, till *Carthage* was destroyed. The Senate vnderstanding it, mynded to make warre on the *Carthaginians*, but tarried for an occasion, and kepte their iudgement close. And *Cato* continuallye from that tyme, sayde in the Counsell, that *Carthage* muste not stande. But *Scipio Nasica* saide the contrarye, that *Carthage* muste be suffered, to kepe the *Romanes* in feare and good order. *Cato* against *Carthage.* *Scipio* contrary to *Cato.*

The peoples parte preuayling in *Carthage*, putte out the friendes of *Massinissa*, aboute the number of fourtye, and they made a decrée of banishmente, and sware the people, that they shoulde neyther receyue them agayne, nor suffer any spéeche to be hadde of their restoring. They being banished, fledde to *Massinissa*, and prouoked him to warre. Tumult in *Carthage.*

He sent his two sonnes, *Galossa* and *Misipsa*, to require them to receiue the banished men. The ruler shut the gates against them, least the kinsemen of the banished, might moue the people with their teares. Two sonnes of *Massinissa* sent to *Carthage.* *Amilchar Samnis*

And

And *Amilchar Samnis* laye in wayte for them, and set vpon *Geloſſa*, and killed ſome of his mē, and made him afrayd. Wherfore to giue occaſion of warre, *Maſiniſſa* toke the Citie of *Oroſcopa*, coueting it aboue the conditions.

Oroſcopia.

The *Carthaginians*, with fiue and twenty thouſande fotemen and foure hundred horſemen of the Citie, the ruler of ỹ prouiſion being Captaine, made warre againſt *Maſiniſſa*, and encamping nigh *Aſaſis* & *Sybas*, Captaines of *Maſiniſſa*, contendyng with the kings children, fledde from him, and ledde awaye fiue thouſand. *Aſdrubal* encouraged by this, camped nearer *Maſiniſſa*, and in the ſkirmiſhes had the better. *Maſiniſſa* to deceiue him, went backe by little and little, as though he had fledde, vntill he had brought him into a deſart field ful of hils and rocks, and voyde of victual. Then he turned and camped in the playn, and *Aſdrubal* ranne to the hils as the more ſurer, and then entended to come the next day to fight.

Captaines of *Maſiniſſa* reuolte to the enimies.

Scipio the yōger.

Scipio the yonger that afterwarde toke *Carthage*, ſeruing vnder *Lucullus* in *Celtiberia*, came to *Maſiniſſa* to deſire him to ſend Elephants, *Maſiniſſa* preparing his body for the fight againſte the next daye, ſente horſemen to receiue him and diuerſe of his ſonnes. He, by breake of day, ordered his army being. lxxx. yeares of age, ryding yet very ſtrongly, and leaping vppon the bare horſe, as the manner is of the *Numidians*, being a good captaine, and a fighting ſouldiour.

The age, ſtrēgth and valiantneſſe of *Maſſiniſſa*.

Numidians of long life.

The *Numidians* be moſt ſtrong, and among them that liue long, of moſte long life. The cauſe is peraduenture, that they haue no ſharpe winter, by the which euery thing is deſtroyed, nor the ſommer ſo hotte as the *Aethiopians* and *Indians*, therefore this region bringeth forth moſte ſtrong beaſtes, and the men be alwayes in the ayre and in laboure, they drinke little wine, and their diet is very ſimple and thinne.

Maſiniſſa on horſebacke, directed hys armye, and *Aſdrubal* brought his people, which were very manye, againſte him, for manye were come to hym out of the Countrey.

Scipio beholdeth the fight betwene the *Carthagies* and *Maſiniſſa*.

Scipio behelde the fighte from an hyghe place, as from a Theatre. He was wont to ſay that he had ſéne manye fieldes, but

but neuer none with ſuche pleaſure, for he alone without care ſawe a hundred and tenne thouſande menne fighting together, and he ſayde that only two beſide him, had ſeene the lyke warre at *Troy*. *Iupiter* from *Ida*, and *Neptune* from *Samothracia*. This fight continued from morning till night, and after many ſlayne on both ſides, *Maſſiniſſa* ſeemed to haue the better. *Scipio* met with him as he returned, and reioyced with him: he receyued him as an auntient friende, and ſhewed him all pleaſure he coulde.

Ida an hill in Troade.

When the *Carthaginians* heard that *Scipio* was come, they prayed him that he woulde make an ende betweene *Maſſiniſſa* and them: he brought them togither, and for the agreement, the *Carthaginians* offered *Maſſiniſſa* the lande they had at *Emporium*, and to giue him two hundred talents of ſiluer preſently, and eight hundred in time: and when he deſired the outlawes to be reſtored, they coulde not abyde to heare it. And ſo they departed doing nothing. *Scipio* returned to *Spain*, with his Elephãtes. *Maſſiniſſa* laye aboute the hyll of his enimies, wayting that no victual ſhould be brought them. There was none nygh hande, and to himſelfe, a great way off, it was brought with muche ado, and very little. *Aſdrubal* at the firſte, might haue paſſed thorow his enimies, hys armye beyng ſtrong and ſounde: but becauſe he was better ſtored of victuall than *Maſſiniſſa*, hée thought he would haue ſued for peace: and he tarried alſo, hearing that Ambaſſadours came from *Rome* to make peace: To whome it was ſayde: That if *Maſſiniſſa* were ouercome, they ſhould ende the matter, but if he had the better, they ſhoulde encourage him. And ſo they did.

Scipio is made *Vmper* betvvixt *Maſsiniſſa*, and the *Carthagies*.

Partialitie of the Romaines.

Priuie inſtructions giuen the ambaſſadours.

The famine conſumed *Aſdrubal* and the *Carthaginians*, who were ſo weake in bodie, that they could not force the enimie. Firſt they eate their beaſtes, then their horſes of cariage, then they ſodde their horſe gyrthes and eate them. Many diſeaſes toke them, as well for their euill ſuſtenaunce, as for their lack of labour, and heate of the yeare. For a multitude of men in a campe was thronged togyther in a little ſpace, and heate of *Libya*, and when woode fayled them to ſeeth their meate, they

Famine in the *Carthagies* camp.

burned their Targets. The dead men were not carried away, for *Maßiniſſa* would not ſuffer it, nor they were not burned for lacke of wode. The peſtilence was greate amongſt them, and daunger, for the ſauours and corrupted bodyes. The moſte part of the army died, and the reſte had no hope of life. Therefore they promiſed to reſtore to *Maßiniſſa* his runawayes, & to pay him 5000. talents of ſiluer in fifty yeres, & to receiue their banniſhed men contrary to their othes, & they to paſſe throughe one gate, by their enimies, only in their coates. *Celoſſa*, being yet greued with them for the iniurie they did him, whither by his fathers conſent, or of himſelfe, ſent the *Numidian* horſemē vpon thē as they wente away, to be reuenged of them, they neyther hauing armour to defend, nor ſtrength to flye, ſo that of. 58000. men fewe came ſafe to *Carthage*, and with them *Aſdrubal* the captaine, and other of the noble men. This was the ende of the warre betwéene *Maßiniſſa* and the *Carthagies*. Then followed the thirde and laſt warre of the Romaines in *Libya*. When the *Carthaginians* were thus weakened by the ouerthrow of *Maßiniſſa*, and their Cittie in moſt féeble ſtate, they were afrayde of *Maßiniſſa*, being at hande with ſo great an army, and of the Romaynes, euer their heauy enimies, and ſéking occaſion, for ỹ was done againſt *Maßiniſſa*, in neyther of the which they were decеyued: for as ſone as the Romaynes hearde of it, they appointed an army ouer all *Italie*, not ſhewing to what vſe, that they might be ready when they ſhoulde be called. The *Carthaginians* thinking to put away this occaſion, cōdemned *Aſdrubal* that was Captaine of the warre againſt *Maßiniſſa*, and *Carthalone* the *Boetharch*, and all other that were occaſions of it, putting the blame of the warre vpō them. They ſent ambaſſadors to *Rome*, that accuſed *Maßiniſſa*, and alſo accuſed theſe men, that ſo rathly and ſodenly made the buſineſſe, and brought the Citie into daunger of enimitie. One of the Senatours aſked them, why they did not puniſhe the authours of the warre at the begynning, but after they were ouercome, and had good will to make war again vpon vs, and ſought occaſion of it: to him they anſwered, that the *Carthaginians* in déed had not yet ſatiſfied the Romaines.

The *Carthagies* yelde to *Maſſiniſſa*.

The *Carthagies* ſlaine.

The third warre with *Carthage*.

Aſdrubal is condemned.

Boetharch was a chiefe office in *Thebes*, and *Beotia*.

Ambaſſadours from *Carthage* to *Rome*.

Romaines. Therefore being troubled againe, they asked if they were thought to offend, what they might doe to make amendes? They sayde thus, to this word: If you shal satisfie the Romaynes. Some thoughte, in debating what this satisfaction should be, that the Romaines would adde more money to that *Scipio* had appointed. Some thoughte to graunte *Massinissa* the lande that was in controuersie. Then they sente ambassadours againe to *Rome*, to knowe expressye, what would satisfie the Romaynes, to whom it was aunswered, that the *Carthaginians* knew well ynough, and so sent thē away. Then they were in doubt and feare of thys matter. *Vtica* was the greatest Citie in *Libya* next *Carthage*, hauing fayre portes, and a countrey plentifull to sustaine an army, lx. furlongs from it, & fit to make warre against thē: being in doubt of *Carthage*, & vttering their old hate against thē in time, sent ambassadours to *Rome*, to yelde *Vtica* to the Romaines. The Senate that before was enclined and prepared to this warre, by the comming of so myghtie and conuenient a Citie vnto them, opened theyr mynde, and being assembled in the Capitoll, where they were wont to consulte of warre, decrēde the warre againste *Carthage*. They sent out of hande the Consuls, *Marcus Manilius* with the fotemenne, and *Lucius Marcius Censorinus* with the nauy, to whome was giuen in secrete, that they shoulde not leaue the warre, till *Carthage* were taken.

The doubtful dealing of the Senate vvith the *Carthagies*.

Vtica is giuen to the Romanes.

The third vvar vvith *Carthage* is determined.

When they hadde sacrifised, they sayled into *Sicelie*, to goe from thence to *Vtica*. They had fiftie gallies, a hundered foysts, & many Crayers, Barkes and Hoyes. They had an army of .xc. thousand fotemen, and foure thousand horsemen, al of the best sort, euery citizen & confederate, being desirous to go to so noble a voyage, and many willingly put their names in the roll. Warning, and war it selfe was giuen the *Carthagies* by one messenger. For he carried the decrē of warre, and shewed the ships that sailed against thē. They wer amazed & in despaire, for want of ships, & so great a losse of their youth, neyther hauing confederates nor hired souldiers, nor victuals to endure a siege, nor any thing els in war soden & not proclaimed,

VVar made vvithout proclamation.

no? being able to reſiſt the Romaines and *Maſſiniſſa* tw. They ſent other ambaſſadors to *Rome* with ful autoritie, to ſatiſſie for the preſent, as well as they could. The Senate ſayd to them, if the *Carthaginians* within .xxx. dayes ſhall deliuer to the Conſuls that be yet in *Sicelie*, three hundred of your moſt noble children for pledges, and ſhall do in other things as they ſhal wil them, it is lawefull for *Carthage* to be frée and of it ſelfe, and haue all their lande in *Libya*. Thus they decréed openly, and gaue the *Carthaginians* the decrée, to cary to *Carthage*: but in ſecrete they ſent to to the Conſuls, to kéepe their former inſtructions. The *Carthaginians* ſuſpected this determination, that the peace wold not bée firme, though they deliuered their children: but being in ſuch a danger, nor hauing where to put their truſt, but with diligence to ſhew their readineſſe, they caried their children to *Sicilie*, their parents and their friends lamenting, ſpecially their mothers, the which, like madde women folowed their children and the ſhippes, and helde the ſouldiours and the Ancres, and pulled the tackle, and ſtopped the Marriners, and ſtayed the ſayles: ſome followed ſwimming a great way in the ſea, wéeping that they were taken from their children. Some vpon the lande, did teare their haire and beate their breaſts, as they are wonte in a funerall. For it ſéemed in worde, a deliuerie of children, for a conformitie, but in déede, it was a verye yelding of the Citie, their children being deliuered vpon no certaine condition: and many did prophecie in the deliuerie of their childrē, that it ſhoulde not profitte the Citie. This was the manner of the conueying of the children at *Carthage*. When they were come to *Sicelie*, the Conſuls ſente them to *Rome*. And there it was ſayde vnto them, that they ſhoulde heare the ende of the war in *Vtica*.

The Senate ſayeth one thing and meaneth another.

Euident double dealing of the Romanes.

The Romaynes arriue at *Vtica*.

The Romaines being come thyther, laye with their armye, where *Scipio* did before, their naupe harboured in the ports of *Vtica*. The ambaſſadours being come from *Carthage*, the Conſuls ſatte on high ſeates, the Colonels and Mariſhals ſtanding about them. The army on eyther ſide, in a greate length, apparelled with fayre armour, their enſignes they holde vppe, that

the

the Embassadoures might see the multitude of them. Then the Consulls commaunded silence with a Trumpet. The Trumpet called the *Carthaginians* to come neare. They were led thorough the long army, not very nighe the seate of State, but at a barre in the middest. The Consuls commaunded them to saye theyr message. They spake muche to moue pitie, and diuers things, touching the leagues made betweene them and the Romanes, & of *Carthage*, a Cittie of so long continuaunce, of people and power, & both by sea and land of most great dominion, which they spake not, (they saide) to extoll themselues, for in aduersitie it is no tyme to vaunte: but you (O Romanes) may be moued to reason and modestie by our sodaine mutation. They be beste that pitie them that fall, for they make their owne hope the better, that do not deale euil with them that be in misfortune. This is a thing fit for you & your modestie, to haue chiefly consideratiō of men, But if we haue founde you sharpe enimies, the misfortunes we haue suffered, maye satisfie you, whiche are spoyled of the power we had by sea and land, and haue gyuen our ships to you, and made no moze, and haue refrained from hunting and possessing of Elephants, & haue giuen our best pledges both before and now, and haue payed our tributes truely, whiche were wont to receiue of other. And this was sufficient to youre fathers, with whom we made warre, who, when they hadde made peace with vs, vsed vs as friends and confederates. The othe that is made in a league, is alike to both: and they were faythful to vs in peace, after we had made an end of war. But you, with whome we haue not contended, what can you alledge for breaking of couenants, or that you should so sodainely decree war, & come vppon vs, before it was proclaymed? haue we not payed you our tributes? haue we ships or Elephants to be enuied? are we not to be pitied, that of late lost fiftie thousand men by famine? but we haue made war vppon *Masſiniſſa*, who is encreased by it, and all we haue suffered for you, for beyng rigorous and iniurious to vs, and to the soyle in which he was nourished and brought vppe. He gote from vs oure lande at *Emporio*, whiche when he hadde, he inuaded moze, till agreement was

Embassadoures of *Carthage* to the Consuls at *Vtica*.

Aduersitie.

Mutation of Fortune.

Auntient Romanes kept couenauntes.

Othe in league.

Emporia.

made betwéene hym and vs, by you: if this be the pretence of this warre, we condemned the offendours of him by proclamation, and sent Ambassadoures to you, that myght purge vs, and others after that, with ful power to make peace, as you would. What nédeth then, ships, and nauy, and army againste menne, not only confessing to haue offended, but yéelding themselues vnto you? That wée meant no deceite to you, nor refuse to suffer anye paine that you woulde put vppon vs, it appeareth plainelye, when we sent our best children in pledges to you, as you required, and that within .rrr. dayes, as the decrée commanded. The tenor of whiche decrée is, that if we deliuer oure pledges: that *Carthage* should be frée, and of it selfe, and enioy the land we haue. Thus said the Embassadors. Then *Censorinus* stode vp and said: What néede we shew the causes of war to you (O *Carthaginians*) séeing Ambassadors to *Rome*, and learning that of the Senate? what ye sayde vntruly of vs, that I will reproue. For the decrée is manifest, and we saide before vnto you in *Sicilie*, when we receiued youre pledges, that you should haue the reste of oure commaundements at *Vtica*. For the choice and spéedye bringing of your pledges, we praise you. What nédeth armour to them that kéepe peace purely? Deliuer all youre publike and priuate armoure that euery man hathe: Bring to vs youre shot and munition. Thus he saide. The Ambassadoures saide, that they woulde obey thys also, but were afraid, that *Asdrubal* béeing condemned by proclamation, and leading .rr. M. men, and encamping at *Carthage*, woulde resist it. The Consulls saide, that the Romanes would sée to that. Then they promised to deliuer this also: There was sent with them *Cornelius Scipio Nasica*, and *Caeus Cornelius Hispalus*: they brought forth .ij. C. M. harnesses, arrowes, & darts an infinite number, & slings that threw headed arrowes, and stones 2000. The sight of this cariage was faire & strange, so many wagons being carried of the enimies. The Ambassadours folowed them, and the best of the auntient sorte in the Citie, the priests and other of estimation, and all to moue the Consuls to chaunge, or to mercy. Being brought with that order to the Consulls, *Censorinus* that was more eloquent than hys

Decree, if pledges were deliuered.

The Romane Consull to the *Carthaginians*.

The *Carthaginians* deliuer their armoure.

his fellowe, stode vp, and with a seuere countenaunce, said thus: We praise you of *Carthage* for your obedience, and readinesse in deliuering both your pledges and your armour. To men in necessitie, short speeche behoueth. Forsake you *Carthage*, and dwel where you wil, four score furlongs from the sea, for we be determined to deface *Carthage*. Whiles he was saying thys, they held vp their hands with a crie to the heauens, and called vppon the Goddes, as men deceyued, and wished all euils vppon the Romanes, as mē that would die, or were beside themselues, or prouoke the Romanes into hate of the Embassadors. They fel vpon the earthe, and with their hands and heads did beate it, some tore their garments, and defiled their bodies, as driuen beside themselues. When the passion was passe, a great silence and astonishmēt appeared, as though they had bin dead. The *Romanes* were amazed, and the Consulls knew they were stricken wyth the strange commandement, & wold be in that passion for a time, perceiuing very well, that greatest griefs doe strike most vehemently at the first, but in time, necessitie causeth boldnesse to obey.

The *Carthaginians* are commanded to forsake the Citie.

Sodaine passion

Thus were the *Carthaginians* afflicted, and with their silence feeling greater matter, they ceased their disdainefulnesse, & fel to weeping and lamenting themselues, and their children, and their wiues by name, and their Country, as though it hadde hearde them, as a man, speaking many lamentable things. The priests called vppon their holy things, and their Gods, as thoughe they had bin present, laying their destruction vppon them. There was a confused and miserable mourning of them that broughte both publique and priuate things, that it made the *Romaynes* themselues to weepe. The Consulls were also stricken wyth suche humaine mutation, and with seuere manner abode the fulnesse of the matter.

When they had ceased weeping, they waxed silent again, considering that their city was naked and vnarmed, hauing neither ship, sword, dart, nor engine, nor mē sufficient to resist. I. M. being destroyed of late: straungers ayde had they none, nor friend, nor confederate, nor tyme. Their enimies had all, their children,

their

their armour, their land, and came armed againſte their Citie with Shyppes, fotmen, engines and horſe. *Maſſiniſſa* another enimye, was at their ſides. They refrained from rage and choller, as nothing profiting in calamities. They turned againe to reaſō. And *Hanno* that is called *Gylla*, obtaining licence to ſpeak, ſaid thus:

Hanno Gylla, to the Romanes.

If there be any regarde with you, (O Romanes) of oure former ſpæches, we would ſpeake, not as they that can bring forth any thing to iuſtifie vs, for there is no reſiſtaunce in tyme to the afflicted, but that you maye learne, it is not without reaſon or cauſe that you ſhoulde haue pittie of vs. We hauing dominion in *Libya* and the ſea, haue manye times contended with you for the Soueraintie, and at length gaue place to *Scipio*, when we deliuered our ſhips and Elephants to you, and agreed to giue you tribute, and gaue them in time. Then for the Goos that be iudges, ſpare vs, ſpare vs alſo for the othe that *Scipio* made vs, that the Romanes ſhould be friends and confederates to the *Carthaginians*. There is not, wherein we haue offended: we haue neither ſhips nor Elephants, nor haue lefte oure tributes, but wee haue taken your part againſt iij. Kings, and it ought not to diſpleaſe you, if wee ſaide thys before, when we deliuered you our armoure. For miſery maketh men ſpeake muche: nothyng is more ſtrong in ſupplications, than couenaunts made, nor wee haue any other thing for our refuge but words, ſeeyng we haue deliuered to you all oure ſtrength. Of theſe former thinges, *Scipio* (O *Romanes*) was our aſſuraunce. Of the preſent, you Conſuls be Authours and witneſſe with vs. You requyred pledges, and he brought them to you of the beſte ſorte. You requyred armour, and you haue it al, which they that are taken with ſiege, wil not willingly deliuer: we haue truſted the Romane cuſtome and manner, for the Senate commaunded vs, and you when you required pledges, ſaide that *Carthage* ſhoulde be free, when you hadde them, but if it were added, that we ſhoulde receyue the reſte of the commaundements, it is not right that you, affyrmyng in plaine ſpeche, that oure Citie ſhoulde bee free after the receit of the pledges, to appointe the ouerthrowe of *Carthage*

Philippus. Perſeus. Antiochus.

Miſery cauſe of muche ſpeache.

Miſery.

thage it selfe. If you thinke you may destroy it, how can you giue it libertie, or to be of it selfe, as you say? This wee haue to saye of the former league, and of that your selues haue done. If thys will not be accepted of you, wee giue ouer all, and that which is onely lefte to men in miserye, we flee to complainte and prayer: Much prayer is requisite for the multitude of euills. Wee beesæche you for the auntient Citie, inhabited by the Oracle of the Gods, and for the great glorie that it had, and the name that is spred ouer all the earth, and for the holy things that be so manye in it, and for the Goddes that haue not offended, whose solemnities, pompes, and feastes do not spoile, nor the sepultures and funeralls, since none of the deade men haue done you anye iniurie. If any pitie be in you, saying, you pitie vs, if you suffer vs to haue dwelling place, spare the place of publique assembye, spare the Countrey Ceremonies, spare the God of Counsell, and all other that to them that be aliue be fruiteful and honorable. What neede you haue anye feare of *Carthage*, when you haue oure Shippes, armoure, and our Elephantes that be enuied? Touching our habitation, if you wil so comfort vs, is it impossible for men that haue liued in the sea, to dwel in ỹ maine land? of them an infinite number doth occupy the sea. We giue you a choice more for our contentation, and your glorie. Suffer the Cittie to stande, that hathe hurte none of you, and kill vs, whom you wouldo haue remoue. So shall you seeme to be angry with men, and not with holy things, Gods and Sepulchres, and the Cittie that hathe not offended. You Romanes haue had regard of good fame, and rightwisenesse in all your workes, and you shewe modestie in prosperitie, add this you vse toward all that you take. Remembre *Iupiter* and the other Goddes, that yet haue *Carthage*, and doe not bring euills vppon you and youre children, do not blotte your good fame first vppon vs, nor deface youre glorye wyth suche an acte, euill to be done, and euill to bee hearde of, and begon first of you afore all other lyuing. There haue beene manye warres betweene the *Grecians* and the *Barbarians*, and manye betweene you *Romanes* and others, yet was there neuer anye that defaced a Ci-

tye,

'tie, giuing their handes afore fight, and deliuering their ar-
'mour and children, and if there be any hurte in the worlde, to su-
Reuengement belongeth to God. 'fer it patiently: Bringing to you the Goddes sworne, the for-
'tune of man, and the moste fearfull Goddes of reuengeaunce,
'to them that be in felicitie. Wee beseeche you not to dishonoure
'youre selues vpon our state, that hath prospered, neyther to bring
'youre felicitie into infampe: giue vs leaue, if you will not suffer
'vs to haue oure Citie, to sende Embassadoures againe to the
'Senate, to make intercession. You see a little distance of time,
'but bringing an heape of long torments in a shorte while, for
'the duety of the thing to come: For it is in youre power to doe
'what you will, either nowe or shortly after: Let pitie and hu-
'manitie be present with you. This said *Hanno*.

The Consulls euidently seemed sad all the while he spake, by-
cause they could graunt them nothing, and when they had made
an end, *Censorinus* said.

The *Romane* Consull to the *Carthaginians*. 'Of that the Senate hathe commmaunded, what nede wee
'speake much? for that it hathe commaunded, it must be obeyed,
'neither can we staye that they haue commaunded to bee done.
'For what we commaunde oure enmmyes to do, wee doe but
'speake it, and it muste be done. And bycause the common profit
'is in talke, bothe ours, and muche more yours, (O *Carthagini-*
'*ans*) I will not refuse to speake to you by reason, if you can be
Sea occasion of offence. 'perswaded rather than compelled. The Sea putting you in
'mynde of your power and dommion, stirreth you to offende, and
'by that to fal into aduersitie. For by that, you haue ouercome
Sicilie. 'Sicilie, which being done, you sayled into *Spaine*, and toke it in the
Spaine. 'tyme of truce: ye robbed all Marchaunts, and chiefly oures: and
'that it might not be knowne, ye drowned them, till ye were ta-
'ken, and paide *Sardinia* for a penaltie. So you lofte *Sardinia*, by
'the Sea, whiche naturally prouoketh all men to couet to much,
'bicause of the spedy commoditie of it. The *Athenienses* by be-
'ing Sea-men, didde winne muche and lofte all. For the Sea is
Sea like Marchauntes. 'like marchauntes gaines, it hathe great encrease, and is lofte
'at once. You know that they whome I nowe named, dilating

theyr

they? dominion from the *Ionian* sea, to the Ile of *Sicilie*, did not cease of coueting moze, before they hadde losse all their power, and giuen Portes and Shippes to their enimies, and receyued a garrison into their Cittie, and pulled downe their long wall, and then were made to dwell vppon the highe lande, the whiche saued the mosse parte of them. Surer is the life (of *Carthaginians*) vppon the lande, labouring the earth with quyetnesse, peraduenture the gaine is lesse, but surer. And lesse dangerous certainly is husbandry, than Merchaundise. And to me, a Cittie in the sea semeth rather a shippe than a lande, hauing muche tossing of businesse and mutabilitie. In the Inland, the profitte is without perill, as vppon the grounde. And for thys, the auncient Kingdomes for the mosse parte were in the middest, and of it, were the greatest made, as of the *Medians*, the *Assirians*, and the *Persians*, and others. But I wyll cease off examples of Kynges, whyche do not agree wyth you. Loke vpon youre owne *Libya*, in the whyche you shall haue neighboures, as you wyll chose, that you maye take awaye the sighte and memorye that stirre you to the thynges that nowe trouble you, when you loke to the Sea, voyde of Shyppes, remembring the number of Shippes you haue hadde, and the prayes you haue taken, and to what Portes you brought them plentifullye, and filled youre storehouses both of Shippes and Treasure-houses of all preparation. Whereto serueth youre walls, the receipte of youre armies, horses and Elephantes? Whereto is the memorie of them to you, but griefe and a stirring, to come agayne to the same, if you can? It is the affection of manne, by the remembraunce of former fortune, to hope to come againe to the like. The best remedy against euill fortune, is forgetfulnesse, which you cannot haue, except you take away the sighte. And thys is a manifest proofe, that beingmany times pardoned for the breache of your promise, you haue broke it stil, if you yet couet rule, & beare vs euil wil, that haue taken it from you, & wait your time: then haue you néde of such a citie, of such ports, & Arsenalls and walls to be made to receiue your army,

Athenienses lost all by coueting too much by sea

Gaine vppon land, lesse, but more sure.

A Citie in the sea like a shippe

The great Monarchies on the lande.

Forgetfulnesse remedie against misery.

‘ And why ſhoulde we pardon you, ſince we finde you ſuche ad-
‘ uerſaries? If you wil leaue your dominion in déede, not in woꝛd,
‘ rather than in ſentence, being content with the lande you haue
‘ in *Libya*, and minde to kéepe without diſſimulation with vs, do it
‘ & ſhew it in déede, go dwell in *Libya*, which you haue, and leaue
‘ the Sea, which you haue loſte. Neyther counterfaite pitie by
‘ holy thinges, countrey Goddes, common place, and ſepulchres.
‘ Whoſe ſepulchres ſhall remaine vntouched, and to make the ce-
‘ remonies to them, you may come and ſacrifice to youre holye
‘ Goddes if you will. The reſte we will take away. Foꝛ you do
‘ not ſacrifice in Arſenals, noꝛ ye make no yeare-minds vpon the
‘ walles, Altares, houſes, and Palaices, you may builde where
‘ you goe, and they ſhall fourthwith be youre Countrey: as you
Carthaginians come of Tyrus. ‘ left *Tyrus* and came into *Libya*, and that you poſſeſſed here, you
‘ call your country. And to be ſhoꝛt, learne, that we do not enioine
‘ you this foꝛ euill will, but foꝛ ſure agrément, and publique con-
Alba. ‘ coꝛde. If you can remember, that *Alba*, not an enimie, but a
‘ mother-citie, not of euill minde, but willing inhabitaunce, foꝛ
‘ the common pꝛofite, wée tranſlated to *Rome*, and it was pꝛofy-
‘ table to both people. But ye ſaye there be many with you, that
Sea men. ‘ woꝛke foꝛ theyꝛ liuing by the ſea. This wée haue foꝛeſéene, that
‘ you maye haue eaſie traffike by ſea, and maye carrye and re-
‘ ceiue verye commodiouſlye: foꝛ we put you not far from the
‘ Sea, but foure ſcoꝛe furlongs. Wée that do commaunde you
‘ this, bée a hundꝛed furlongs from it: wée gyue you a place,
‘ chooſe it your ſelfe, and when you are there, to bée of your ſelfe.
‘ Thys is it wée ſaide beforꝛe, that *Carthage* ſhoulde be frée, if thée
Men be the citie, and not houſes. ‘ obeyed vs. Wée thinke you to be *Carthage*, and not the ground.
‘ When *Cenſorinus* had ſaid thys, he ceaſed. The *Carthagines* being
‘ aſtoniſhed, ſaid nothing. Then he ſaide againe. I haue ſpoken
‘ what I thought might perſwade you, and comfoꝛte you. But
‘ the Senates commaundement muſte bée done, and that oute of
‘ hande. Therefoꝛe goe your waye, foꝛ yet you be Embaſſadoꝛs.
‘ Thus he ſpake, and they were remoued by the Sergeants. And
‘ foꝛeſéeing what might follow of it at *Carthage*, they deſired leaue
‘ to ſpeake againe, and béeyng bꝛought in, they ſaide:

Wee

We see your commaundement must be obeyed, for you will not let vs sende to *Rome*, we do not hope to returne to you, for we shall be killed of the *Carthaginians*, while we tell them your commaundement: we beseech you, not for our selues, for we be ready to suffer all things, but for *Carthage*, if it maye be driuen to suffer calamitie by feare, sende your shippes thyther, whiles we go, that hearing and seeing your cõmaundement, they may beare it if they can. Into such extreme necessitie, we are driuen, as we desire you to sende your shippes against our owne countrey. When they had thus sayde, they went their way.

Carthagies speak against.

Censorinus with twentie gallies, shoared about the Cittie. Some of the ambassadours fledde in the waye, the more parte wente on with silence. The *Carthaginians* loking for the ambassadours comming on the wals, were troubled with their tarriaunce, and some tore their heare, some wouldе not tarry, but went to mete them, so desirous to learne the trueth. When they sawe them heauye, they stroke their faces, and did aske some, of them al, some of their friends and acquaintaunce, and when they had saluted them, and asked them, and had none answere, they lamented, as in an euident distruction: and some that heard them from the wals, lamented with them, not knowing any thing, as in a manifest and gret aduersitie. At the entry of the gates, they had almost thrust one another to death, & almoste torne the ambassadours in pieces, but that this saued them, that they must first speake with the Seniors. Some left them, and some went on with them, desire vs to know with the sowrest. When they were entred the Senate house, the Seniors commaunded the other to auoyde, and they onely remayned, the people stode without. The Ambassadours shewed the commaundement of the Consuls. The Senate cryed out, the people without did the like. The ambassadours shewing further what they had alleaged to the contrary, and what prayers they had made to sende ambassadours to *Rome*, the Senate was in a deepe silence again, abyding to heare the ende, and the people was in silence also, but when they heard, they might not sende to *Rome*, they were turned into an exceeding shryking. The

Trouble in *Carthage* at the sight of the Ambassadours.

Fury of the *Carthagies*.

people ranne into them. Then fell they to a furye like madde men without reason, as the ministers of *Bacchus* be wont, which they saye, shewe their madnes in diuerse maners. Some were angry with the Senatours, which wer the cause why the pledgies were sent, and spoyled and tore them, as authours of the decept: some for letting the armor go: some misused the ambassadours, as tellers of euil newes, and dragged them aboute the Cittie. Some tormented the *Italians* that were yet there, the case being couayne and not proclaymed, sundry wayes, saying they were reuenged of their pledgies and armour. The Cittie was full of anger, feare, and threates. In the way, they called vpon their best beloued things, they fledde into the temples, as to Sanctuaries, they reuiled their goddes that coulde not helpe them. Other went to the armaries, and cryed when they found them empty. Some went into the Arsenals and lamented their shippes, as giuen to men without fayth, and called some of the Elephants by name, as they had bene presente: some rebuked their auncestours and themselues, that should neither haue giuen shippes, rentes, nor armour, but had dyed with their armed Countrey. And the mothers of the pledgies, did moste moue them to rage, which like vnto tragical Furies, ranne to euery man with shrykking, and obiected the deliuerie of their children, and their speaking against it, and tolde them, God did punishe them, for their children. A few, that were sober, shut the gates, and filled the walles full of stones in stoade of other weapons. The Senate decreed warre that day, and gaue libertie to bond men. They chose generals, *Asdrubal* for the outward affaires, that was condemned to death, hauing then togither twentye thousand men, and one wrote to him in haste to desire him not to forsake his afflicted countrey in extreame perils, nor to thinke nowe on the iniurie that was done him for feare of the Romaines. Within the walles, another *Asdruball* was chosen, a nephewe of *Massinissa* by his daughter. They sente to the Consuls for thirtie dayes respight to sende to *Rome*. Being denyed this also, they fell into a maruellous change of courage, whyther they shoulde suffer it, or leaue their Cittie, and

The feastes of *Bacchus* be shewed by tunes, for the dronken sort do differ little from mad folke.

The rage of the people of *Carthage*.

Carthage determined to stand to deffence.

The *Carthagies* are denied to send to Rome.

and forthwith, were filled with boldenesse, with a new change. The common houses, the publique Temples, and all the holy places, and euerie other worke of anye strength, they wrought vppon daye and night, men and women, not ceasling, and gathered victualles by partes, as the time did serue: euerye daye they made a hundred shieldes, three hundred swordes, and a thousand arrowes to shote, fiue hundred speares and pykes, and as many bowes and slinges as they could. The women shaued their haire to make strings for them, bycause they wanted other matter, and continued in this prouision. The Consuls, peraduenture stayed to beginne so monstrous a matter with leysure, thinking to take the citie vnarmed when they would, and supposed that they wold giue ouer for want, as in hard cases men be wont at the first to be earneste, but with time & reason being perswaded, giue place to feare, by ỹ whiche one of the *Carthagies*, supposing feare had possessed them, durste come into the common place, as though he would haue spoken of some other matter, & sayd, that they being vnarmed, ought to take the meaner euill, euen so playnelye speaking his sentence.

The marueilous diligence of the *Carthagies*.

Of euils the lesser.

Now was *Massinissa* angry & greuously offended with the *Romanes*, ỹ he bringing the *Carthagies* force vpõ their knees now he saw other run for the title, and came to the thing, not making him privy as they were wont to do in other warres. The Consuls likewise, hadde him in some suspition, and sent to him for ayde: he answered, he would send them ayde, when he shoulde vnderstande they had nede, and sending not long after, asked if they had anye nede. They not suffering his pride, and distrusting him as one offended, answered, they would sende to him when they needed. For victuall for the armye they hadde only from *Adrumeto*, *Leptis*, *Saxo*, *Utica* and *Colle*. All the the rest of *Libya* was *Asdrubals*, from the whiche, he sente victuals to *Carthage*. Being victualled for a fewe dayes, the Consulles marched to the Cittie of *Carthage*, prepared to fight.

Massinissa offended.

Massinissa offended vvith the Romaines.

The

The discription of Carthage.

The Citie standeth in a gret deepe gulfe, almost as an Iland: a place called a neck did diuide it frō the lād, 25. furlongs broade, from the which, a narrow piece of ground called a towne halfe a furlong broade, goeth to the weast in the middest of the pole and the sea, with a simple wall among the rockes, towarde the south lande warde, where the olde Citie *Byrsa* was. In the neck was a triple wall. Euerye one of these, was thirtie Cubites high, beside the battements, and towers, distaunt two acres asunder, staide by foure planchers, thirtie foote deepe, at the plācher was the higth of euery wall, and in it, being rounde and strong, three hundred Elephants were placed belowe, and the treasure of their store. Vpon the was stables for four thousand horses, with granaries for wheate and barley. There was receytes for men, twentie thousand a foote, and foure thousande on horse: so greate prouision of warre, was appointed to be placed in the walles only. One nooke about the narow part, did bow from the wall to the portes, which was only weake and lowe, not regarded at the beginning. They sayled out of one porte to another, and from the sea there was one entrye lxx. foote broade, which they did shut with chaynes of yron. The firste was for merchauntes, in the which were manye and diuerse places of receyt. Within this in the middest was an Ile, and both the Ile and the pole was compassed with greate holowe corners, the which were full of munition for shippes, able to receiue two hundered & twentie ships, and Cellers for preparation of shippes and gallies furniture: two pillers of *Ionian* fashion, stode before euery porte of shippes, like a gallery in the sight of them that passed by the Iland and the port. In the Ile was the store for the admiral, frō whēce the Trumpeter must giue warning, and the crier tel the time, and the Admirall se abroad. The Iland was right against them that sayled, drawn a great length, that the Admirall might se all in the sea, and they that sayled by, should not se the places of the portes perfectly. Neither could the Merchaunts in their port, se the store for the shippes. For a double wall was set about them, & gates did receiue the Merchaunts to go into the Citie, not passing by

One weake place.

The admirals port.

the

the storehouses of the shippes. At that time thus stoode the Citie of *Carthage*.

The Consuls diuided their businesse and came against their enimies. *Manlius*, from the lande, against the necke, to fil the ditch, to beate down the little wal, and so to approch to the high walles. *Censorinus* brought ladders both from the lande and the shippes, against the part of the bowing wall. They both made little accompte, as of vnarmed men: tyll they founde them to haue new armour, and great courage, at the wounder of the whiche, they gaue backe, and at the beginning fayled of their purpose, thinking to get the Citie without any fighte. The seconde time attempting, and againe reiected, the courage of the *Carthagies* encreased. The Consuls being afrayde of *Asdruball*, which had his campe at their backe not far off, at the pole, defensed both their campes. *Censorinus*, at the Pole, vnder the walles of the Citie, *Manlius*, in the necke, the way to the lande. And thus their camps being made strong, *Censorinus* with his, passed the Pole, for stuffe to make engines, where he lost fiue hundered workemen, and much armoure, *Imilco* the generall of the horse of *Carthage*, comming sodaynely vppon hym, who was surnamed *Phameas*. Yet getting matter, he made engines and ladders, and agayne they both gaue assault, and were repulsed.

The Consuls against *Carthage* by sea and land.

Imilco. *Ceforinus* loseth men.

The Romaines haue three repulses.

Manlius beginning a little, and hardly breaking any part of the wall, dispayred and left it off. *Censorinus* filling a trenche next the narrow earth at the Pole, to make it the more passable, brought two greate engines that caried rammes, the one was heaued with fiue thousand footemen, the Colonels guiding it, the other of the Mariners by the conduct of the Admiralles. And contention being which should doe best, both of the Capitaines and souldiours, a piece of the wall was throwen down, and they might see into the Cittie.

The *Carthaginians* to repulse them, repayred the breach in the night: and because they could not finishe all by night, and were afrayde, that that was already done, shoulde be throwen down in the daye by the Romaynes engines, being newe made and

grẽn, they ranne vpon the engines of the enimies, some armed, some naked, hauing only burning lampes. They burned not all, bycause they could not preuent the Romanes, but that they came out: yet they made them all vnprofytable, and returned. Day being come, the Romanes had boldnesse to assault ẏ place that was fallen & not fully made vp: for within apeared a plain fit for to fight, in the fronte of the which, the armed *Carthagies* stode, & behynde, the vnarmed, with stones & staues: & other placed in the nert houses, to entertaine the approching enimie, the which, seing such contempt of naked men, leapt in boldly. *Scipio* (that not long after destroyed *Carthage*, & was called *Affricane*,) being a Marchall at that time, stayed, & diuiding his bands into many partes, and standing a distaunce from the wal, would not let anye of his to enter the Citie, but receyued them that were driuen out by the *Carthaginians*, and saued them. And this was the beginning of his glorie, appearing more wise than the Cõsul. The army of *Censorinus* was sicke, lying at the Ferne ful of standing and corrupt water, & not receiuing winde from ẏ sea, bicause of the high wals. Therfore *Censorinus* remoued into the sea.

The *Carthagies* burn part of the Romanes engines.

Scipio shewyeth his vvisedome being an inferiour officer in the campe.

In this place is a vvant of text.

The *Carthaginians*, whẽ ẏ winde blew toward the Romanes, filled their boates with flare and brushe, within the wals, that the enimyes should not see it from the shippes, and when they came forth and should be sene, they layd on sulphure and pitch, and then set vp sayle, and threw fire into the vessels, the which being carried with the winde ẏ blewe luckily, into the Romane naupe, sette the shippes on fire and almost burned them all.

The *Carthagies* burne part of the Romanes nauy.

Not long after, *Censorinus* went to *Rome* for the election.

The *Carthagies* were the bolder vppon *Manlius*, and in the night some armed and some vnarmed carying bridges, assaulted the nert trenche of *Manlius*, and beganne to pull downe the rampire.

The souldiours within beyng troubled in the nighte time, *Scipio* came with his horsemen by a contrarye parte, where no enimies were, and feared the *Carthagies*, when he was comming vpon them, and they retired into the Citie.

In

In this fight the ſouldiours diſordered by night, *Scipio* was thought to haue ſaued them once againe very nobly, and *Manlius* kepte his campe more ſure, making a wall where the rampire was, and erecting a tower towarde the ſea, for the ſhippes that brought him victual. Then turning to the lande with ten thouſande fotemenne, and two thouſande horſe, he waſted the countrey, gathering woode, corne and victuall, and one Tribune after another, did ſerue the turne. *Phameas* the Captaine of the horſemen, being yong, and deſirous to fight and vſing little and light horſes, that were fedde with graſſe, when they had none other, and to ſuffer hunger and thirſte, when nede was, keeping ſecret in vallies and woods, whē he ſaw thē negligēt, came forth of the ſodayn, like an Eagle, and when he had ſpoyled, he retired, but whē *Scipio* cōmaunded ẏ army, he wold not apeare. *Phameas.*

For *Scipio* led his people euer in order, the horſemen keeping on horſebacke, and in his raunging, woulde not diſſolue hys order, before he had beſet the field which he would ſpoyle, with horſemen and armed fotemen. And he roade about with other bandes, and kepte in the forragers that lefte their companie, or went out of the compaſſe. Therfore *Phameas* wold not come vpon him. And this being often done, *Scipio* had great gloyre. The other Captaynes enuying, gaue out, that there was friendſhip betweēn the auncеſtours of *Phamea*, and the grandfather of this *Scipio*. The *Libyans* that fledde into towers and fortes, that were many in ẏ countrey, the other Tribunes would couenaunt with them to depart, & aſſaile thē as they went, but *Scipio* would ſend them home. Therfore there was ſuch a fame of his valiātneſſe and faith, as they would not truſt, except *Scipio* gaue his word, ſo as he was honoured both of his own & of his enimies. Comming from foraging, the *Libyans* aſſaulted the caſtle of the naury, in the night: & the cōfuſion being great, by the cries ẏ the *Carthagies* made, to cauſe ẏ more terror, *Mālius* kept his mē within, not knowing the matter. *Scipio* taking two bandes of horſemen, came forth with burning lightes, commaunding his men not to fight, becauſe of the darke, but onely to run about with the fire, to ſeeme ẏ more, & affray the enimy, ſo as the *Carthaginiās* The circumſpection of *Scipio.* Enuie againſt *Scipio.* *Scipio* inſt of promiſe.

being made afrayde both wayes, fledde into the citie. Thys also redounded muche to *Scipio* his glorie. Wherefore he was well spoken of by euerie man, and thought a worthy sonne, of *Paulus* that conquered *Macedonie*, and of the *Scipios*, into whose family he was adopted.

The progenie of *Scipio*.

Nepheris. *Manlius* going to *Nepheris* against *Asdrubal*, *Scipio* was not contente, seeing al woddes and hylly places, and the high places gotten before: and as they were three furlongs from *Asdrubal*, and coming to a riuer must ascend to *Asdrubal*, he stayd then, and counselled him to retire, and that another time and pollicie should be more fitte to match with *Asdrubal*. The other Tribunes speaking against him for enuy and malice, not thinking it good counsell to giue place in the sight of the enimye, whereby they might contemne them, and set vpon them as flying, hee againe desired them, to put their campe on the hyther side of the riuer, that if they were put to it, they might haue a place to resorte, where as nowe they hadde none, whereunto they might flye. They laughed at this, and one threatned to take away his sworde, if not *Manlius*, but *Scipio* did rule. Therefore *Manlius* went on, not verye skilfull in the warre. *Asdrubal* encountred with him, and there was greate slaughter on both sides. Then *Asdrubal* ranne into a castle where was no peril,

Scipios Counsel is reiected.

The Romanes are ouerthrowen by *Asdrubal*.

and wayted to set on them as they wente, who repenting that they had done, they retired to the flood in order, but the flood being hard to passe, because of fewe fordes and painful, they wer forced to breake their order. Whych, when *Asdrubal* saw, he came downe manfully, and killed many, that did not resiste, but fledde, and three of the Captaines were slaine, that brought the army to that conflicte. But *Scipio* with three hundred horsemen that he had, and as manye as he coulde get togither, diuided into three companies, gaue charge vpon the enimie with greate vehemence, by portions darting at them, and retyring then vppon them, and agayne returning. For so he tolde them, that halfe of them should assayle the enimies, and throw their dartes, as being in a circle. This being oft done, and the *Libyans* without any staye, being shotte at continuallye, and all

Scipio saueth the Consul and his army.

turning

turning vppon *Scipio*, the other had the leſſe trouble to paſſe the riuer. And *Scipio* rode after them, being ſtroke at verye ſore. Foure companies at the beginning of the fray being put from the foorde by the enimies, ranne to an hill, where *Aſdrubal* beſieged them, vnknowne to the Romanes, till they ſtayed. When they knewe it, ſome thoughte good to goe their waye and not to aduenture many for a fewe. *Scipio* tolde them, that before a matter is begonne, good counſell muſte be hadde, but ſo manye menne and enſignes being in daunger, the vttermoſte boldeneſſe muſte be vſed. He choſe certaine troupes of horſemen, and ſaid he would returne with them, or gladly die with them. He toke with him two dayes victuall, and ſtreight went forth, all the army being afraide, leaſt he alſo ſhoulde periſh. When he came to the hill where they were beſieged, he with great ſpeede toke an other hill ouer againſte it, diuided by a little valley. Then the *Libyans* didde giue an hote charge vpon them that were beſieged, thinking *Scipio* coulde not ſuccoure them, being in ſo long a iorney. But he ſeing the bottomes of the hills compaſſing the valley, did not omit the occaſion, but ranne and toke a place aboue the enimies. They beyng now beſet rounde aboute, fled without order, *Scipio* ſuffering them to go freely, bycauſe they were a great deale more than he.

Counſell before doyng.

Thus *Scipio* ſaued theſe alſo, that were in deſperation. When the army ſawe him come a farre off, beyng ſaued beyond hope, and hauing ſaued the other, they made great reioyce, and thoughte God wrought with him, as he did with his Grandfather, that ſeemed to knowe what was to come. *Manlius* led his army to the Cittie againe, putting great faulte in them that woulde not obey *Scipio*, when he counſelled to retire with the army. All were muche grieued, that they that were killed, laye vnburied, ſpecially the Tribunes. Therfore *Scipio* loſed a priſoner, and ſent him to *Aſdrubal*, praying him to bury the Tribunes. He ſought among the dead bodies, and found them by their rings of golde. For the Tribunes of an army weare gold, and the inferiours, yron. He buried them, either as an acte of humanitie, and comon among warriors, or reuerencing and ſeruing *Scipios*

Scipio ſaueth 4. bands that vver in daunger.

Opinio of Gods vvorking in *Scipio*.

Griefe for the vnburied ſouldioures.

Tribunes vvere rings of golde, the other of yron.

glozie.

When the Romaynes were come from *Asdrubal*, *Phamea* troubled them, being yet afraide of their losse. And some issued oute of *Carthage*, and killed some of their cariage.

At this time the Senate sent certaine men to sée the Campe, and to marke euery thing diligently. And *Manlius* and the counsel, and the Tribunes that were left, enuy beyng now extinct by vertue, & al the army, testified what actes *Scipio* had done for thē. The which, the Ambassadors at their returne, tolde the Senate what diligence and experience was in *Scipio*, and what good will of the army was toward him.

A general good reporte of *Scipio*

The Senate was glad of it. And because of their many losses, they sent to *Massinissa*, and required him to send friendlye aide to them againste *Carthage*. But he was not found of the Embassadors. For being decayed with age and infirmitie, and hauing many base sonnes, to whome he had giuen much, and three lawfull, of diuers conditiōs, he called *Scipio*, for the amitie that was betweene him and his grandfather, to be a counseller for hys children and kinsmen. He went oute of hande, but before hée came, *Massinissa* dying, commaunded his children to obey *Scipio*, as he shoulde take order for them. Which, when he had saide, hée died, a man in all thinges fortunate, to whome, God graunted to recouer his fathers kingdom from the *Carthaginians* and *Syphax*, and to encrease it from a greate parte of *Mauritania* by Sea, to the dominion of *Cyrene* by land, and caused a great portion to be inhabited. And many of the *Numidiās* that liued with heards, and vsed no tillage, he left them with treasures of mony and army well practised. Of his enimies, he toke *Syphax* prisoner with his own hand. Beyng the cause of the variance with *Carthage*, he left it weake to the *Romanes*. He hadde a body big, and strong of nature, to his laste age, and tried fight till hys death, and wouldo leape on horse without stirrops. And this may be a great coniecture of hys good health, for hauing many children, & they sometime dying, he hadde tenne little ones, and lefte one of foure yeares of age, when he was .900. years olde. Thus *Massinissa*, of these yeares and body, syed.

Massiniss. maketh *Scipio* hys executor.

Massinissa dyeth. A fortunate mā.

Cyrene, nowe *Corene*, conteyning the prouince of fyue Cities.

Massinissa of .900. yeares of age had a childe of foure yeares olde.

Scipio

Scipio gaue to the baſtardes, other gifts, to the Legitimate, treaſures and reuenue, and to haue the name of a Kyng common to them, and diuided other things among them, as he thoughte good. To *Micipſa* that was eldeſt, and moſte deſirous of peace, he gaue the Citie of *Cyrta*, and all the royall thinges in it. To *Geloſſa* that was a ſouldiour, and ſecond in age, he appointed to be the Lorde of peace and warre. To *Maſtanaba* the youngeſt, and giuen to Juſtice, he gaue the authoritie of iudgements and deciding controuerſies.

The order that *Scipio* tooke vpon *Maſſiniſſas* children. *Micipſa*, *Geloſſa*, and *Maſtanaba*.

Thus did *Scipio* diuide the kingdome and ſubſtaunce of *Maſſiniſſa* to his children, and preſently made *Geloſſa* a companion of the warre: and he founde oute the traynes, by the whiche, *Phameas* many times vexed the Romanes, and ſlayed them.

In a winter *Scipio* and *Phameas* encamped nighe togither, hauing in the middeſt a valley that could not be paſſed, nor doe any thing the one againſt the other.

And *Scipio* fearing that ſome traine might be laide before him, went to viewe it wyth three friends. When *Phameas* ſawe him, he came toward him with one. *Scipio* thinking he wold ſay ſomewhat, rode towarde him with one alſo. And when they might heare one another, *Scipio* ſaide: The *Carthaginians* being gone before why doſt thou not conſider of thine owne health, ſeeyng thou canſte doe nothing for the common wealth? Howe can I (quoth he) ſée for my ſafety, the *Carthaginians* ſtanding as they do, and the Romanes being ſo oft hurte by me? I promiſe thée (ſaid *Scipio*) if I be worthy to be truſted, ſafetie and forgiueneſſe of the Romanes, and to haue thankes. He accepting him to bée moſt worthy, ſaide: I thinke ſo of thée, and if it be poſſible thou canſt tel, and ſo they departed.

The talke betwene *Scipio* & *Phameas*.

Manlius being aſhamed of the loſſe he had of *Aſdrubal*, marched againe to *Nepheris*, taking with him xv. dayes victualles, and being at hande, made a trenche, and encamped (as *Scipio* counſelled him) in the former iorney. And doyng no good, he was in a more feare and greater ſhame, leaſt *Aſdrubal* ſhould come vpon him, as he went away. And whiles he was in this doubt, one of *Geloſſas* army brought a letter to *Scipio*, and he deliuered it

A newe rodde of *Manlius* to *Nepheris*.

A letter to *Scipio*.

ſealed

sealed as it was, to the Generall. When they had opened it, they founde thys. Suche a daye I will take suche a place, come thou with as many as thou wilte, and bid the foremoste watche, receiue him that shall come in the night. The letter without anye name saide thus muche. *Scipio* thought it was touching *Phameas*. *Manlius* was afraide of *Scipio*, leaste he shoulde be deceyued of a man that was all bent to deceites. But when he sawe him haue good hope in the matter, he sente him, willing him to giue assurance for *Phameas* safety, but for his thankes, to determine nothing, but to promise him that the Romanes shoulde consider of him. There was no nede of suche premises. For when *Phameas* was come to the place appointed, he trusted *Scipio* for his safetie, giuing him his right hande: and as for thankes, let the *Romanes* consider it. When he had said thus, he determined to fighte the nexte day, & going before with his Captains, as to consider some other matter, he said: If I could any longer helpe my country, I am ready: But that standing as it doth, I am to forese for mine owne safety, hauing receyued assurance for my selfe, I will receiue it for you, that will be performed by me: nowe is the time for you to consider for your selues. Thus he saide. Some of the captaines with their bands yelded, and were in number. 2200. horsemen. The rest, *Manno*, called The White, did retaine. When *Scipio* came, *Phameas* army met with hym, and extolled *Scipio*, as in a triumphe. *Manlius* beyng very glad, not thinking any longer his returne to be rebukefull to him, nor afraide that *Asdrubal* woulde folow him, he remoued streight for want, being nowe the .xviij. daie, appointing but .xv. and so muste suffer paine for three daies *Scipio* taking *Phamea* and *Geloſſa*, with their horsemen, and certaine *Italians*, went to a field called the Great Dungeō, and from thence brought much pray and victuall for their camp by night. *Manlius* vnderstanding that *Calphurnius Piso* shold come as his successor, sēt *Scipio* and *Phamea* to *Rome* afore, and the army following *Scipio* to the ship, praised *Scipio*, and prayed he might be sent Consul into *Libya*, as he that only could ouerthrow *Carthage*. For it was an opinion among thē proceēding from God, ỹ only *Scipio* could conquere *Carthage*. And many wrote so to their friendes,

Phameas yeldeth to *Scipio*.

Phameas to hys Capitaynes.

Manno the vvhite.

The great dungeon.

Scipio and *Phameas* to *Rome*.

The peoples opinion of *Scipio*.

frends in *Rome*. The Senate commended *Scipio*, and honored *Phameas* with pretious gifts of golde and purple, and an horse trapped with golde, and an armour for his whole body, and .x. M. siluer drammes, & an hundred pound waite of siluer plate, and a tent & furniture according, and badde him hope for better gifts, if he did his endeuor in the rest of the war. He promised so to do, and sailed into *Libya* to the Romanes camp. At the Spring, *Calphurnius Piso* the Consul came, & with him, *Lucius Mancinus* to the nauy. They neither did any thing against *Carthage* nor *Asdrubal*, but besieged Cities, & were driuen frō *Clupea*, when they had beset it both by sea and land. *Piso* toke another city nigh, & spoiled it, offring to come to accorde. From thence they went to *Hyppozareta*, a great Cittie, wel walled, with a Castle, Ports, ships and houses, which *Agathocles* the Tyrante of *Sicilie* did builde very fayre. It was in the middest betwēn *Carthage* & *Libya*, whiche robbed the Romanes prouision by sea, & therfore was very rich. *Calphurnius* thought to punishe the same, and to take awaye the profit, but being at it an whole sommer, did no good, & they twice sallying oute with the helpe of the *Carthaginians*, burned the engins of *Calphurnius*, and he hauing done nothing, retired to *Vtica* to winter. The *Carthaginians* hauing *Asdrubals* army safe, and they the stronger for the fight, with *Piso* at *Hyppozareta*, for *Bythias Nonius* was fled to them from *Gelosa* with eight hundred horse, & seing that *Micipsa* and *Mastanaba* the sons of *Masinissa*, did euer promise the Romanes armor and money, and deferred and loked for the ende, were encreased in their harts, & went boldely about *Libya*, winning grounde, & speaking euill of the Romanes, in the assemblies of euery citie, shewing their faintnesse at *Nepheris* twice, & what they had lately losse at *Hyppagreta*, & could not yet get *Carthage*, beyng vnarmed and vnprouided. They sent to *Micipsa* and *Mastanaba*, and to the frē *Mauritanians*, exhorting them, and also shewing them, that they were in daunger, if the Romanes ouercame them. They sent some into *Macedonia*, to him that was thought to be the sonne of *Perseus*, & at war with the Romanes, and persuaded him to follow the warre earnestly, & they should not lacke ships nor money frō *Carthage*. And

Hyppozareta. This citie of *Hippo*, was builded of the horsemen, and was the Country of *S. Austen.* An other *Hippo* was builded in the Fenne, and called therfore, *Diutus*, builded also by the horsmen.

They burne the Consulls munition.

Bythias reuoleth to the *Carthaginians*

The *Carthaginians* procure frendes.

The lustinesse of the *Carthaginians*.

in summe, set not a little by themselues, now that they were armed, but encreased by degrée, in harte, courage and preparation.

Asdrubal vvith out, accuseth *Asdrubal* vvithin.

And *Asdrubal* for his parte, was aloft to, chiefe of the warre abroade: for ouercomming *Manlius* twice, and coueting the rule of the Cittie also, did accuse *Asdrubal* the Generall of it, to the Senate of *Carthage*, beyng nephewe to *Gelosso*, that he would betray *Carthage* to him. When he was examined of thys matter, and for the sodaine, could not answere for hymselfe, he was killed with the seates of the house.

Asdrubal vvithin is killed.

When the small doings of *Piso*, and the prouision of *Carthage*, was tolde at *Rome*, the people was grieued, and feared that if the warre encreased, beyng greate, continuall and at hande, they couide loke for no rest, bicause they had broken faith vvyth them before. And remembring the actes that *Scipio* had lately done in *Libya* when he was a Tribune, and comparyng them, with the present, & the letters that were sent from the Camp euery man to his frendes, they required that *Scipio* might be sente Consull into *Libya*, for the Election was at hande. But the lawe forbad *Scipio* to be Consull yet, bicause of his age. He desired to be an Edile, but they would haue him Consul. Which beyng against the Lawe, and the Consuls bringing forth the Lawe, they were grieued and offended, affirming, that by the Lawes of *Romulus* and *Tullius*, the people was Lorde of the Elections, and might allowe and disallowe what Law they would.

Ediles had rule of houses and prouision.

Authoritie of people.

In the ende, one of the Tribunes saide, if the Consuls would not agrée to the people, they would take the Election from the Consulls. So the Senate perswaded the people to breake the Lawe for one yeare, and then to resume it againe. As the *Lacedemonians* in a necessitie dissolued a Lawe for them that were taken at *Pylo*, and saide: Let the Lawes sléepe for thys daye. So *Scipio* desiring to be Edile, was made Consull, whose fellowe *Drusius* required to allotte the prouinces, til one of the Tribunes saide, that the iudgement of prouinces, was the peoples, the whiche people chose *Scipio*.

Scipio is chosen Consull before his tyme, and the Lavve broken for one yeare, by example of the *Lacedemonians*.

Pylus a cittie or tvvo in *Peloponneso*.

Scipio is appointed to *Libya* by the people.

An army was giuen him of ordinarie, so many as might supplie the number of the deade, and to take as manye confederates

as

as he coulde perswade, and to write to Kings and Cities in the people of *Romes* name, as many as he thoughte would send him aide. So had he helpe from Cities and Kings. He went into *Sicilie*, and from *Sicilie* to *Vtica*. *Calphurnius Piso* made war in the land, and *Mancinus* lay at *Carthage*, a parte of the wall he perceiued to be neglected, where were rocks that could not be attempted. He thinking he shoulde not be perceyued, prepared hys ladders to get the wall. He did so, and some of the souldiours went to it boldely.

Piso attempteth the wall.

The *Carthaginians* seeing them so fewe, despised them, and set open the gates that goe to the rockes, and ranne vppon the Romanes. And the Romanes driuing them backe, and following them, ranne into the Citie at the gate with them. Then making a crie of victorie, *Mancinus* leaping for ioy, and in other things rashe and light, with the other multitude leauing their Shippes, ranne to the wall, halfe armed and naked. The Sunne nowe being ready to set, they toke a forte before the wall, and rested.

Mancinus giueth a rashe attempt.

And *Mancinus* wanting victuall, sente to *Piso* and the rulers of *Vtica*, to helpe him in his daunger, and to bring him swde with spéde. So was he in daunger, least by breake of daye, the *Carthaginians* should throwe him headlong from the rockes. *Scipio* that night came to *Vtica*, and at midnight, vnderstanding what *Mancinus* had written, sounded to the battaile, & sent the messengers to call the seamen of *Italie* and *Vtica*. He bad the auntients carye victualls into the gallcis, and deliuered a prisoner of *Carthage*, to go tell them that *Scipio* was comming. And he sent to *Piso* horsmen after horsmen, to call him awaye with all spéde. When the lasse watch was come, he commaunded to sayle, and they to stand right vppe in the decktes, to séme the more to the eyminyes. Thus he did.

Mancinus in danger.

Scipio at his arriuall doth a feate.

Mancinus, when the *Carthagies*, early in the morning fel vpon him, cõpassed three thousãd being naked, with only fiue hundred which he had armed: being hurte and beaten of them, he was driuen into the rockes of the wall. Then *Scipios* Shippes were séen, sayling with al force, & euery where ful of armed souldiors.

Mancinus is hurt and beaten.

The *Carthaginians* hearing it by the prisoner, did not thinke the contrary, and brought the Romanes an helpe vnlooked for. The *Carthaginians* giuing place by little and little, *Scipio* receiued the Romanes that were in danger, into his ships, and by and by sent *Mancinus* to *Rome*. *Serranus* was seene to be his successor in the nauy. *Scipio* encamped not far off *Carthage*. The *Carthaginians* comming fiue furlongs oute of the towne, made a trench against him. And to this trenche came to them, *Asdrubal* the Captaine of the army abroad, and *Bythias* Captaine of the horsemen, leading fiue thousand footemen, and a thousande horsmen, practised with time and diligence. *Scipio* perceiuing no order, nor good rule among the souldiours, but giuen to violence, & spoyle, and rauine vnder *Piso*, and an other straunge multitude among them, that for spoile followed the bolder sorte, and ranne wyth them to robbe, going without warning, where the law of war taketh him for a forsaker of the army, that goeth without the sound of the Trumpe: and what offence they make, is imputed to the whole army: and the desire of spoile to be occasion of other euils and contention among them. Many contemning their fellowes for lucre, made murders, hurtes and mischiefe against the lawes, the whi:he *Scipio* considering, & thinking neuer to ouercome his enimie, except he coulde rule his owne, called them by an assemblye, and goyng vp to the highe seate, thus rebuked them: When I was a souldior wyth you vnder *Manlius*, I gaue you experience to witnesse of mine obedience: the which now being Generall I require of you, hauing power to punishe the disobedient to ꝑ vttermost, I haue thought it good to warne you: You know what you do, and what should I speake that I am ashamed of: Ye rob rather than make warre: yea, and you scatter, not encampe, and be like fakers of pray, & not siegers of Cities. You will liue delicately, yet being in warre without victorie. Whereby the enimies power beyond all hope, the little tyme that I haue bin away, is growne so greate, that by thys negligence, my labour is growne the greater. The causes, if I diode find to be in you, I woulde punishe them oute of hand, but because I impute them to an other, I nowe forgiue all you haue done

Scipio saueth all mens.

Serranus.

Asdrubal Bythias

Lawe of armes.

The exhortatiō of Scip. to the souldiours that were out of order.

done till this time. I come not to rob, but to conquer: not to get mony before victorie, but firste to beate mine enimies. Goe you al from the army this day that be no souldioures, except them that shall haue leaue of me to tarry: and they that do go, I wil not suffer to come againe. till they bring some victuall fit for the camp & good. A time shall be appointed, in the which they shal place their things, & the price of them, I, & the treasorer, shall appoint. And this be saide to the superfluous. But to you that be my souldiors, let one cõmandement be common to you all, in al affaires, that is, my maner & labor. For if you follow them, you shal not erre in youre enterprises, nor be voide of thankes. For nowe we muste labour where perill is. Lette lucre alone, till a fitte time maye serue vs to be merye. Thus doe I commaund and the law. and they that will be obedient shal be partakers of muche good, and they that be disobedient, shall repent. Thus *Scipio* said, & by and by put away al ỹ multitude of vnprofitable me, & with them, al things that wer superfluous, daine, and delicate. His army being purged, & with reuerence readie to do his commaundement, he attempted a place called *Megara*, in two places in one night. *Megara* is a very great place in the Cittie, ioyning to the wall, into the whiche sending other about, he went with pike-axes, ladders & bars, vnsen, & with silence. Whē they aboue heard them come nere, they made a crie from the wall, he made the countre crie firste, & after him the army, & in diuerse parts it was made very great. This was the first feare the *Carthaginians* had, so many enimies in the sides of them, so sodainely being come vpon them. He coulde do no good against the wall, though he proued al wayes, but he gote a Tower, of a priuate Citizen, voide, without the wall, & as high as the wall, by the courage of his yong men, which drove away the watch from the wall with their darts, & laying bridges & plankes the space betweene, gote into *Megara*, and breaking down the gate, let in *Scipio*. He entred with fifty. M. men & the *Carthaginians* fled into *Byrsa*, as the reste of the Cittie had bin taken. There was a strange crie and tumulte, some were taken, & some left their camp without, & ran with other into *Byrsa*. *Scipio* bycause *Megara* was full of Orchardes &

Examples good lesson.

Megara one of the strong places of *Carthage*.

Scipio gayneth a Tower.

Great alteratiõ in *Carthage*.

groues of fruite, diuided with hedges, and sets and briers, and with riuers running diuersely, fearing least the army following him, shoulde finde a troublesome passage without waye, and ignorantly going in ỳ night, might haply fal into some traynes, blew the retreate. When day was come, *Asdrubal* being angry with the taking of *Megara*, as many prisoners as he had of the Romaynes he brought them to the wall, where the Romaynes might see what shoulde be done, he pulled out their eyes, their tongs, the snowes, and priuie members, with hookes of yron: of some he pulled of the skinne of their bodye: some he cutte the soles of their feete: of some he cut of the fingers, and threw them downe being yet aliue, shewing there was no hope of concorde betweene the Romaines, and the *Carthagies*. Thus did he stirre them to haue their hope only in fight. But it came otherwise to passe than he thoughte, for the *Carthagies*, by conscience of these horrible actes, were made fearefull in steade of bloud, and they hated *Asdruball* that hadde taken awaye hope of pardon, and specially the Senate who exclaymed agaynst him, as one that committed so cruell and proude dedes, in the countries calamitie. But he toke certaine of the Senate and killed them, and being waren fearefull toward all, was rather a Tiranne, than a Captaine, as he that had his safety only in this, to be terrible vnto them, and therefore waxed intollerable.

The crueltie of *Asdrubal*.

Cruelrie oute of time.

Scipio burned the campe of his enimies, which they left when they fled into *Byrsa*, and hauing gotten the grounde betweene the water, he trenched it from sea to sea, separate from the enimie, as far as they might casse a darte. They resisted it, and the worke was from the head, fiue and twenty furlongs, and was fayne to worke and fight at once: When he had finished this, he made another ditch equall to it, not farre from the former, drawing it towarde the land, and after that, two more, that his whole trenche was a quadrate. He made it strong with pale sharpe at the end, and at the pale, he made other ditches. That part that was towarde *Carthage*, he fensed with a wall fiue and twenty furlongs, in higth twelue foote, besides towers e holds, which were set with a distaunce on the wal. The breadth was

The *Carthaginians* flee into *Byrsa*.

VVorkes of *Scipio*.

halfe

halfe so much as the bigth. The towen in the middest was highest of all, and in it a kope of woodde foure square, from the whiche he might see all that was done in the Cittie. This he dyd in twentie dayes and nightes, all the armye labouring, and working, and fighting by turne, and not greatly passing for their victuals. He brought the army within the trēch, which serued both as a long wall against the enimie, when he would, & to take the relefe that was brought to *Carthage* by land also: for except this part that was called the neche, the water dyd beate on *Carthage* euery where. And this was the chiefe cause of their hunger and destruction. For what the multitude of the Cittie had from the fielde, neyther coulde it be brought for thys siege, nor strangers comming to them, for the warre, only they had their victuall of *Libya*, a little, and by sea, when wynde woulde serue, the reste came by lande, the whiche waye after it was stopped, they were sore vexed with famine. *Bythias* that was the Captaine of horsemen, and was sent for victual a long tyme, neyther durst come neare, nor passe *Scipios* trenche, but seldome and slowly sent them fode by ship, albeit the Romanes naup, laye at the towne, not continuallye, nor many at once, bicause the sea was dangerous and tempestuous, and they could not approche the Cittie, the *Carthagies* being on the walles, and the waues being great there, bycause of the rocke. Therefore the Hopes of *Bithyas*, or if any merchant came for gaine caring nothing for perill, they obserued when the winde was greate, and made full saple, the gallies not being able to folowe them, when they were blowen in with such vehemence from the sea. And whatsoeuer these ships brought, *Asdrubal* distributed it, vpō thirtie thousād, which he had for the war, little regarding the other people: wherefore they were soare troubled with famine.

The great trēch that *Scipio* made

Straightnesse of victuall in *Carthage*.

The only vvay to victuall *Carthage*.

Asdrubal feedeth his souldiours.

When *Scipio* perceyued this, he purposed to shutte the mouthe of the porte towarde the Weaste, and not farre from the lande, hee made a long Trenche, beginning from the streighte betweene the Fenne and the Sea called the Tongue. He wrought in the sea, and stopped the passage,

Scipio stoppeth the port of *Carthage.*

passage, making it sure with greate thicke stones, that it should not be broken of the billow. And the breadth of the trenche, was foure and twenty fote, and square in the bottome. The *Carthaginians* at the beginning contemned the worke, as a thing asking long time, and paraduenture, impossible to be done. But the army applying it earnestly, ceasing neither daye nor night, they were afrayde, and digged out another mouth on the other side of the porte, into the midde sea, where no trench coulde come for the depth and behement windes: Women and chyldren digged within, and were not perceyued: and they made shippes of olde stuffe, both great and little gallies, leasing for no want of courage and boldnesse. They kepte all so secrete, that neuer a prisoner could tell *Scipio* what they did certainely, but that there was a noyse within their portes day and nighte not ceasing, but to what vse, they coulde not tell: till al being readye, the *Carthagies* brake open the mouthe by dawning of the daye, and then shewed with fiftie gallies, Foystes and Brigandines, and many other small vessels, wel set forth for terrour.

Carthagies come forth with a newe nauy, and lose their occasion. Fate vnresistable

The Romaines were so amazed at the sodayn opening of the mouth, and at such a company of shippes, that if the *Carthagies* had then set vpon the Romayne nauy, the men being occupied at the wall, and neyther Mariner nor other present to defend it, they mighte haue gotten al the same. But it was nowe come, that *Carthage* must perish. They made a shew only, with a bolde countenaunce, and returned. The thirde daye after, they came forth to fight, when the Romaines had their shippes and other thinges prepared to resiste. The crie and call being made on both sides, and courage shewed both of Mariners and maisters, the *Carthagies*, for their liues, and the Romaines for the full victory, there were many hurt and slaine on both sides, til it was midde day. In this fight, the little boates of the *Carthagies*, ran vnder the great shippes sides of the Romanes, and now brake at the stemmes, and nowe, the sternes and the oares, and did much other hurt, easily flying, and easily returning. The fighte being doubtfull, and toward nighte, the *Carthagies* thoughte it

The fight on the sea by the *Carthagies.*

Carthagies gine place and confounde themselues.

good

good to retire, not as ouercome, but to prepare themselues a-gainst the next day. The small vessels fledde first, and shutte the mouth, being altogither, so as the great shippes were put from the mouth, and fledde to the trenche, whiche was made for the Merchaunts before the wall, large to receyue the packes of ỹ occupiers, and a little bray was made in this warre, that the enimies should not plant in so playne a place. To this trenche, the *Carthagies* shippes fledde, for lacke of a porte, and stode with their stemmes against their enimies, whom some resisted from the shippes, some from the trenche, and some from the bray. The Romaynes easilye gaue onset vppon them, bycause they fought with shippes that stode: but their departing, for the turning of their long shippes, was slow and hurtful, so as they had little aduauntage, for when they turned, they were beaten of the *Carthagies*.

A feate of the *Sidents*.

Fiue shippes of the *Sidents* that accompanied *Scipio* for good will, renued the fight in this wise: They let fal their ancres alose off in the sea, and maying their longest Cables, being fast moored, charged their enimie, and when they had encountred them, shortning vp their Cables, retyred backe, and so haled forward and backewarde, alwayes fighting with their faces vpon the enimie.

The rest of the nauy, seing ỹ deuise of the *Sidents*, folowed it, & did their enimies much hurt, night making an end. The rest of the *Carthage* shippes fled into the Citie. *Scipio* by day toke the trench, for it was a place fitte to annoy the port. Therfore beating the bray with his rammes, and bringing manye engines, he toke part of it. The *Carthagies*, although they were afflicted with famine and diuerse euils, they ranne vpon the Romanes engines in the night, not by lande, for there was no way, nor by shippe, for the sea was shallowe, but naked, with linckes not light, that they should not be seene a far off. They came by sea where no man would haue thought, some to the breastes waded in the shalowes, some vpamme, til they came to the engines, they threw the fire, and were perceyued, receyuing much hort, bycause they were naked, and did much by their boldnesse, for being stroke on the breasts and faces, with dartes and speares,

The *Carthagies* run vpō the Romanes munition with desperatenesse.

they woulde not giue place, as wilde beastes offering themselues to the strikers, til they had set the artillery on fyre, and driue the Romanes away that kepte them with confusion, as there was suche feare and trouble in the Camp and whole army, as hadde not beene before, and all by the furie of naked enimies. Wherefore *Scipio* being afraide, came forth with his horsmen, and commaunded to beate them down that would not leaue their flight, And some he beate downe and killed, till they returned to the Camp, for necessitie to saue themselues, and watched that night in armes, fearing the desperation of the enimies, who when they had burned the artillerie, swamme home againe.

Feare in the Romanes Campe.

Scipio is forced to kil his owne soldiors to kepe them frō flying.

When it was daye, the *Carthaginians* being sure from the engines, builded vppe the fore parte of the wall againe, and made many Towers vpon it, by a certaine distaunce. The Romanes made other engines, and erected a trenche against the Towers, making fire worke of pitche and sulphure, and threw them vpon ȳ enimie. And when they had burned many of the Towers, they chased the *Carthaginians* that fledde. But where the ground was slippery with bloud and myre, they left the chase of themselues.

The *Carthagies* trenche goteen.

Scipio endamageth the *Carthaginians* by lande.

Scipio hauing got all the trench, compassed it with a ditche, wyth a wall of stone, not verye neare, nor farre off the enimies. And when the wall was vppe, he put in foure thousand, whiche did not much passe of the enimie, throwing dartes and weapons vpon them with contempt, and bicause they were of like heigth, they were sure to hit them. And thus the Sommer was spente. Winter being come, *Scipio* determined to take from the *Carthaginians*, al the power and friends that they had by lande, and sente some one way, and some another, & he himselfe went to *Nepheris* by water, where *Diogenes* that fauoured *Asdrubal*, lay in camp, and sent *C. Lelius* thither by land. Whē they were come, they encamped two furlongs from *Diogenes*. There he left *Gelossa* to molest *Diogenes* continually, and returned to *Carthage*, & so vsed to go betweēn *Carthage* and *Nepheris*, to see the doings. Two of *Diogenes* Towers fel, wherfore *Scipio* went and laid a .40. choice souldiors behind in an ambush, and brought .3000. tried men against the front, & willed them to giue the assault at the broken towers, not al at once, but by ranches, stil following one another, that the former being putte backe, should not hinder them that followed.

The assaulte at *Nepheris*.

The Crie being greate, and the fraye hotte, al the *Libyans* turned to the defence, thē the thousand, as was appointed thē, came forth, and were not sēne: and when the first were entred they were sone perceyued: wherfore the *Libyans* fled, not seing how many they wer, but thinking they had bin many moe thā they were. *Celesa* set vpon thē with his *Numidians* & Elephāts, and made great slaughter, so as there were killed, lxx. M. with them of the countrey, & 10000. taken, and 4000. fled. Thē was the Citie of *Nepheris* taken, in xxij. dayes with great difficultie, for the winter and the moyst place: & this feate did chiefly cause the destruction of *Carthage*. For this army sent them victuals, & by this campe, the *Libyans* were the bolder to come abrode, but when it was taken, the other places of *Libya* yelded to *Scipios* Captaines without any businesse: and victuall was to seke at *Carthage*, neyther having it out of *Libya*, being an other mans power, nor by sea, because of the war and winter season.

Nepheris taken vvith a great slaughter.

Victual kept frō *Carthage*.

In the beginning of the spring, *Scipio* set vpon *Byrsa* the port called *Agatho*, *Asdrubal* in the night burned that part of *Agatho* that was quadrate, and thinking that *Scipio* would have come vpon him there, he being ready to resist with the *Carthagies*; *Lelius* on the other side, set on that part which was round. And shoute being made as in a victorie, they were afrayde, and the Romanes without dreade, clymed vp, and set their beames, engines and bridges, vpon the broke places, the warders being weake in bodyes for hunger, and out of hart. The wall ỹ was about *Cathone* being taken, ỹ market place that was nigh, *Scipio* also toke, & because he could not passe further, being night, he remayned in armes till it was day, which being come, he called other 3000. fresh men, & they went into *Apollos* tēple, & stale his picture, & the roufe couered with leaues of gold, waying a M. talents, cutting it with their swords, their captains forbidding them, til they had diuided it, & then went to their businesse. *Scipio* was earnestly bent to take *Byrsa*, which was ỹ strōgest place of the Citie, & the most part was got into it. And wher there was thre ways frō ỹ market place to it, many houses & very hyghe were on euery side, where ỹ Romanes being shot at, they toke ỹ first of thē, & there defended thēselues frō the next, & whē they had

Agatho one of the port of *Carthage*.

Lelius assault.

Three streetes to *Byrsa*.

gotten them, they layde planckes and boardes betweene the
The miserable murder. steppes of them, and went as vpon bridges. And the battell was now, as vpon chambers, and vpon the steightes, as they mette there. All was filled with sighes, cries, and lamentes for diuerse passions, some being killed at hande, and some throwen downe from the lofte to the grounde, and some receiued vpon the speares being held vp, or swordes, or pykes. Nothing was burned, for them that were on the Solares, till *Scipio* came to
The attempt against *Byrsa*. *Byrsa*.

Then were three narrow places burned at once, and as they were burned, they were bidden to go to the nert, that the army
Grieuous sight. might haue an easie way. An other sight ful of griefe ther was of the flaming fire consuming all, of men and houses, not falling by little and little, but by heapes violentlye ouerthrowen: a great noyse followed, for men some deade, some aliue, specially olde men, women, and children that fell with the stones, that were hid in the secrete places, some, full of woundes, some halfe burned, making moste pitifull crie. Other driuen frō the solares, fell with the fire and tymber, being broken and torne horiblye diuerse ways to behold. Yet was not this ẏ end of ẏ euils. For ẏ masons with their ares and rāmers, & some with the pointes of their forkes, did rake the deade, and the liuing also, into holowe places of the earth, turning and tolling them like stones and tymber. The holes were filled with men, turned vpside downe. Some were set on their heades, with their legges shaking aboue the ground. Some with their fæte downewarde, stode with their heads aboue the ground. The horses treading vpon them, brake their faces and theyr braynes, not for that they were put on by other, but of purpose, and the makers of ẏ way, did all things of purpose, the vehemence of the fight, and the glorie of the victorie that was at hande, and the forwardenesse of the army, the Trumpets and the criers, making noyse euery where, the Tribunes and the Capitaines, going wyth their men, and encouraging them, made all men furious, and not to passe of that they did see for great desire. This continued in this wyple fire dayes and nightes, euer freshe men beyng sette in, that they shoulde not be ouerladen with watche and

labour,

labour, and slaughter, and grieuous fighte. But *Scipio* continued without ceasing, encouragyng them, without slæpe, and taking meate as he wente aboute his businesse, tyll beyng tyred he stayed and stode aboue to sée what was done. Many being yet slaine, and the euill like to continue longer, some the seauenth day stedde with garlandes, suche as were vsed for *Aesculapius*, who had a temple in the Castle moste rich & goodly. They desiring pardon, prayed *Scipio* ỳ they that wold go out of the Castle mighte haue their liues onely. He graunted it, the fugitiues only except, and there came forth by & by, fifty thousande men and women, being thrust togither in a maruellous streightnesse, whom he commaunded to be kepte. The runnawayes of *Rome* which were about nine hundred, being without al hope, fled into *Aesculapius* temple, with *Asdrubal*, his wife & two male children, frō whence they fought fiercely, although they were but fewe, from the high and rockye places of the temple, to the whiche, in time of peace, men went vp thrée score payre of stayres. But when hunger, watche, feare, and payne of the euil at hand beset them, they left the low parte of the temple, and stedde to the toppe of it, in the which time, *Asdrubal* fled secretly to *Scipio* with braunches of Oliue. *Scipio* put him at his fæte, and shewed him to the runnawayes, whiche when they saw, they desired a silence to be giuen them, which being done, they reuiled *Asdrubal* many and diuerse wayes, and then burned the temple and themselues. And they say that the wife of *Asdrubal*, when the fire toke, being ouer against *Scipio*, in as good behauiour as the time would suffer, and shewing hir children, sayde in the hearing of *Scipio*: To thée (O Romayne,) there is no reuenge of god, for thou doest according to ỳ order of war. But *Asdrubal* my husbande, the betrayer of his country, of the temples, & of me & his children, ỳ gods of *Carthage* shal punishe, & thou, with the gods. And turning to *Asdrubal*, saide: Thou wicked, vnfaithfull, and moste cowarde of al men, me, and these children, this fire shall burye, but thou shalt honor the triumphe, that arte the great Captaine of *Carthage*, what paine shalt thou not suffer, by him, before whome

Scipios paine and abstinence.

Aesculapius temple.

Carthagies take pardon and 50. thousand goe out of *Byrsa*.

Runnayyayes of *Rome*.

Asdrubal flyeth to *Scipio*.

The fugitiues set themselues on fire.

thou now kneelest? Whē she had thus vpbraided him, she killed hir children, and threw them in the fire, and hir selfe after. Thus they say *Asdrubals* wife spake, and died, which had rather haue him fit for *Asdrubal* himselfe to haue done.

The death of *Asdrubals* wife.

Scipio seeing the Citie that hadde continued seauen hundreth yeares, ruling ouer so many nations aboute them, of such power on the lande, and also of shippes by sea, and Ilands in the same, full of armor, nauie, Elephants and mony, equall with the greatest kingdoms, and in boldnesse and courage surpassing: the whiche, when they were spoyled of their ships, and al their armor, yet abode the warre three whole yeares, with so greate famine. Then seeing it vtterly destroyed by extreame siege, they saye hē wept, and openly pitied them that were ouercome, calling to his remembrance, and perceyuing, that al cities, nations and kingdoms, were subiect to mutation, as the destinies of menne. So suffred *Troy* a noble citie. So suffred the *Assyrians*, the *Medians*, and *Persians*, whiche were the great Monarches of the worlde, & lastlye, the noble glorious state of *Macedonie*, so that eyther of purpose, or by chaunce, this worde fel from him.

Scipio weepeth at the sight of *Carthage* ouerthrowne. Mutations of states in the worlde.

The day shall come when mighty *Troy* muste fall,
And *Priamus* and his warlike nation all.

The wordes of *Scipio*.

Polibius that was his Schoolemaister, did aske him freely, what he ment by that speach, and that he said, not forbearing to name his own country plainely, of the whiche he was afraide for the alteration of men. Thus doth *Polibius* write of him that hearde him. When *Carthage* was taken, *Scipio* gaue the souldiors leaue for certaine daies to spoile it, onelye excepting golde, siluer, and holy things. Then he gaue giftes to al, except to them that had spoiled *Appollos* Temple. Then he sent a swift ship laden with spoiles, to signifie the victorie at *Rome*. He sent into *Sicilie*, that al the sacred & publique things, that the *Carthagies* had taken from them in the war, which they could chalenge & know, shoulde be restored, which got him great loue of the people, as one, that with authoritie vsed humanitie, diuiding the spoile that remained to be sold, he sacrificed the vnprofitable ship-armes and engins, to *Mars* and *Minerua*, gyrded after the Romane manner. They at

Polibius was schoolemaister to *Scipio* borne in *Arcadia*.

Scipio giueth the spoile to the soldioures.

Scipio giueth no giftes to them that spoiled *Apollo*.

The goodnesse of *Scipio*.

Rome

Rome seeing the Shippes, and learning the newes, in the euening, came into the streetes, and spente all that nighte in ioye and embracements, as nowe made free of feare, nowe ruling other with safety, not hauing their Citie firme and sure, & hauing such a victorie, as they neuer had the like. Many noble feates came to their remembraunce, what their fathers hadde done in *Macedonia*, in *Iberia*, and against *Antiochus* the great, and in *Italie* it selfe: but no war was so feareful vnto them as this at their owne doores, for the manhode, pollicie and boldnesse of the enimie, and the more dangerous for their vnfaythfulnesse. They rehearsed what they had suffred of ỹ *Carthagies* in *Sicelie*, *Iberia* and *Italie* it selfe, sixteene yeares, when *Annibal* toke .iij. hundred Cities, and ouerthrewe in fighte onlye three hundred thousande men, manye tymes approching to the Cittie, and putting that in great feare: for all the whiche, they were like men beside themselues, for the victorie, that was beyonde their hope. And again, they asked one of another, if *Carthage* were taken in deede? They spente all the night in talke, howe the armour was taken from them, and how they, beyond all hope, made more. Howe their shippes were taken from them, and howe they made a newe nauy of olde matter: howe the mouth of the porte was shutte, and howe in fewe dayes they opened another, and howe highe the walles were abonte the mouth, and the greatnesse of the stones, and the fire whiche manye tymes they brought against the Engines: and sette out a plat of all the warre, as thoughe they hadde then seene it done, and expressed the fantasies of their mindes with the motions of their bodyes, thinking they sawe *Scipio* wyth the scalyng ladders, with the shippes at the gates, at the fyghtes euer occupied. Thus did the Romaynes spende the night.

The Romaine make feastes of the report of the newes.

Remembraunce of former warr in *Rome*.

When day was come, sacrifices & feasts were made to the Gods by the cõpanies, & playes with thẽ, & diuers shews. The Senat sent tenne of the best of them into *Libya*, to appoint that country with *Scipio*. They commanded that *Scipio* shold destroy that was left in *Carthage*, and forbadde any man to dwel there. They accused al them that should dwel in *Byrsa*, or in the place that

Supplications made at *Rome*. Ten men sent into *Libya*.

The inhabitãce of *Carthage* forbidden.

Punishments.

Rewardes.

Scipio triumpheth.

Pseudophilippus Andriscus counterfaited to bee Philippes sonne King of Macedonie.

Mummius wan Corinth.

C. Gracchus was brother to Semproníus Gracchus.

The plat of the habitation at Carthage is confounded.

A vision that Cæsar had, caused a newe citie to be made, not farre from the olde, by his successor Octauius. The Author calleth Augustus Iulius Cæsar.

ỹ was called *Megara*. But to come thither they did not forbid. So many cities as holpe the enimies, they commaunded to destroy, & to giue to cities that were friends to ỹ *Romanes*, the land that was conquered: and chiefly to *Vtica*, that, which was as far as *Carthage* and *Hippo*, on bothe sides. The other they made tributarie, aswel lands as bodies, men and womē alike, and determined to send euery yere a Presidēt to them from *Rome*. Whē they had donc this, they sayled to *Rome*. *Scipio* hauing donc all things accordingly, finished the sacrifices, and the plates for the victory. And things being ordered, he sayled home, and made as palling a triumphe, as euer manne didde, full of golde and monuments of holy things, which the *Carthaginians* in so long time, and so ofte victories had brought from all the worlde into *Libya*. This hapned when they triumphed of *Macedonia* the third time. *Andrisco* that counterfaited himselfe to be *Philips* sonne being ouercome, & the first of *Grecia* by *Mummius*. And this was about ỹ CLX. *Olympiade*. Afterwarde, when *Caius Gracchus* was Tribune in *Rome*, and Insurrection being made for want, he thought good to sēd. 6000. to inhabite in *Libya*. And whē they had drawn the plat about *Carthage*, the Wolues destroyed all the plat, & confounded it. So the Senate refrained from sēding that habitatiō. But again in time, when *Caius Cæsar*, who was made the second Dictator, after his victorie, had driuen *Pompey* into *Egipt*, & *Pompeis* friendes from *Aegipt* to *Libya*, they saye, when hee encamped at *Carthage*, a mighty army appered to him in his slēpe, weeping, which troubling him, he called to remembrance, and made a note, that *Carthage* should be inhabited. And not long after, the powre souldiors requiring land of him at *Rome*, he gaue order that some shoulde be sent to *Carthage* and some to *Corinth*, but he beeing shortly after killed in the Senate house of his enimies, his son *Cæsar*, called *Augustus*, finding thrée remembrāces of his father, sent an inhabitation of that *Carthage*, that nowe is, as nigh the olde as might be, to auoide the olde execration. The *Romanes* sente thither. 3000. to inhabite, & to place the rest in the country about. Thus *Libya*, that was vnder *Carthage*, was conquered of the *Romanes*, and *Carthage* destroyed, and inhabited againe after the destruction two hundred and two yeares.

The ende of the *Romane* warres with the *Carthaginians*

¶ Appianus Alexandrinus, of the Romane warres with the Parthians.



After them that folowed Pōpey to rule Syria being ouercome, Gabinius an officer of the Romanes, was sent to gouerne the same. He marching againste the Arabians, Mithridates King of Parthia, being driuen oute of his kingdome by Orodes his brother, tourned hym from the Arabians to the Parthians. But Ptolomeus the eleauenth King of Aegipt perswaded him by mony, to leaue the Parthians, and make warre vppon Alexandria. And he ouercomming them of Alexandria, restored Ptolomeus to his kingdome, but being banished of the Romanes, bicause he made warre againste the Aegiptians, which they accompted vniuste, bycause it was forbidden by Sybyllas bookes, he fledde. After Gabinius, I thinke, Crassus gouerned Syria, and making warre vpon the Parthians, was ouerthrowen with great calamitie, after whome Bibulus being president, the Parthians inuaded Syria. And in the time of Saxa ruling after Bibulus, they ranne as farre as Ionia, the Romanes being at debate among themselues. They didde no greate thing worthye of writing, rather like robbers, than warriors. These things folowed after the ouerthrow of Crassus, by ꝑ which they take so gret boldnesse, whiche was repressed by Antony. Yolue Crassus made his voiage againste them, we thinke it mete to shewe.

Parthia, a Region of Assyria, the inhabitaunce, of the vvhich came out of Syria.

Gabinius is banished for making vvarre vppon Aegipt.

Crassus.

Bibulus.

Saxa.

When the day of election of chiefe officers was come, there were three Competitors of the Consulshippe, Caius Caesar, Pompey the Great, and Crassus called Martius. These reiecting Cicero & Cato and other resisters, by force gote the office, and gaue Caesar fiue yeares more, to be Lieutenaunt of Fraunce. Caesius & Pompey

Caesar. Pompey. Crassus.

ii. casting

Prouinces by lotte.

casting lottes for the prouinces of *Spaine* and *Syria*, *Spaine* fell to *Pompey*, and *Syria* to *Crassus*. The lot fell acceptable vnto bothe.

Pompey, *Pxorius*.

For the people wouldе haue *Pompey* from the Cittie, and *Pompey* louing his wife, was desirous to tarrye moste there.

Crassus proude of his prouince.

Crassus shewed openly that he was glad that the lot had so fallen, thinking no greater felicitie could hap vnto him than this prouince, insomuchas he could not bee quiet, but made great auaunces and bragges among his frendes, otherwise in all his life being a verye smal boaster or setter forth of hymselfe. But now beyng puffed and exalted, he had not onely an hope to get *Parthia* to *Syria*, and vp make it the boundes of his Dominion, making but a play of that *Lucullus* vpdde agaynste *Tigranes*, or *Pompey* agaynste *Mithridates*, but also to winne *Bactria* and *Indus*, and all beyonde the Sea. Yet in the decree of warre, the *Parthians* were not contained.

The *Parthians* were not in the decree. *Lucullus*. *Tigranes*. *Pompey*.

Euery man did feare that *Crassus* would meddle with it. And *Cæsar* wrote letters, praysing hys purpose, and prouoking hym to the warre.

But when *Atteius* the Tribune didde stop his voyage with threats, and manye consented to him, being grieued that anye man shoulde make warre vpon men that had offended nothing, but also were in league, *Crassus* was afraide, and prayed *Pompey* to helpe to set him forwarde: For great was the peoples opinion of him. Notwythstanding, when he sawe manye readye to resist and exclame, then with a gentle loke & countenance he appeased thē, þ they were quiet, and suffred them to passe. Yet *Atteius* stoppedt hem first with voice, forbidding and protesting not to go. Then he commanded the officer to lay hands vpon his bo dy and deteine him: which when the other Tribunes would not suffer, he lette goe *Crassus*.

Cæsar stirreth *Crassus* to the warre of the *Parthians*.

Atteius ran to the gate, and set there a burning harth, and as *Crassus* came with insense and sacrifice, he pronounced sharpe execrations, & horrible, calling and naming cruell and strange Gods therwith. The Romanes thinke that these curses secret & auntient haue such a power, as no man can auoide them against whom they be made, and that they do naughte that vse them.

Execrations against *Crassus*.

Curses not to be vsed.

There-

Therfore they be not vsed vnaduisedly, nor in manye cases. And many blamed *Atteius*, that by this curbing of *Crassus* he brought the Cittie into misfortune. *Crassus* for all this wente to *Brundusse*, the Sea being yet vnnauigable for the winter, and woulde not tarry the tyme, but toke the Sea, and lefte many Shyppes.

Atteius blamed.

And receyuing an other power of fotemen, he ledde them alongeste *Galatia*, and finding King *Deiotarus* a very olde manne, buylding of a Cittie, he iested, saying: O King, you beginne to builde at twelue of the clocke. The King laughing saide: And you (O Generall) as farre as I can see, goe not againste the *Parthians* very early. For *Crassus* was threescore yeares of age, when he went, and older to see to, than he was indede. Marching forth, matters at the firste fell oute according to his hope. For easilye hée made a bridge ouer *Euphrates*, and conueyed ouer his armye safely, and got many Cities in *Mesopotamia*, by yeelding vnto hym. In one of them, *Appollonius* was Tyranne, who had slaine one hundred souldiors. He brought his power thither, and wanne it, toke the money, and solde the men.

Galatia is *Asia* the lesse.

A iest betwene *Deiotarus* and *Crassus*.

Age of *Crassus*.

The Grékes call the Cittie *Zenodotium*. By taking of this, he woulde nédes be called *Imperator* of his souldioures, which caused muche discredite vnto him, and was the lesse esteemed, as one that diskrusted of any greate victorie, taking occasion of so little matter.

Zenodotium a Cittie of *Osrhoene*.

He sette garrisons in the Cities that were taken, the number whereof, was seauen thousande fotemenne, and one thousande horse. And hée went into *Syria* to winter, where hys son came to him from *Cæsar* oute of *Fraunce*, rewarded with the greate honoures of a souldioure, bringing one thousande picked horsemen. And this was the firste great error of *Crassus*, after the greate offence of leading his armye, that where he oughte to haue gone to *Babylon* and *Seleucia*, Cities euer enimmies to the *Parthians*, hée gaue the enimmies time to prepare themselues. His tarrying in *Syria* was blamed, béeyng rather lyke a receyuer of Rentes, than a Captayne of Souldioures.

Crassus sonne from *Cæsar*.

Errour of *Crassus*.

Babylon the chiefe citie of *Chaldea*.

He did not searche the number of his souldiors, nor vse them

with exercises, but he gathered the reuenues of Cities, and spent many dayes in waying and peysing the Goddes money, in the holy Citie, appointyng Cities and Princes to finde him souldiars, and after sending them awaye againe for money, whereby he came into contempt and disdayne. The first token he had of this Goddesse, which some call *Venus*, some *Iuno*, some name hir *Nature*, the beginning and seede to al things ministring cause by moisture: for going onte of the Temple, firste yong *Crassus* fell at the dores. Then the olde man fell vppon hym.

Hierapolis is ouer-against *Leucocia*.

The Goddesse of *Hierapolis*, Nature.

Nowe gathering his power from the winter places, Embassadors came to him from *Arsaces*, with a briefe speach, for thus he saide: If the army were sent against them of the Romanes, the warre was made contrary to the league, and neuer would ende. But if he, without authoritie of hys countrey, and for hys owne gaine, (as they hearde) did come in armes against the *Parthians*, and take their lande, *Arsaces* would temper hymself, and pitie *Crassus* age, and let the Romanes go, that were rather like a garrison, than an army. *Crassus* swelling at this, sayde, he would make an answere at *Seleucide*.

The *Parthians* message to *Crassus*.

Arsaces King of *Parthia*, for whose good rule, the *Parthians* call all their Kings *Arsaces*.

Seleucia, one in *Syria Antiochena* other at *Euphrates*, third at *Babilon*.

Then the most auntient of the Embassadours *Magises*, shewing the bare palme of his hollowe hand, said: Sooner shall hairs grow here, than thou shalt see *Seleucia*. Thus he boldely spake, signifying, that *Orodes* must first be ouercome.

The *Italian* text varieth.

They of the Romane garrisons in the Cities of *Mesopotamia*, escaping with muche danger, did tell fearefull matter, that they sawe the multitude of their enimies and their exercises, e howe they hadde fortified their Cities, and some of purpose telling all things to the vttermost, that they were vnresistable when they came to fight, and vnrecouerable when they fled.

A sharp answer

Their arrowes swifte woulde preuent the sight, and before they coulde see the shoter, he woulde be at hande to strike them thorowe. The men of armes beate downe all afore them, and coulde not be resisted. When the army hearde this, they began to faint, thinking the *Parthians* had differed nothing from the *Armenians* & *Cappadocians*, whome *Lucullus* ouercame without any resistaunce, therefore thought all the paine shoulde be in the

Report encreasing feare.

Armenia is betweene *Taurus* and *Caucasus*. *Capadocia* a Region of *Pontus*, called *Leucosyria*.

long

long iorney. But when they shoulde come to blowes, the enimies woulde not abide them, whereas nowe otherwise than they supposed, they had a great trauaile and daunger in hande, insomuche, as some of the officers of the Camp, thought it good to flaye *Crassus*, and to take a newe aduise of all the matter, and secreatlye the Spaillers of the Sacrifices, shewed that manye euill and harde tokens appeared to *Crassus* in the Sacrifices: But hee, neither woulde heare them, nor no other, but them that exhorted hym to goe forwarde. Among the whych, *Artabases* King of *Armenia* bidde not let to prouoke him, who was come to the Campe, with fiue thousande horsemenne, and these were called the Guarde and Defence of the King, promising other tenne thousande menne of armes, and three thousande footemenne at his charges. Hee perswaded *Crassus* to inuade *Parthia* by *Armenia*, whereby he shoulde leade his armye not onely safely, he ministring all thynges for him, but also thorowe Mountaynes and continuall hills, places combersome to the *Parthian* horsemenne, wherein consisted all theyr strength, *Crassus* praised the good wyll of hym, and his goodly preparation, yet hee sayde hee woulde enter by *Mesopotamia*, where he had lefte many good Romane Souldiours, and the *Armenian* went his way.

Sacrifices shewe euill tokens.

Artabases King of *Armenia* endued with all learning, whom *Antony* took by treason, and caried him in triumphe at *Alexandria* to please *Cleopatra*.

Crassus refuseth good counsell.

Crassus ledde his armye ouer a bridge, when manye terrible thunders brake oute, and greate lightnings flashed in the faces of the Souldiours, and a winde mixed with a cloudy perry arose, and brake and consumed muche of the matter of the made bridge. And the place that was appointed for the Campe, was twice stricken with lightning. An horse of the Generalls, verye fayre claade, carrying a waye the rider by violence, was drowned in theyr sight. And they saye that the chiefe Standerd beyng strike taken of the bearer, did turne backe of it selfe. Beside this, it chaunced, that after a iorney, when meate shoulde be giuen the Souldiours, first of all, they hadde Lentilles and Soppes, whyche the Romaynes thinke most vnfull, and be vsed at burialls. And when *Crassus* made hys Oration, hys voyce failed hym, whyche the armye toke

Euill tokens to *Crassus*.

beauily. He sayd he had cut down the bridge, that no man should returne ouer it. The which word being vncomely spoken, wher he shoulde haue repeated it and declared it to them that were made afrayde by it, he would not do it for very frowardnesse. At last when he hadde killed the sacrifice to make the solemne viewe of his armye, and the minister giuen him the bowels, they fell out of his handes: at the whiche, they that were present being most grieued, he smiled, saying: These be the incommodities of age, but my weapon shall neuer fal out of my hãds. Then he ledde his army by the floude, hauing seauen legions, and little lesse than foure thousande horse, and a number of shotte, equal to them.

A folish worde passeth *Crassus*.

Crassus excuseth his weakenes.

The skoutes that went to sée the way, returned and brought worde, that the countrey was voyde of men, but that there were prints of horse féete, that were gone backe. Whereat *Crassus* toke good hope, and all the souldiours beganne to despise the *Parthians*, as afrayde to come to handes: yet *Cassius* and others spake to *Crassus*, perswading him to staye his menne in some Cittie where a garrison was, till he was better instructed of the enimies force, if not, that he would go to *Seleucia* by the floude, where he shoulde haue aboundaunce of victuals, for the souldiours to be solde, and also a defence and safegarde for the armye, not to be enuironed, for the floude, beeyng euer equall to fyghte with the enimye at the face.

Crassus in a vaine hope. *Seleucia*, a plentifull place.

The Counsel of *Cassius* not followed.

Crassus considering and pondering these things: there came to him a president of *Arabia*, *Acbarus* by name, a subtile and dissembling manne, the greatest prouoker of ruyll fortune, that was bente to theyr destruction. Some of them that hadde serued vnder *Pompey*, knewe him, receyuing some humanitie at hys hande, and shewing to be a friende to the Romaines. He was sente to *Crassus*, by ỹ consent of the kings counsel, to turne him, if he coulde, from the floude and sute of the hils, into the playn field, where he might be compassed. For they deuised to do any other thing, rather than to come to fyght with

Acbarus vseth craft with *Crassus*.

with the Romanes at hande.

This *Acharus* came to *Crassus*, and sayde probably, strike of the prayse of *Pompey*, that was his benefactoure, then of *Crassus*, blaming him, that having so greate a power he lost time in delay and preparation, as though he had need of armour, and not rather of handes and swifte feete, against me that already seke and gather their moste precious riches, to carrie them into *Scythia* and *Hircania*: but, sayde he, if you will fighte, you must do it quickly, before the whole power be gathered, the king taking harte to him againe. And nowe *Surenas Sillaces*, commeth to make the warre against you, but the king will not be seene. All these were lyes.

Acharus deceyueth *Crassus*.

Scythia in *Asia*. *Hircania*, a playne region most aboundant.

For the king went streight with his power to inuade *Armenia*, and punish *Artabazes*, and sent *Surenas* against the Romaynes, not in contempt of them (as some saye) for it was not like, that he would contemne *Crassus* sent against hym and one of the chiefe Romaynes, and go against *Artabazes* to destroye the townes of *Armenia*. But, I thinke he was afrayde of the daunger, and laye in wayte to see the ende, and appointed *Surena*, beyng otherwyse expert and acquainted with the warre.

The *Parthian* king inuadeth *Armenia* and sendeth *Surenas* against the Romanes.

For *Surenas* was none of the common sorte, but in riches and glorye, and blonde, nexte the King, and the chiefe of *Parthia*: in strength and youth, in beautye and goodlynesse of the bodye, inferiour to none. He carried alwayes with him a thousand laden Camels, and two hundred chariots of Concubines, and a thousand men of armes, and more light horsemen. So as he had of his tenaunts and seruantes, no lesse than ten thousand horse.

Surenas is sent against *Crassus*.

And as touching his blond, it was giuen him from the beginning, to set the Crowne vpon the kings head, when a new king was made. He called *Orodes* out of exile into his Kingdome: he toke the great citie of *Seleucia*, & was the first that scaled the walles, and with his owne hande repulsed them that resisted, and was not yet thirty yeares of age, yet had the greatest glory for wisedome and experience, by the which, he did not a litle

The nobility of *Surenas*.

Orodes is brought out of exile, by *Surenas*.

beguile

The text varieth.

beguile *Crassus*, first thorough his pryde and bolonesse, and after by hys feare and aduersitie, easily to be entrapped.

Acharus that hadde brought *Crassus* from the flood into the playne fieldes, wythout woode and water, and wythout any ende to reste as it appeared, and not only trauelled wyth thirst and difficultie, but also with an vncomfortable prospect to the eye, seeing neyther tree, nor riuer, nor apparaunce of hyl, nor growing of grasse, but a very shape like a sea of fearful desarts, did beleeue the armye. And then the craft beganne to be espied.

Artabazes signifieth he is inuaded.

Furthermore, there came messengers from *Artabazes* the king of *Armenia*, shewing how he was detayned with greate warre, *Orodes* hauing inuaded him: and that he coulde sende no helpe to *Crassus*. Yet he wished hym, in anye wise to turne, and make his waye by *Armenia*, that they togither might goe against *Orodes*, if not, alwayes to marche and encampe so, as he might auoyde the horsemen, and to go by the hylles. *Crassus* writing nothing againe, for anger, and straungenesse, answered, that nowe he had no leysure to deale with *Armenia*, but when he returned, he would punish *Artabazes* for his treason. *Cassius* and they, were agayne grieued, and leauing *Crassus*, that woulde not heare good Counsel, they playnely rebuked *Acharus*.

Orodes king of Parthia.

Crassus maketh a frowyard answere.

Crassus misliketh the iourney.

O you naughty wight, O you most wicked mã, who brought thee to vs: with what passion or witchcraftes hast thou made *Crassus* to leaue his army by desarts and vglye wildernesse, fitter for an Archtheefe of *Numidia*, than a chiefe generall of the Romaines?

Acharus deceiueth him and all the rest.

Acharus a crafty man, dyd speake them fayre, and comforted and exhorted them, to endure a whyle, and riding among the souldiours, he iested at them. You thinke you were goyng by *Campania*, by fountaines, riuers, shadowes, bowes and brayes, and ostanes, all the wayes.

Arabia is two parts barenne. *Assiria* the furthest part of *Syria*.

Doe you remember that you go by confines of *Arabia* and *Assiria*. Thus did *Acharus* playe the scholer among the Romaines, and before his craft was perceyued, he road about not

vnknowen

vnknowen to *Crassus*, but agreeing to it, as though he would prouide and defeate the enimies. It is sayde, that *Crassus* that daye came not abroade in purple, as the manner was of a Romaine Generall, but in a blacke garmente, the which he changed againe, when he perceyued it. Some of the ensignebearers could not without great laboure pull vppe their ensignes, they stucke so fast. *Crassus* laughing, went the faster, and bad the legions follow the horsemen. But then came some of the espyes that had bin abroad, in haste, shewing that their felowes were killed of the enimies, and they only escaped, and that the enimies came on, with great power and speed. This troubled them all, and *Crassus* most of all, so as he set his men in order, not verye orderlye. But *Cassius* moued him to set his legions as thicke as he could, to fill the playne, for feare of compassing, and diuide the horsemen into wings. Then he altered and made the same to serue both wayes, and a square battaple, and euerye of the sides going on with twelue bandes, and with a troupe of horsemen, that no part shoulde be vnpde of the helpe of horsemen, but on euery side be alike defended for the fight. He appointed one wing to *Cassius*, and an other to yong *Crassus*, and he went in the middest. Thus marching, they came to a riuer, which they call *Balissus*, not verye great, nor full of water, but acceptable to the souldiours, in that hote and dry iourney, with so greate payne and penurie of water. More tokens of euil. *Balissus.*

Many of the Captaines thoughte it good to staye there, til certaine knowledge were come of the enimies force and purpose, and when daye was come, to goe againste them. But *Crassus* commaunded his sonne and the horsemen with him to go on, and to be readye for the fight. He bade them that did eate, to eate and drinke as they kept their order, and before all was well done, he led on, not with leysure, nor pawsing, as they that shoulde fight, but with much speede and haste, til they salue their enimies, not in so great a shewe, neyther appearing many, nor starkoll to the Romaynes. For *Surena* had putte the multitude behinde, and hydden the brightnesse of their harnesse, with their cloakes and skinnes. After they were come

nygh, and a token giuen of the Captaines, ſtraight they filled all the playne with barbarous noyſe and fearefull ſhoutes. For the *Parthians* go not to battell with hornes and trumpets, but with drummes, in many places at once, made of leather, and hollow, ſtretched with yron barres, and beate vpon continually. This maketh a noyſe hollow and deepe, like the roaring of wilde beaſtes, intermedled with the ſharpneſſe of thunder, as nothing could be harde for the ſence of hearing, bringeth moſt trouble to the minde, and by it is ſoneſt moued, and moſt troubleth the vnderſtanding. The Romanes being aſtoniſhed at this noyſe, they of *Parthia* threw away the couers of their harneſſe ſodainely, and appeared ſhyning with ſats and armoure, made of the beſte ſteele and bright, and the horſemen barded with Capariſon likewiſe. The gydieſt and the greateſt was *Surenas*, he being in fineſſe of his womanniſh aray not like the glorie of his valiauntneſſe, but rather decked after the *Median* faſhion, in the trymming of his perſon, and diuiſiō of his haire. The other *Parthians* being ugly of purpoſe, to the terroure ſhodding of their beare. Firſt they gaue ye aſſet with their ſpeares, to dimbe and breake the foze warde. But when they ſawe the firmneſſe of the battel, and the ſtable abiding of the men, they went backe, as though they would haue ſcattered and diuided their order: and they compaſſed the battell in a circle, and wēt about it. *Craſſus* commaunded the light harneſſe to giue charge vppon them. They went not farre, but they were ouerlaide with ſhotte, and they turned againe, and thruſte among the legions, and gaue the beginning of diſorder and feare, to them that ſaw the might of the ſhot, and the continuall courſe, breaking harneſſe, and bearing bown alike the vnarmed and well armed. The *Parthians* vſkant a little, became to ſhote at all aduentures, not dreading their ſhotte, for the *Romanes* battayle was ſo thicke, as they coulde not myſſe though they would, geuing continuall harte and woundes with their ſtrong and great bowes, and with their violence of the drawing, driuing the arrowes the ſtronger. This was the vndoing of the *Romanes*, for continuing in their order, they were ſtroken, and trying to

The Parthians manner in going to fight.

Surenas.

The beginning of diſorder in the Romanes Campe.

goe

go vpon their enimy, or to kepe clase againe, they suffered a like.

The *Parthians*, when they shotte, fledde, and this they thinke the beste feate accoꝛding to the *Scythians*, being a moste wise parte, to hurte other, and saue themselues, and hid the shame of their fleeing, by this pretence. So long as the Romanes hoped, that their shot being done, they would haue come to hãds, they abode it: but when they saw numbers of Camells come laden with newe shotte, to the whiche, they that firste spente their arrowes, went e to receiue moꝛe, then *Crassus* himselfe thoughte it woulde haue no ende. Wherefoꝛe he sente messengers to his sonne, that he shoulde set vppon the enimie, beffoꝛe they were inclosed, foꝛ they were moste busy vpon hym, and rode about him, to come vpon his backe. The yong man toke .xiij. C. hoꝛse, whereof a thousand were *Cæsars*, and eight bands of the next fotemen, and badde them set vpon the enimies. The *Parthians* that were foꝛemoste, either bicause they were in myꝛie grounde, (as some saye,) oꝛ bycause they woulde oꝛawe *Crassus* by pollicie, as farre as they coulde, turned and fledde. Then yoꝛng *Crassus* crying, as thoughe they would not haue turned againe, gaue them the chase, and with him *Censorinus*, and *Megabacxus*: these palled in valiantnes and strength, *Censorinus* being of the oꝛder of a Senatoure and eloquent, friend to yoꝛng *Crassus*, and of like age. The hoꝛsemen going on, the fotmen folowed with courage and fearefulnesse of hope, foꝛ they thoughte to haue the victoꝛie by the chase. They had not gone farre, but they perceyued the deceit. They that seemed to flee, turned againe, many mo comming to them. Then they stayed, thinking they woulde haue come to handes with them, bicause they were so fewe: but they set the men of armes vppon the *Romanes*, and with their other hoꝛse, confusedlye rode vppon them, troubling the playne, rayling heapes of sande, and making all full of dulle, that the *Romanes* coulde neither see noꝛ speake. So being driuen and thꝛuste togyther, they were ouerthꝛowen and dyed, not easily, noꝛ a shoꝛte death, but with thꝛiking e soꝛowfull manner, laboꝛing

The *Parthians* manner in the vvarre.

The *Parthians* sauue their shotte.

Yong *Crassus* vvith *Censorinus* and *Megabacxus*.

The *Romanes* killed.

to breake the arowes in their woundes, prouing by violence, to pul out the forked heades that were entred their vaines and sinowes, they tore and lamented themselues. When many were thus dead, they that were aliue were vnprofytable to helpe, and when as *Publius* exhorted them to set vppon the men of armes, they shewed their handes nayled to their shieldes, and their feete fastened to the grounde, that they coulde neyther flye nor fight. Then he brought his horsemen fiercely vpon them, but he was to weake, stryking and defendyng both at once, with weake and little speares, vpon the strong armour of steele, and his *Galatians* being stryken with long speares vpon their vnarmed bodies: in them he trusted muche, and by them he did marueilous feates. For they toke the speares, and bare down the men from their horse, which could not be moued for the waight of their harnesse. Many left their horses, & stroke their enimies horses in the bellies, the which for payne, threwe off their ryders, and trode vpon them and their enimies, tyll they dyed also. But the heate and thirst, most troubled the *Galathians*, being accustomed to neyther of them, and many of them hauing lefte their horses, with their staues, fought with the contrary. Therfore they did what they could to haue gotten to the legions, hauing *Publius* among them, being euill beskadde for his wounds: and seeing an hyll of sande not farre off, they went thyther, putting their horse in the middest, and defending the outwarde partes with their Targets, they thoughte they might easilye put backe the *Barbarians*: but it came otherwise to passe, for being in the playne, the former kepte the hindermost from hurte: but when they went to a mounting ground, and all was in the daunger, and they that came behinde moste of all, there was none escaped, but al were shotte indifferently, lamenting their deathes voyde of reuenge and glorie. There were about *Publius*, two men, both *Grecians*, dwelling in *Carria*, *Ieronimus* and *Nichomachus*. They moued him to goe with them, and flye to *Irna*, a towne that belde of the Romaynes. He answered, there was no deathe so grieuous, for feare of the whiche, *Publius* woulde leaue them that dyed for him. Therfore he prayed them to saue themselues,

Romanes vnable to helpe.

The valiantnes of the *Galatians*.

Publius Crassus sore wounded.

Carria the great in *Asia*. *Irna*.

A noble answer of a yong man.

themselues, and gently sent them away. He coulde not vse his hande, for it was hurte with an arrowe. Therfore he commanded his page to take his sword, and runne him thorowe the syde. *Censorinus* died after that sort. *Magabactus* killed himselfe, and so dyed the most noble of the other.

The death of P. Crassus his two frendes.

The rest, the *Parthians* killed with their speares, fighting for themselues, and onelye fiue hundred were taken aliue.

When they hadde cutte off the heades of *Publius*, and his company, they tourned toward *Crassus*. He stode after this sorte. When he hadde sente his sonne to encounter the *Parthians*, and one hadde tolde hym that there was a greate fleeing, and a sore chase of the enimies, and sawe that they came no more vppon him, for they went also from that part, he beganne to take comforte, leading his army to a rising place, thinking his son would haue come straight from the chase. They that were firste sent of *Publius* to tell in what daunger he was, were taken of the enimies and slaine.

Crassus in hope.

The other hardely escaping, shewed that *Publius* was vndone, except spedy and great helpe were sent. Nowe was *Crassus* vnerstly troubled, he could not see by reason, howe to vse his matters: on the one side, feare of the whole, on the other, desire to saue his sonne, doubting if he might helpe him, or not helpe him, yet in the ende, went forward with his power. Nowe were the enimies come, with terrible shewt declaryng victorie, and striking many *Armenians*, and feared the Romanes, lokyng for an other battell. They brought the head of *Publius* vpon a speares point, approchyng nighe, and with despight asking, who was his parents and kinred. For they could not thinke that he was the sonne of *Crassus* so cowardly and leud a man, being a young man of so noble a renowmed vertue. This sight most of al was grieuous to the Romanes, directing and breaking their harts, not to anger and reuenge, as it oughte, but vtterly to feare and dreade. And then did *Crassus* shew him selfe most noble, as in such a sase, (as they say) he went about the hoste and cried: This, (O *Romanes*) is my proper losse. The greate glorye and fortune of *Rome*, is in you to kepe vnbroken and vntouched, and if

Crassus perplexed.

The Parthians shewe their sight.

Crassus shewyth himselfe noble.

The wordes of *Craſſus* to comforte his ſouldiours.

you haue pitie of me, that haue loſte ſo good a ſonne, theiwe youre anger vppon youre enimies, take away this ioy from them, reuenge the crueltie, be not diſmaide with that is donne, for they that do great feats, muſt ſometime ſuffer. *Lucullus* ouercame not *Tigranes* without bloudeſhed, nor *Scipio*, *Antiochus*. Our Auncetors loſte a thouſande Shippes in *Sicilie*. In *Italy* manye Capitaines and armies woulde not lette for their loſſe, but to get the victorie againe. The Romanes haue not come to ſo great dominion by fortune, but by ſufferaunce and manhode in calamitie.

A declaration of the Romanes faintneſſe.

When *Craſſus* had ſaide this, to encourage them, he bidde not ſe many willingly heare hym, therefore he badde make a noiſe, the whiche, bewrayed the faintneſſe of the armye, for they made a feble and weake crie, whiche was anſwered of the *Barbarians*, with chearefull and bolde ſounde. Comming together, the ſhotte of the enimies, troubled the Romanes on the ſides. The other comming vppon them with their ſpeares at the face, droue them into a litle rounth, yet ſome eſcaping death by the ſhotte, came oute to fight at hande, to litle purpoſe, being ſo diſpatched with greate and mortall woundes, many times the ſharpe and long ſpeares paſſing thorowe horſe and man.

The fight.

The Parthians reſte. *Arſaces*.

Thus the night brake the battaile, they ſaying they wouldg gratifie *Craſſus* with one night to bury his ſonne, and to conſider with hymſelfe, whither it were better for him to go to *Arſaces*, or to be led to him. They thus going to a place nigh hande, were in greate hope. But the Romanes hadde an heauy night, neither burying the deade, nor healing the hurte, ſome dying, and all lamenting themſelues, ſo all things appeared withoute helpe.

They remembred the day woulde bring more care: if they ſhoulde goe awaye in the night by thoſe huge playnes, and carry the hurte ſouldioures with them, it would be a lette vnto them: if they lefte them behinde, they woulde crie and diſcloſe they going awaye.

And althoughe they thoughte *Craſſus* to be the Authour of al this euill, yet they deſired to ſe hym and heare hym ſpeake. He was by himſelfe with his face couered in the darke. An example to

to the common sort of fortune, and to the wife of want of wisedom, and ambition, by the which, he was not contente to be one of the chiefe & greatest among many thousands suche as he was, but bicause he was iudged inferior onely to two men, he thought himselfe the least of all. *Octauius* his Legate and *Cassius*, raised him, and badde him be of good chéere. *Crassus* an example of Fortunes instabilitie.

But when they sawe him in bitter desperation, they called the officers and captaines, shewing it was no tarrying there, but to departe without sounde of trumpe and secreately, whiche being done, and the hurte men perceyuing they were forsaken, a great lamentation with sorowfull crie was made in the Camp, which fraide them, with trouble and feare, as thoughe the enimie had come vpon them.

When ceasing to take the wounded men, and to bestow them, and cary them, it was a lette vnto them, sauing to three hundred whiche *Egnatius* led to *Carras* at midnight, and speaking latin to the watch, he willed to tel *Coponius*, that was captain them of the garrison, that a great fielde was fought betweene *Crassus* and the *Parthians*. Maye he sawe not, nor they asked what he was, and so he went to the bridge and saued his bande: yet he was euill thought of, bicause he forsoke his Generall: Notwithstanding, that worde spoken to *Coponio*, did good to *Crassus*. For he thinking that all was not well, bicause of the sodaine and straunge speech, gathered his men together, and went to méete *Crassus* in the way, and receiue his souldiers into the Cittie. The *Parthians* hearing the going awaye by night, did not folowe them. *Egnatius*. *Carras*. *Coponius*. *Egnatius* euill thoughte of, thoughe hee saued his bande.

But when daye was come, they killed them that were lefte, whiche were no lesse than foure thousande. In the playne they ouertoke manye with their horsemen and killed them: foure bandes that *Argenteius* led in the night, losing their waye, were slaine, not without resistance, except twentie. R[illegible]es killed. *Argenteius*, hys bandes slaine. Twentie souldiours are suffered to passe the enimies.

They breaking thorowe with their naked swordes, the enimies marueling at their manhode, they suffred to passe a souldiors marche to *Carras*.

A false tale was talde *Surena*, that *Crassus* with the chiefe, was fledde, and the common sorte were receyued at *Carras*. He thinking

thinking the victorie was not yet gotten, standing in doubt, and
Surena vseth an other craft to gette Crassus. coueting to learne the truthe, that eyther he might besiege the
Cittie, or followe *Crassus*, or let hym goe, he sent one of his men
that could speake both tongues, to the walls, commaunding him
to speake Latine, and to call *Crassus* or *Cassius*, and to tell them
that *Surenas* woulde speake with them. He doing so, and it being
tolde to *Crassus*, the message was receiued.

Shortly after came certaine *Arabians* that knewe *Crassus* and
Cassius, hauing bin in their camp before the fight.

They seeing *Cassius* vpon the wall, saide, *Surenas* would make
them friendes with the king, and saue them, so they woulde de-
parte with *Mesopotamia*, for so it were better to do, than trie the
vttermost.

The deceipt of Surena. *Cassius* accepting it, and requiring a time and place for *Crassus*
and him to meete together; they answering so to doe, departed.

When *Surenas* hearde this of the messengers, being glad that
they were in a place as besieged, he willed the *Parthians* the next
daye to goe with a greate crie, and require, that if the Romanes
woulde haue peace with the *Parthians*, to sende *Crassus* and *Cassius*
bounde to the king.

They were grieued that they were deceiued, and counselled
Crassus to leaue the long and vaine hope of *Armenia*, and to saue
himselfe, and to let none of the *Carrenas* knowe it. But he made
it knowne to *Andromachus* a very false fellowe, whome he trus-
Crassus deceiued by Andromachus. ted, and made him guide of the waye, so as nothing was kepte
from the *Parthians*, all being tolde by *Andromachus*. And where
it is not their custome to fight by night, nor no sure thing to the,
and where *Crassus* went out by night, that they shoulde not be so
farre off in folowing the fleeing Capitaines, *Andromachus* ledde
the Romanes this waye and that waye, and at laste putte them
in a fenny and marrish place, which shoulde be harde for the footmē
to folowe. Some thought not well of *Andromachus* turning & com-
passing & followed not. Therefore *Cassius* went againe to *Carren.*
Cassius returneth. when ỹ guids which were *Arabians*, willed him to make haste, be-
fore the Mone were paste *Scorpion*, but *Crassus* bei feare more
Sagittarie, and then went into *Syria* with fiue hundred horse.

They

They hauing gote good guides, went by the hilly places, whi-
che are called *Synuchæ*, and they were safe, and before daye hadde
ouertaken aboute fiue thousande. *Ostanius* a good man, was lea-
der of them. The daye being come, *Crassus* had a weary iorney
by the Feinne and strange way, ledde by *Andromachus*. He had
foure bandes of Legatemen with him, and feine horse, and fiue
Sergeants, with whome hauing this weary iorney, and scarce-
ly staying for rest, the enimies were at hand. He hadde a myle
and halfe to ioyne with *Ostanius*, and therefore to an other lit-
tle hyll, not able to kepe the horse backe, nor otherwise sure, but
ioyning to *Synuces*, and stretching with a long [illegible] thorowe a
large field, that was nighe it. They with *Ostanius* might see in
what daunger he was, and firste *Ostanius* went with a feine to
saue hym. The other repyoning themselues followed, & kept the
enimies from the hyll, and compassed *Crassus* in the middest, and
defended him with their Targats, so as the shot of the *Parthians*
shoulde not hurte the Generall, before they all fighting for
him, were slaine. When *Surenas* saw the *Parthians* slowly doing
their feate, & if the night came on, that the Romanes by going
in hilly places, should not be ouertaken of them, he wroughte
wiles wyth *Crassus*. He caused talke to be in the Campe, so as
some Romane captaines might heare it, that the King would not
make warr continually with the Romanes, but would be gladde
of their friendeship. And bad *Crassus* gentily. And they went and
told it.

Synuchæ, hilles.

Ostanius cometh to helpe *Crassus*.

Nerve wryed of *Surenas*.

Crassus continually deceiued.

The *Barbarians* ceassed from the fight. *Surenas* with the chiefe
went quietly to the hill, he vnbent his bowe, he offred his righte
hande, and called *Crassus* to truce, saying: It was against the
Kings will, that he had proued his force and power, & howe he
shoulde willingly saue his clemencie and mildenesse, and being
considered, suffer all to goe safe. When *Surena* had saide this,
the other were gladdes of it, and woulde haue it followed. Only
Crassus did not credite it, and thoughte this sodaine change was
not to be taken, therefore he thoughte it not good, to do it, but to
take aduice: yet the Souldiours cried, and were angry, affirming
he woulde sell them to be villainously slaine of the enimies.

The souldiours compell *Crassus* to take the worst way.

to whom he durst not go to talke, they being vnarmed. He began to desire them to abide the rest of the day, & in the night to passe by the hilles and lake wayes, and shewed the waye, and prayed them not to take away the hope of health, whiche was at hand. But they reuiling him, and bending their weapons against him, compelled him. So he being afraide, went, and turning him, said thus. *Octauius* and *Petronius*, and you other Captaines of the Romanes that be present, you see the necessitie of my going, and you can tell being with me, the lowle violence that I suffer. Therefore tell all other men, if you escape, that *Crassus* being deceyued of his [illegible], died, and not forsaken of his citizens. *Octauius* souldioures did not tarry, but came from the hill. The yong men bearers *Crassus* put away.

Crassus to the army.

Rusis.

The Barbarians that came to hym of the *Barbarians*, were two halfe Greekes, who alighting from their horses, honored him, and saluting hym in Greeke, wished hym to sende some, to whome *Surena* might shewe that he, and they that were with him, were without armor and weapons. To whom *Crassus* answered, that if he hadde anye little hope of his life, he woulde not go to them at all. Yet he sente *Rusius* two horsemen, to learne to what, and howe many shoulde come, whome, being me, *Surena* detained, and with the chiefe her came down on horsebacke.

A scoffe of *Surenas*.

What meaneth this (saide he) the Romane Generall afeared and we mounted? and commaunded an horse to be brought for *Crassus*. *Crassus* answered, that neyther he nor they did offend: for they came to talke after the maner of their Country. Then *Surena* saide, that from henceforth, good peace shoulde be betweene the Romanes and the King. But the conditions shall be written at the leasure, whether they would deuise. For you (quoth he) are not mindfull of your conuenaunts, and hewe for the his right hand to him. When *Crassus* called for an horse, it shall not neede, (quoth *Surena*) for the King giueth the this, and by and by an horse was brought to *Crassus* trapped with gold. He setting him vppe, went about him, and broke the horse to go away with him. *Crassus* was the first that tooke the bridle with

Surenas vvith out faith.

A taunt to the Romanes.

Crassus horsed and led awaye.

with him, *Petronius* a Tribune, and then the reſt ſtood about him: the one ſtriuing to make the horſe to goe, and the other to kéepe them backe, and to ſtay the horſe, by the which a tumulte and fray, began betweene them.

Octauius drew his ſworde, and killed one of the *Barbarian* horſe-kéepers, an other killed *Octauius*, thruſting him thorow behinde. *Petronius* had no weapon, and being ſtroke on the eares, he eſcaped vnhurte. *Maxarthes* a *Parthian* killed *Craſſus*: they ſaye an other killed him, and that he did cutte off his heade, and his right hande. This is rather coniectured than knowne. For they that were preſent, fought about *Craſſus*, and ſome were killed, and ſome fledde againe to the hyll. The *Parthians* went aboute, ſaying, that *Craſſus* had his worthy puniſhment, al the other, ſhould haue come downe boldely: ſome yelded, and ſome fledde by night, of the which, very fewe were ſaued. The other were chaſed by the *Arabians* and killed.

Octauius ſlaine.

Maxarthes *Craſſus* killed.

Miſerable ende of *Craſſus* and the Romanes.

They ſay twenty thouſand were ſlaine, and tenne thouſande taken. *Surenas* ſent *Craſſus* head and his hand to *Orodes* into *Armenia*. He ſpeaking rudely at *Seleucia*, that he brought *Craſſus* alliue, ſente meſſengers to prepare a mocking ſporte, in ſcornfully calling it a Triumphe. For one *Caius* among the captiues moſt like to *Craſſus*, was clad with a Mydaines robe, and commaunded that whenſoeuer he were called *Craſſus* and *General*, he ſhoulde anſwere, and was ledde on horſebacke. Before him were certaine Trumpetters and base beaters, ryding on Camelles. Purſes were tyed to the rodes, and the heades of the Romaynes that were cutte off to the eares. There followed a greate company of Harlottes, and Baudes of *Seleucia*, ſpeaking many opprobrious and laughing matter againſte the effeminate cowardiſe of *Craſſus*, and al the other followed them.

The number of the Romanes ſlaine.

Caius.

Spight done to *Craſſus* after his death.

Then calling the auncients of *Seleucia* togither, he ſhewed the wanton writtings of *Aristides* of *Seleucia*, and therein he did not lie, for they were founde in the carriage of *Reſaina*, and miniſtred great matter to them, to reproue and blame the Romaines, that euen in their leaues doe not refraine from ſuche ſonde maner of writting.

Ballades founde and red in ſpite. *Ariſtides* of *Seleucia*. *Reſaina.*

To the *Seleucians*, *Esopus* seemeth a wise man, seeing *Surena* blame a bag of the *Milesian* ballads before him, and bringing the wantonnesse of *Parthia*, with so many wagons of Concubines, behind him, a certaine shewe of a newe forme of straunge sight mortall and daungerous, thoughe the fore part were fayre, fearful and cruell, carrying speares, bowes, and horses, at the tayle of the hoste, ending with dauncing, singing, and saying, with women, and all kinde of lewdnesse. *Rustius* was to be blamed, and the *Parthians* shamelesse, that rebuke the *Milesians*, of the which, some of their Kings, called *Arsacides*, have come of *Milesian* or *Ionian* strumpets. This being done, *Orodes* made league with *Artabazes* the *Armenian*, and gave his sister to wife, to his sonne *Pacorus*. There were many feastes betweene them, and other friendships, insomuche as they came to Grekepastimes. For *Orodes* was not to learne the tongue nor the doctrine of *Greece*. And *Artabanes* made Tragedies, and wrote Histories, of the whiche, some are saved.

Esopus a writer of verses, by the which, *Surena* taketh occasion to raile vpon the *Romanes*. *Luxuriosa* is the worde signifying that that followe all vntonnesse. *Arsacidas* the Kinges house of *Parthia* cometh oute of *Milesia*. League betweene the Kings of *Armenia* and *Parthia*. Barbarians kinges learned. *Pacorus*.

When *Crassus* head was brought to the doores the tables were spreade. Then the setterforth of Tragedies, called *Iason* of *Tralles*, shewed *Bacchus* of *Euripides*, touching *Agave*. He being well liked, *Silaces* came into the dyning Parlour, and making reverence, threwe *Crassus* heade into the middest. The *Parthians* making a reioice with a shawte of ioy, the Ministers yelde by *Silaces*, the King commaunding it, and *Iason* delivered the preparation of *Pentheus*, to one of the dauncers, and taking *Crassus* head, he sung these verses of it, like a man caught with a furie.

Agave in her fury killed her sonne. A play at the bringing of *Crassus* heade. *Silaces* bringeth *Crassus* heade. *Pentheus* was the sonne of *Agave*.

We bring from the circuite of the Mountaines a newe killed game,
A blessed happy hunting.

This did al they reposte. And when it came aboute againe, that the Mayde shoulde sing this, Mine, Mine is the rewarde, *Pomaxathres* leapte forth, for he was set at the Table, and take the head, saying, it appertained more to him, than to he that hadde it. The King was glad for it was to be given to him with reward after the Countrey maner. To *Iason* he gave a talent. After this maner of play did the trauaile of *Crassus* ende as a Tragedie.

The killers of *Crassus* reverenced.

Both

Both *Orodes* for his cruelty, and *Surena* for his periurie, haue worthy punishment. For not long after, *Orodes* killed *Surena* enuying his glorie. *Phraartes Orodes* sonne, after *Pacorus* was slaine of the Romaynes, and *Orodes* sicke of the dropsie, gaue his father poyson, whiche when he vnderstode it would be consumed by a laske, he left poysoning, & toke a readier way, by choking him: and the *Parthian* army being gone to *Mesopotamia*, the kings Captaines made *Labienus* the Romaynes their Generall, meaning to inuade *Syria*, & to go with hym as farre as *Alexandria*, and he leading the *Parthians* from *Euphrates* and *Syria* to *Lydia* & *Ionia*, wasting *Asia*, *Antonie* hearing of it, prepared to go against the *Parthians*, but being called home by the letters of his wife *Fuluia*, sent to him with weeping, he turned into *Italie*, and being at accorde with *Cæsar* and *Pompey* that ruled *Sicelie*, he sent againe into *Asia*, *Ventidius*, to repulse the *Parthians* comming forewarde, and for fauour, was made the holy minister of the former *Cæsar*. Other things they did in cõmõ and friendly, in ciuil and moste greate matters. There was a prophete with him of *Aegipe*, that was cunning in menns natiuities: he vpther to gratifye *Cleopatra*, or to tell the truth, spake to *Antonie* freely, saying. Thy fortune that is most noble and great, is ouerlayde of *Cæsars*, and counselled him to be as farre of, as he could from the yong man. For thine Angel, sayd the wise man, feareth his Angell, and it appeared that *Antonie* gaue credite to it, and thought the better of the *Aegyptian*. So committyng his things to *Cæsar*, he sayled into *Grecia*. And whylest he was at *Athenes*, the first newes came of *Ventidius* good proceedings, & he had ouercome the *Parthians*, and slaine *Labienus* and *Phraartes*, the chiefe Captaines of king *Orodes*. After this, he leaded the *Cicilians* to the riuer of the *Athenians*, where when he went to the warre, he ware a garlande of holy Olyue, and according to an oracle, carried with hym a bucketful of y fountain of *Cleopsidra*. Then was it tolde *Ventidius* had ouerthrowne *Pacorus* the kings sonne, with a great armie of the *Parthians* vnder-

Surena is killed of *Orodes*, and *Orodes* of his son *Phraartes*.

Labienus.

Assyria.

Ventidius.

Ancome is made minister of *Antonius* Cæsar.

A Southsayer.

Antonius Angel, a guide of *Antonius*.

Ventidius hath good lucke to him.

Cleopsidra a riuer in the cõtrie of *Athenes*.

Pacorus killed.

ding *Syria* against *Antonie* at *Cyrrhestica*, and that many were slain among the which, *Pacorus* was one of the first. This age was one of

the nobleſſe, in the which the *Romanes* reuenged the miſfortunes of *Craſſus*, and droue the *Parthians* againe into *Media* and *Meſopotamia*, being ouercome in three battells together. *Ventidius* refrayned to followe the *Parthians*, any further fearing the enuy of *Antonie*. Them that reuolted he recouered againe, and beſieged *Antiochus Comagenus* in the Cittie of *Samoſata*, offring a thouſand talents, and to doe what *Antonie* ſhould commaund him. *Ventidius* badde him ſende to *Antonie*, for he was at hand, and *Ventidius* would haue *Antiochus* make his peace there, that this acte might redounde to his honoure, leaſte all ſhoulde ſeeme to be done by *Ventidius*. But the ſiege continuing longer, and the inhabitance for deſperatiō of peace, turning to courage of heartes, *Antonie* was content to let *Antiochus* go for three hundred talents. And when he had tarryed a while in *Syria*, he returned to *Athens*, and rewarding *Ventidius*, as he was worthie, ſent him to triumphe. He only to that day, did triumphe of the *Parthians*, a man of baſe byrth, comming to ſo great an eſtimation of waighty matters by *Antonies* friendſhip, which he vſing wiſely, made the ſaying of *Craſſus* & *Antonie* to be found true, that they were more fortunate by other Captaines, than by themſelues. For *Soſius*, *Antonies* Lieutenant in *Syria*, dydde many things, and *Canidius* lefte of him in *Armenia*. He ouercame the *Hiberian* and *Albanian* Kings, and drone them as farre as *Cauceſus*, whereby *Antonies* name was renowned among the *Barbarians*. After that *Phraartes* had killed his father *Orodes*, and taken the Kingdome, many *Parthians* fledde vnto *Monæſius* a noble and a mighty man, fledde to *Antonie*. Where he hauing this mans fortune with *Themiſtocles*, and comparing his power, with the kings of *Perſia*, gaue him three Cities, *Larriſſa*, *Arethuſa*, and *Hierapolis*, whom before they called *Bambyce*. But when *Monæſius* was called home againe by the king, he did let him goe, meaning ſo to deceiue the King by hope of peace, and being deſirous to recouer the enſignes of *Craſſus*, and the captiues that were aliue, he ſent *Cleopatra* into *Aegypt*, and went into *Arabia* and *Armenia*, to gather his power and the confederate kings, for they were many. But the greateſt was

Artaba-

Ventidius requeſted to do further againſte the *Parthians* for feare of *Antonies* enuy.

Samoſata bringeth forth an earth that ſetteth vvater a fire, in that parte of *Syria*, that is called *Comagene*

Antonius is deceyued of his hope and returneth doyng nothing.

Ventidius triumpheth of the *Parthians*.

Octauius and *Antonie* more fortunate by their Lieutenaunts, than themſelues.

Soſius.

Canidius.

Phraartes killeth his father *Orodes*.

* This *Iberia* is nighe the hyll *Cauceſus*, full of venime; from vvhence they came, that novv inhabite *Spaine*.

Antonie vvoulde giue reyvarde comparable to the kings of *Perſia*.

Lariſſa, there be many of that name, One in *Aſie*, nighe *Tralles*.

Arethuſe, one in *Syria*, another in *Eubea*.

Hierapolis in *Meſopotamia*.

Artabazes of *Armenie*, giuing three thousande horse, and fourten thousand footmen. When he muſtred his men, there were .lx. M. footemen, and of the Romanes ordinarie horsemen, and the *Iberians* and Frenchmen, ten thousand. Of other nations there was thirty thousand with horsmen and shotte. This so great preparation and power, that made the *Bactrians* and *Indians* afraide and all *Asia* to shake, they saye, that *Cleopatra* made to come to little profite, for making haste to winter with hir, he tooke not due time for the warre, doing all things confusedly, not as one that had his wittes, but abused with his sorceries and witchcrafts of hir, that he thought more to make haste to hir, than to get victorie of his enimies. For whereas he ought to have entred in *Armenia*, and refred his weary army that had gone .lxx. M. furlongs, and before the *Parthians* had come from their winterings, to inuade *Media* in the beginning of the Spring, he would not tarry the time, but led his army, as he had *Armenia* on his left hande, and when he came to *Atropatia*, he wasted that region. Then hauing engines necessarie for to ouerthrow townes, which followed the campe with three hundred Charets, in the which, there was one called a Ramme, of the length of foure score foote, which if it were broken, could not be made againe, because he leade the armye in a Countrey plaine and barren of wood of any length or thickenesse, he left the behinde him, as impedimentes to his haste, appointing a band and a Captaine to keepe the same, and he besieged *Phraata* a greate Cittie, in the which, the wife and children of the King of *Media* were. And then feeling the want of the engines, he knewe he had erred in leauing them behinde him, and therefore would winne the Cittie by mounkes, which was a great labour, and a long time. In the meane time came the King *Phraates* with a great armie, who hearing of the leauing of the cariage of the engines, sent many horsmen for the, of whom *Statianus* being cheefe of the Romanes, was killed, and ten thousande with him.

The *Parthians* tooke the engines, and destroyed manie people, in the whiche was *Polemo* a king. This made *Antonie* verie afraide, as it might, to receiue such a losse at the beginning.

Forces of *Antonie*.

Bactriani, people in *Scythia* of *Asia*.

Cleopatra is cause of the decay of a greate prepiration.

Antonie abused by *Cleopatra*.

Eight furlongs maketh a myle.

Atropatia is part of *Media*.

Ramme an engine to beate walles of artillerie.

Phraata besieged

Antonies error.

The artillerie is taken, and the keepers killed.

Statianus and *Polemon* be killed.

Artabazes

Artabasses forsaketh the Romaines.

Artabasses the *Armenian* king, displeasing of the Romaines, returned home with his army, albeit he was ꝑ cause of the warre. They that were besieged, trusted vpon the *Parthians* so muche, as they vsed spitefull language. *Antonie*, not thinking god his souldiours courage shoulde be abated, by lying ydly there, toke tenne legions, and three bandes of the guarde, and all hys horsemen, and wente to forage, thinking so to prouoke hys enimies to fighte, and to deale with them orderly. Being gone one onely dayes iourney, when he sawe the *Parthians* fetching their compasse, and seking to stoppe his waye, hee commaunded the token of fight to be giuen, and the sampe to be leuied, not as though he woulde fight, but marche. He passed by the *Barbarians*, who were sette like a creſcent, commaunding the horsemen, that when the footemen were so nigh as they might fight, that the horsemen should turne vpon them. The *Parthians* did iudge the Romaines order to be better by reason, and behelde them marching with equall distaunce quietlye, and with silence, shaking their weapons. When the token was giuen, and they went on with shoute, the horsemen turned vppon the enimie, who receiued them with defence, although they were within the shotte. But when the footemen came with crye & clashing of armour, the horsemen of the *Parthians* gaue place with disorder, and fledde before they came to handes. *Antonie* followed the chase, hauing greate hope to make an ende ether of the whole warre, or of a great part of it, when they had followed the chase, the footemen fiue miles, and the horsemenne thrice so muche.

The *Parthians* marcel at the good order of the Romanes.

The Romanes haue a victorie of small aduenture.

They found no more taken, but thirtie, nor no more slayne, but foure score, euerye manne thinking it an harde case, that they hauing victorye, shoulde kyll so fewe, and loosing theyr Engines with so manye. When they were ouercome, they fell into a greate discourage and doubte of themselues.

The next daye they passed to *Phraaspa* Campe, and by the waye, founde first a fewe enimies, then more, at last all as inuincible, and not to be hurte, they prouoked him, euerye

where

where set vpon him, so as hardly, and with muche adoe, the Romanes went to their Campe. And where they of the Citie hadde made a sallie, and put some of the Romanes from their trenche, *Antony* was so angry, as he punished euery tenth mā by death, according to the deserte, taking euery tenth by lotte, that hadde forsaken his place, and to the other insteade of wheate, he gaue barley. The warre was painefull to bothe, and the continuance more fearefull, *Antonie* perceyuing hunger would folowe, for he coulde get no forage without death and hurte of his souldiors. *Phraates* knowing the *Parthians* had rather doe any thing, than to lie in fielde, and in an other land, in the winter, was afraide, that if the Romanes did hold out and tarry, that they would leaue him, the ayre beginning to chaunge, and the time of equall day and night being at hande: he deuised this crafte. The best of the *Parthians*, vsed the Romanes more gently in their forraging and other encounters, suffering them to carry away some things, and praysing their vertue, as of men moste valiaunt in warre, and in great estimation with their king, as they were wel worthy. And by this meane comming nearer together, and suffring the horsemenne to passe, spake euill of *Antonie*, bicause *Phraates* would gladly haue peace, and spare so good and so many menne, that had giuen none occasion, but that he would tarry and abide two great and harde enimies, that is, Winter and Hunger, from the whiche, they coulde hardely escape, thoughe the *Parthians* would suffer them.

The Romaines hardly gate to their Campe.

The Romaynes punished by lot.

Autumne.

A craftie praise.

VVinter and Hunger two great enimies.

Many declaring this to *Antonie*, and he deceiued by this hope, deferred to sende an Herault to the *Parthians* king, till he knewe of those wel willing *Barbarians*, if they spake so muche with the kings consent. They affirming and promising, that he ought not doubt nay dreade, he sent one of his friendes againe, requiring to receiue the ensignes the Captiues, that he might not be thought altogither to haue himselfe, and to escape. The *Parthians* answering, he shoulde not passe of that, but if he did departe, he shoulde haue peace and safete by and by: wherefore within fewe dayes he brake vppe and went his way. And whereas he was eloquent in perswading, and was wonte to moue the people, and the ar-

Antony deceyued.

Antonie committeth the speeche to his souldiours, another, contrary to his vvonte.

my by hys oratiõs, now for shame and beaunesse, he omitted to speake to the multitude, and commaunded *Domitius Aenobarbus* to do it. Some were angry as though he despised them, but the more parte were content and perceyued the matter, & therefore thought the rather to graunt and obey their Generall.

Mardi the people in *Hyrcania*

Mardus taketh vppon him to leade the armye the best vvay.

Being aboute to leade them the playne and barren waye, a man that by kinde was called *Mardus*, acquainted with the *Parthian* fashion, faithfull to the Romanes, and at the fielde of the engins, came to *Antonie*, and willed him to flee on the right hand of the hills, and not to fasse his armye laden with harnesse, and weary with iourneys, to suche a mighte of horse and shotte, and that *Phraates* vnder cheuse of beneuolence, went aboute to entrap him, and that he wouide leade hym a shorter way, in the whiche he shoulde haue sufficiencie of all things.

When *Antonie* heard this, he toke counsel, and said he would not seeme to distrulte the *Parthians*, touching the peace, but for the shortnesse of the way, and the plentifull Townes inhabited, he prayed *Mardus*, and required faith of him. He offred to be bound till he brought them into *Armenia*. Being bound, he leade them .ij. daps very quietlie. The which done, *Antony* not lokyng for the *Parthians*, and going negligently bycause of his boldernesse, *Marde* sawe the banke of the floud newe broken, and much water ouerrunning the place where they shoulde passe. He knewe it was the *Parthians* worke to make their way the harder, and to set that floude as an impediment vnto them, and willed *Antonie* to loke about him, for the enimie was not farre off. Whiles he set hys men in order, and commaunded the shotte to encounter with the, beholde the *Parthians* appeared, and came as they would haue compassed and dissolued the armye. The shotte comming vppon them, and hurte being done on both sides, they retyred, and after came againe. Then the French horsmen encountred with them, and putte them backe, so as that day they did no more attempte.

Mardus bounde.

The *Parthians* come vppon *Antonie* on the sodaine.

French horsme.

By this, *Antonie* learning what he shoulde do, he placed manye shotte, not onely at the taile, but on the sides, leadyng the armye in a square, commaunding the horsemen to putte backe the enimies, but not to followe them too farre. So the *Parthians*

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in theſe foure dayes hauyng done no more hurte than reteiued, wared lowe, and entended to goe their waye, making light of their pretence. The fifth daye, *Plautius Gallus* a good ſouldioure and a forwarde in feates of warre, requited *Antonie* to giue him ſome ſhotte for hys retewarde, and horſmen for hys fore warde, and he wouldo do a good ſeruice. He gaue him, and he kept backe the enmuies. But nowe not returning to the fotemen as he did before, but followyng and fyghting with more courage, when the leaders of the taile ſaw him go to far, they called hym backe, but he would not. They ſay *Titius* did take the Enſigne to turne him backe, and rebuke *Gallus*, that would loſe ſo manye, and ſo good men, and that he rebuked him agayne, and badde him meddle with his owne matters, and ſo *Titius* went his way.

Plautius Gallus.

The rashenesse of *Gallus*.

The ſobernesse of *Titius*.

Gallus ſetting vppon the face of them, was compaſſed at the backe, and being beſette rounde aboute, ſent for more helpe.

They bringing the fotemen, among the whiche was *Canidius*, a man in great fauour with *Antonie*, who ſeemed to committe a greate errour, for he ought to haue brought forthe the whole battaile, and to haue ſent them forth in bandes, one ready to help another, whiche being to weake, to haue ſupplied more, they perceyued not that it wanted but little that the whole army was not putte to the worſſe, and to flight, if *Antonie* hadde not by and by brought the legions, and ſet them in the face of them, and the third legion had not paſſed among them that fledde, and ſtayed the enimie from further chaſe. There was ſlaine no leſſe than thrée thouſande, and there came to their tentes wounded fyue thouſande And *Gallus* among them, ſhotte thorowe with four arrowes, coulde not be healed of his woundes. The other *Antonie* went about and comforted, and wyth teares bad them be of good cheare, but they chearfully taking him by the hande, prayed hym to comfort himſelfe, & not to be diſeaſed, calling him Chiefe Generall, ſaying, they were well, if he were whole: for generally, there was no captaine led a more noble armi, neither in ſtrēgth nor in patience, nor in holdneſſe, in thoſe dayes, than he, nor more reuerence and obedience, with benenolence of all indifferently, noble, vnnoble, Rulers, and priuate men, was euer giuen to any

Canidius committeth a greate errour.

A ſlaughter of the Romanes.

Antonie comforteth his menne, and they him.

Antonie a verye good Captaine.

mun. if. Captaine,

Captaine, than to *Antonie*, preferring hym before their owne liues and health, wherein he might compare with the auntiente Romanes. Diuers causes were of this, (as we haue saide) gentlenesse, eloquence, plainenesse, liberalitie, and magnificence, & courtesie in myrth and speeche, and for that he would pitie and comforte the sicke, and giue what they needed, he made the sicke and the hurte the more assured to hym.

Causes of the souldiours loue towarde *Antony*.

The enimies for this victorie, were in suche a pride, thoughe they were weary and almost refusing the fight, contemning the Romanes, as that night they encamped hard by them, thinking straight to haue spoiled the voide tents, and sacked the money of them being fled.

When day was come, they were many more, and they saye they were not lesse than fortie thousande horsemenne, the king sending still more vnto them, as to a sure and certaine victorie, but he was not with them, whither they wonne or lost.

When *Antonie* should speake to the souldiours, he would haue a blacke garment, that he might the more be pitied, but his friends not suffering it, he came in a Captaines purple robe, and spake vnto the, prayling the that had done well, and disprayfing them that fledde, of the whiche, some prayed him to be of good comforte, some confessed their faulte, and offered to be punyshed euery tenth man, or any other waye to chastice them, onely they prayed him to cease his sorrowe and griefe. Then holding vppe his handes, he prayed the Goddes, that if there were any reuenge towarde, for hys former felicitie, that it might lighte on hym, and that the reste of the armye might haue healthe, and victorye.

Antony discouraged.

Antonies prayer

The nexte day, they marched better guarded: and the *Parthians* that followed were much deceiued of their purpose, for where they thought to come to spoile and pray, and not to fight, beyng resisted with great therefulnesse of the souldiours, they were wearie againe. And as the Romanes went down certaine hills, they came vpon them, and they made a sharpe shotte. The Target men turned vpon them, and couered their shotte with their shields, for the Targets hid them easily, they kneeling on their knees.

The manner of the Romanes againste the *Parthians*.

knées. They that stode behind, defended them with their armor, and so did the other. This manner of forme, bowing alike euery way, made a figure of a Theatre, and it is the surest waye to auoyde shotte, the arrowes sliding away. The *Parthians* thinking the stouping of the Romanes vpon their knées had bin for heate and thirst, vnbent their bowes, and with their speares came nigh, thē then the Romanes rising sodainly with a crie, set vpon them, and wringing their weapons out of their handes, killed the formost of them, and made all the other to runne away. The like was done other dayes. They giuing little way, and famine falling into the army, little meate being had, because of their often fights, wanting Milles to grinde their corne, being lefte wyth the engines, for they were lefte behinde, and because many of the beasts were killed, the sicke and wounded men were borne. So as they say, an *Athens* bushel of wheate was worth fiftie drams, and barley was worth the waighte in siluer.

The Parthians deceyued. The fight at kid

The miserie of the Romanes.

Then being driuen to hearbs and rootes, some they found of the vsuall sorte, but being compelled to proue them that were vnknowne, they first lighted vpon an hearbe that brought death with a maddenesse. For he that eate it remembred nothing, nor knew nothing. Only one thing they did, moue and turne a stone, as a thing of great waighte to be done. The fielde was full of them that stowped to the grounde and digged, and remoued stones.

Chœnix attica cõtaineth 2. *Sextarij*, and *Sextarij*, is the sixte part of *Congio*.

Drachma vvas as muche as a Romane Penny.

Hearbs hurtefull vvhiche the soldioures eate.

An hearbe making men mad.

At length vomiting their choller, they dyed, when wine, whiche was the only remedy, was spent, many being deade, and the *Parthians* not ceassing. They say ỳ *Antonie* many times cried (O the tenne thousande,) praising them that with *Xenophon* did go a farre longer way from *Babilon*, and fighting many battells saued themselues.

Ten thousande Grecians passed from the field of their losse Captaine vvithout hurte.

The *Parthians* could not draw them asunder, nor breake their order, and being diuers times put to the worse, they fled, waring quiet againe: then they gotte among them that went for forage, & shewyng the strings of their bowes lose, they said they would retire and make an ende of their chase. A fewe *Medians* folowed yet a daye or two, doing no hurte, but onely guarding the townes

of *Media*. By theſe woꝛdes they gaue ſalutations and went on with gentleneſſe, in ſo much as the *Romanes* were chærefull a-gayne: whiche when *Antonie* heaꝛde, hee ſayde he would go by the playne, rather than the hylles, where was lacke of water. And mindyng thus to doe, one named *Mithridates* came from the enimies, beyng coulſine to *Moneſes*, that had bene with *Antonie*, and had the thꝛee Citties gyuen hym, and deſired ſome might come to hym that coulde ſpeake the *Parthian* oꝛ *Median* tongue. And *Alexander* of *Antiochia*, in credite with *Antonie*, beyng ſente to hym, hee ſayde, that he was come to yelde thankes foꝛ *Moneſes*, and aſked *Alexander*, if hee ſawe thoſe highe and long hylles befoꝛe hym, and when he ſayde he did, vnder them ſayde hee, the *Parthians* lie in wayte foꝛ you, with all their armye. This greate fielde ſtretcheth to thoſe hilles, and they thinke that beyng deceyued by them, you will leaue the way by the hilles, bycauſe there is thirſt and labour: but if *Antonie* goe this way, lette him knowe to fall in *Craſſus* calamitie.

Antonie beyng troubled, when he harde this, conferred with his friendes, and *Mardus* the gayde of the way, who thought no leſſe, he knewe that though there were none enimies, the iourney by the playneſſe was wayleſſe, vncertaine, harde and ſtrange to finde. The way by the hilles, had none other difficultie, but wante of water foꝛ one day. Beyng turned to this, he commaunded to goe by night, and to carie water. There was wante of veſſelles, therefoꝛe they caried water in their head-peeces, and ſome in ſkinnes. Their goyng beyng knowen to the *Parthians*, they came vpon them by night contrary to their maner, and by the ryſing of the Sunne, they moleſted the tayle, now weary with watchyng and labour, foꝛ they had gone that night two hundꝛeth and foꝛtie furlongs, & not thinking their enimies woulde haue come ſo ſone, they were diſcouraged, foꝛ neyther had they dꝛinke, and muſte fight as they went.

Antonie ſoone led to hope.

Mithridates ſent by *Moneſes* giueth *Antonie* vvarning.

Antonie grieued.

The *Parthians* come by night.

VVater hurtful

The foꝛmer chaunced to mẽte with a ſtoudde whoſe water was colde and cleare, but ſalte and venemous. The whiche be-

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ing dronke dyd wring the belly with torment, and inflamed their drouthe. And though *Mardus* gaue them warnyng of it, notwithstandyng, they beate them off that would haue stayed them, and dronke it. *Antonie* came among them, and prayed them to be content for a whyle, for there was an other floudde of good water not farre off, and that the residue of the way was sharpe and not for horsemen, at the whiche, their enimies would leaue them.

Then blowing the retreate, he commaunded to pitche their tentes, that at the least, the Soldiours might repose them in the shadowe. The tentes beyng sette, and the *Parthians* goyng their way as they were wonte, *Mithridates* came agayne, and willed *Alexander* that came to him, to see that the armie shoulde take little reste, but goe and make haste to the floudde, because the *Parthians* woulde goe no further, but thyther they woulde folow them. A newe warning.

This beyng tolde to *Antonie*, *Alexander* brought from hym, cuppes and vessels of golde, of the which *Alexander* taking so many as hee coulde carie vnder his cloke, wente his waye. They remoued, and went the reste of that day, without any trouble of their enimies. But the night, they made to themselues moste vnquiet and fearefull, for they killed them that had any Golde or Siluer, and they spoyled the money that was caried, and in the ende ransacked *Antonies* cariage, and tooke awaye his vessell and tables of Golde, and diuided them amongst them. Disorder in the Romanes cãpe amõg themselues.

There was great feare & confusion in the whole armie, for they thought the enemies had turned and spoyled their people. *Antonie* called one of hys garde, whose name was *Rumon*, and made hym to sweare, that when hee commaunded hym, hee shoulde thrust hys sworde thorough him, and cut off his head, that it might neyther bee taken aliue of the enimie, nor knowne when hee was deade. His friendes weepyng, *Mardus* comforted *Antonie*, that the floudde was neere at hande, for *Antonie* in dispayre.

A colde aire declareth a floude to be at hande.

for a moist breath was felt, and a colde ayre came into the, that made the breathing swerte and the time (quoth he) of our iorney, doth agree with ỹ measure, for there was but a little of the night left. And then came other and said the tumult did rise of iniurie & spoile among themselues. Therfore bringing the multitude from confusion and feare, to order, he commanded to encamp.

Now day began to shewe, and the army beginning to take a little reste, the archers of the *Parthians*, fel vpon the hindermoste: wherefore token of fight was giuen to the hoste. The armed men couering themselues agaīst with the shields, staied to ioine with the enimy. The fore warde going on, a little after the floud appeared, and the horsemen keping the enimies off, they carped ouer the lickemen first, and whiles these were fighting, they had leisure and quiet to drinke.

When the *Parthians* saw the floud, they vnbended their bowes, and badde the Romanes go on boldely, commending much their vertue. When they were passed with quiet, they gathered together againe, for they had no great truste in the *Parthians*, as they went. The first day after the last fighte, they came to the floude, *Araxes*, diuiding *Media* and *Armenia*, it appeared both deepe and swift, and it was laide that the enimies came to set vpon them in the passage. But when they were quietly passed and come into *Armenia*, as thoughe they had seene that land from the sea, they kneled downe, and with teares and embracings one of another for ioye, they ranne togither.

Araxes cōmeth out of the hyll that *Euphrates* dothe.

But nowe going by a plentifull Country, and al vsing superfluitie after their want, they fell into dropsies, and Chollycke diseases.

The reioicing of the Romanes being come into *Armenia*.

And when *Antonie* made his musster, he founde .xx.M. foteme and horsemen to be slaine, not all of the enimies, but more than halfe of diseases. They were going from *Phraata* seauen and twentie daies, and they ouercame the *Parthians* in eightene battells, but their victories had no substaunce nor suretie of them that made ofte and small chases. It was well perceyued that *Artabazes* the *Armenian*, was the cause why *Antonie* coulde not bring this war to end. For the sixteene thousande horse that he ledde

Thys warre was not accōpted, for lacke of *Armenian* horsemen.

led out of *Media*, might haue done best seruice against the *Parthians*, being armed like them, and accustomed to fight with them: and when they fled from the Romanes fight, they should haue chased them, that being so ouercome, they could not haue bin bold to set vpon them againe so oft. All the army for anger moued *Antonie* to be reuenged of the king. He vsing discretion, did neyther blame his defection, nor change any of his wonted humanitie and honor to him, his army being yet weake and needy. but afterwarde being come againe into *Armenia*, and with fayre words and promises persuading him to come to his handes, he toke him, and carried him bounde to the triumph at *Alexandria*, which most grieued the Romanes, that the godly and comely things of their country, should be translated to *Alexandria* for *Cleopatras* sake. Thus he did. Betweene the kings of *Media* and *Parthia* fell a variaunce, begonne as they say, for the Romanes spoyle: and the *Median* king being in dãger thereby to lose his kingdome, he sent to *Antonie*, promising to make warr with him with all his power. Therefore *Antonie* was brought into great hope, for he supposed, he wanted nothing to ouercome the *Parthians*, but horsmen and archers, the which he saw was now offred him to gratify him without any asking. He prepared to go again into *Armenia*, & to ioyne with the *Median* at the flood *Araxes*, and there to moue the warre, but being called backe by the intercessions of *Octauia* and *Cleopatra*, he deferred the *Median* til the next sommer. although the *Parthians* were at discord: yet going to him once again, he made league with him, & when he had maryed one of his daughters with a sonne of *Cleopatra*, he returned againe to Ciuil warre.

Antonie taketh the king and maketh a triumph of him at Alexandria which greeueth the Romanes.

The end of the Romanes warr with the Parthians.

¶ The Romanes warre with the *Illyrians*: by *Appian of Alexandria*.

Illyria nowe *Slauonia*, *Chaonia*, part that is mountaines.
Thesprotia, that is next to *Chaonia*.
Paonia is a parte of *Macedonia*.
The breadth & length of *Illyria*.



The *Grecians* thinke them to be *Illyrians*, that haue their dwelling beyond *Macedonia* and *Thracia* from *Chaonia* & *Thesprotia* to the floud *Hister*. The greatneſſe of it, reacheth from *Macedonia* and the mountaines of *Thracia*, to *Paonia* and the *Alpes*, three dayes iourney. The length of it, is muche greater by three partes, as the *Grecians* thinke. The Romaynes meaſuring the ground, thinke it is fiue thouſand furlongs in length, and a thouſand two hundereth in breadth. And they affirme that countrey to haue the name and beginning of *Illyria*, ſonne to *Polyphemus*. For *Polyphemus* had by *Galatia*, *Celtes*, *Illyrius*, and *Galus*. And that they came out of *Sicelie*, and gaue name to the *Celtians*, *Illyrians*, and *Galathians*. And this I like well of the opinions that haue bene taught hereof. Then they ſaye that *Illyrius* had theſe folowing: *Achilles*, *Autarius*, *Dardanus*, *Medus*, *Taulantius*, & *Perrhebus*: and theſe daughters, *Partha*, *Daorta*, and *Daſera*, with others, of the which came the *Taulatians*, *Perrhebians*, *Achilleians*, *Autaricas*. *Dardauans*, *Parthenians*, *Daſaretians*, and *Darſians*: *Autarius* had *Pannonius* or *Paonius*, and *Scordiſcus*: *Paonius* had *Tribalus*, of the which theſe nations haue their names. And theſe be the antient beginnings of the great countrey of *Illyria*, in the whiche were the *Scordiſcians*, and *Triballians*, of ſo greate poſſeſſion, as they fought ſo long together, till the *Triballians*, that were lefte, fled to the *Celtes* beyond *Hiſter*. This nation was thought mightye tyll the time of *Philippe* and *Alexander*, and now ſo deſtroyed, as it hath no man left: and the *Scordiſcians* become to noughte alſo, for they being ouercome by the Romaines, came at length to dwel in the Ilands of *Hiſter*. And in continuaunce of tyme, ſome

Illyrius ſonne to *Polyphemus*.
Celte, by that part of Fraunce that is about Lions.
Taulantij, vvent from *Illyria* to *Macedonia*, and builded *Armiſſi*.
Perrhabi fled into *Aetolia*.
Achillai Ilanders.
Autarians vvere moſt vvarlike people of *Illyria* firſt ſubdued of the *Scordiſcians*, and laſt of the Romaines.
Parthene of *Macedonia*.
Dularetians of *Thracia*.

Scordiſcians.
Paonians.

some of them went abroade again and invaded the vttermost part of *Paonia*; wherefore the *Scordiscians*, be now amõg the *Paonians*. Likewise the *Ardeians*, when they had invaded the beste parte of the *Autarians* grounde nexte the coaste, they beyng seamen, they droue them away. After them, the *Liburnians* had the name to be good with their shippes, another nation of *Illyria*, robbing *Ionium* and the Alandes with their swifte shippes. Wherefore the Romaynes call the shippes of spéde *Liburnes*. There is a saying, that the *Autariãs* came to vtter destruction, by the wrath of *Apollo*. For they and the *Celtians* wyth the *Cymbrians*, did encampe at *Delphos*, and by and by all were dispearsed and fledde, and many of them before the fight, being stroken with raine, tempest, and lightning, and when they that were left came home, they found such a corruptiõ made by frogs in their waters, that they all perished. The vapor of the whiche so infected the Countrey of *Illyria*, as the *Autarians* being most plagued with it, fled: and bycause no man durst retayne them, they went on two and twentie dayes together, to a Fennie grounde inhabited, and buylded a Citty nere to *Asserus*. They saye also, that *Apollo* dyd destroy the *Celtians* and their Cities, & did not ende the plague before they fled and left their houses, and came into *Illyria*, that had offered with them, who being sweake for sickenesse, they some after came, and by handling of their things, toke the infection, and fledde to *Paeons*. And when they moued toward the rest, the Romanes being afraid of them with whom they had once fought an euenyng battayle, sent by the Consuls against them, least they should passe the *Alpes* and come into *Italy*. And the Romaines hauing the losse of all their armye, the name of the *Celtians* stroke *Italy* with feare, till they chose *Marius* their generall, which before had ouercome the *Libyans*, *Numidians* and *Marusians*, very valiauntly, and ouerthrew the *Celtians*, and did them many tymes destroy, as I haue shewed in the booke of *Celtica*. And this end had the *Celtians* and *Illyrians* for their wickednesse, yet they did not withholde their wicked handes from holy things, but the *Scordisciani*, *Medans*, and *Dardanãs*, ranne ouer *Grecia* and *Macedonia*,

Liburne. Light shippes.

Cymbri came from the north of *Saxon* into *Narbonne* in Fraunce where *Marius* ouercame them.

Punishment of God.

Fellurna, be at the flood *Borysthenes* in *Scythia*.

Pirene, is the hill that diuideth *Fraunce* and *Spaine*.

Cyllenus, *Manlius* and *Caepio*, Consuls ouerthrowen by the *Cymbrians*.

Marius ouerthroweth them.

donia, and spoyled temples, and once againe besieged Delphos, lo-sing many of their men being then slaine, two and thirtie yeare after the warre betweene the Romanes and the Celtians, who for their late sacrileage made them warre L. Scipio beyng Cap-taine then, being Lordes of Macedonia and Grecia. And they saye their neyghboures that were their felowes in this wic-kednesse, then not ayding them, left them to Scipio, remembryng the plague of the Autarians whiche were vtterlye destroyed throughe all Illyria. And that Scipio did ouerthrowe all the Scor-disians, and they that could escape wente to Danubio and the I-lands thereof, and that he being corrupted with a couenaunt of holy gold, made league with the Medans and Dardanans, by the which, as many Italians do shew in their writyngs, the state of Rome was stroken with ciuil discorde, vntill it came to the rule of one. These things of Illyria founde among the Grecians, I haue written at large. The Romanes cal not only these Illyrians, but also the Paonians beyonde them, the Rhetians, the Noricians, and Missians that dwel in Europe, and al other nigh that inhabite the right hand of Hister, by a common name, although they do separate the Illyrians from the Grecians, and call euery of them by their proper names. Being ledde wyth this opinion at the first, they chaunged afterward, and would haue the ende of Illyria at the beginning of Hister, to the sea of Pontus, whiche is tributarie vnto them. Howe the Romanes brought them to o-bedience, whe we wrote of the Celtians, we shewed that we did not well learne neyther the beginnings nor occasions of the warres.

Corruption one cause of ciuil discord at Rome.

Rhetia is at the Alpes, part of the which is nowe Gasoni. Noricia nowe Bauaria Mysia nowe Ilosua and Cerusia.

The sea of Pontus from Maotis to Tenedo. Agron. The Illyrian king hauing ouercome the Aetolians, dranke so much wine that he died presently.

And therefore we haue exhorted them to write, that haue more vnderstanding of the matters of Illyria. But as much as we knowe, we wil declare it.

Agron was king of a part of Illyria, which is at the coast of Ionia which Pyrrus king of Epirus, and such as came of him, had some-tyme. And he taking parte of Epirus, and Coreyra beyond that, & Epidanus and Pharus, as a keeper held them styl. When he sailed the rest of the Ionian sea, an Isle called Esus did reuolte to the Romanes.

Agron, Pyrrhus, Epirus, Cimera, or Albania. Corcira, Corfu. Epidamnus. Dyrrachium. Pharus, is an Iland in the Adriatical sea.

Romanes, and sent their Embassadoure to them, to declare what wrong *Agron* had done them. The *Illyrians* saylyng againe to the, killed *Caleniporus* the Embassador of *Essus*, and with them *Coruncanius*, the Romane, (as some say.) For this cause the Romanes inuaded *Illyria* both by sea and land.

Calemporus. Coruncanius Embassadors slaine.

Agron dyed, leauing an infant behinde hym called *Pine*. He lefte the gouernement of the countrey to his wife, that she might bring vppe the childe, although shee was not hys mother. *Demetrius* that had *Pharus* belonging to *Agrons* dominion, and after, getting *Corsiu*, betrayed both to the Romanes. They made amitie with the *Epidamnans*, and sent an armye to helpe them againste the *Illyrians* that besieged them: wherfore the *Illyrians* raised their siege, and some of them called *Atintani*, yelded to the Romanes.

Embassadoures killed, the cause of *Illyrian* vvar. *Pine.*

Pharus and *Corsiu* deliuered to the Romanes.

Atintani.

The wife of *Agron* sent Embassadours to *Rome*, deliuering the prisoners and captiues, requiring pardon for that was not done of hir, but of *Agron*. The Romanes saide that *Corsiu*, *Pharo*, *Essio*, and *Epidamno*, and the *Illyrians* that be called *Atintani*, were of their iurisdiction, and if *Pine* would holde the other Region of *Agron*, hee myghte vse the Romanes friendshippe, if he woulde refraine from the reste, nor the *Illyrians* shoulde go to the *Essians*, but with two boats, and them vnarmed, all the whiche they admitted. And this was the firste doings of the Romanes and the *Illyrians*, after the which, they gaue libertie to *Corcyra* and *Appolonia*.

Peace vvith *Pine.*

Appolonia and *Epidamna.*

They gaue also rewardes to *Demetrius* for his reuolting, yet despising his infidelitie, that came from him afterwarde. For the Romanes contending three yeares with the *Celtians* aboute the floude *Eridanus*, *Demetrius* not nowe palling of the Romanes, because they were troubled with warre, gote *Histria*, an other nation of *Illyria*, and compelled the *Atintanes*, to reuolte from the Romanes. When the Romanes had made an end with the *Celtians*, they went by and by into *Illyria*, and take the robbers that had ioined themselues with *Demetrius* and the other *Illyrians*. And they killed *Demetrius*, that fledde vnto *Philippe* of *Macedonie*, and retourned wyth an Nauye, and spoiled the Gulfe of *Ionia*, and vtterlye ouerthewe his Countrey *Pharus*, conspiring with hym,

Demetrius.

Eridanus, nowe Po, the greate floude of *Italie.*

Atintanes.

famine, and pardoned the other *Illyrians*, that dyde agree with *Pine*.

This was the seconde warre and truce with the *Illyrians*. The reste be described of me not in order and time, but by the nations as I haue found them. The Romanes inuaded *Macedonie* when *Perseus* raigned after *Philippe*. *Gentius* an other king of *Illyria*, allured with mony, ioyned with *Perseus*, & stirred the *Illyrians* against the Romanes, and dydde caste the Romane Embassadoures into prison, alleadging that they came not as Embassadoures, but as espialls. Wherefore *Anitius* the Romane Lieutenaunt toke diuers of *Gentius* shippes, and inuading the lande, ouercame hym when he hadde shutte him in a place, and he asked forgiuenesse, he counsailed him to yelde to the Romanes: he desired three dayes respite, which being granted, and in the meane time his subiects forsaking him, he desired he might come to *Anitius*. Whyche when he did, he kneeled on his knees with great shame, and spake for himselfe. The Romane President toke him by the hand, and badde him be of good cheere, and toke him to a banquet, from the whiche as he was going, he was taken and made prisoner, and carried to *Rome* in triumphe with his sonnes.

Gentius imprisoneth the Romane Embassadoures.

Anitius.

Gentius contrary to promise take.

This warre of *Gentius* was finished in twentie dayes. *Aemilius Paulus* that toke *Perseus*, and sente hym to *Rome*, spoiled three score of his Citties after this sorte. Going priuily to *Rome*, with great spede, and returning, he promised the people forgiuenesse, if they wouldo bring in all their golde and siluer. They agreeing to it, he brought parte of his armye to euerye Cittie, then commaunding the Captaines of the army, at a daye in the morning, to charge the Citizens by Trumpet, that they shoulde bring all their golde and siluer within three houres space, whiche being done, he gaue the reste to his souldioures for spoile. So *Paulus* in one houre spoiled. lxx. Cities.

Aemilius Paulus taketh lxx. cities in a daye, by craftes.

The *Ardeans* and *Palerians*, an other nation of the *Illyrians*, inuaded that part that the *Romanes* held, to whom the Romanes for other lettes sente Embassadors to affray them. They would not obey, wherfore ỳ Romanes sent an army against thẽ of 10000. fotemen, and 600. horsemen. They not being readye, sente

Ardeans. *Palerians*.

Embas-

Embassadoures to aske pardon for their offences. The Senate commaunded them to recompence them, whome they had iniuried, the whiche thing, when they lefte vndone, *Fulvius Flaccus* goeth against them with a great armye. The warre consisted in *Rhodes*, and was not fully ended. *Fulvius Flaccus.*

Sempronius Tuditanus, and *Tiberius Pandusius* ouercame the *Iapodes* within the Alpes. Likewise the *Segestanes* did yelde to *Lucius Cotta* and *Metellus*, all the whiche shortely after forsoke the Romanes. *Semp. Tuditanus. Tib. Pandusius. Iapodes. Segestani. Segestro.*

The *Dalmatians*, an other nation of the *Illyrians*, inuaded them that obeyed the Romanes, and would not admitte the Romane Embassadoures that came to them for that purpose: wherfore I thinke the Romanes made warre vppon them, when *M. Figulus* was Consul. As sone as *Figulus* came, they set vpon the former, and droue them from the army, into the fielde, so as they fledde to the floude *Naro*, and then they retyred, for Winter was at hande. *Dalmatie. Sauonia* by sea. *M. Egulus. Naro*, nowe *Narenta.*

Figulus then thinking he might of the sodaine disperse them, he droue them all from their places, till he came to the Citie of *Delminium*, whereof the *Dalmatians* haue their name. And where he could doe nothing against that Citie of the sodaine, nor raise engines for the heigth of the wall, he went abroade againe, all being destitute and vnfurnished. For the walking aboute *Delminium*, he made certaine pearches of two cubites long, laide ouer with pitch, sulpher and towe, and with his slings, threwe them into *Delminium*, the which being fyred by the violence, and like lamps fleeing in the aire, did set on fire whatsoeuer they touched, so as many were consumed by fire. Wherof ended the warre of *Figulus*. Romanes dryue to the floud. *Naro. Delminium. Dena.* Denise of *Figul.*

In time following, *Cecilius Metellus* being Consul, when the *Illyrians* had offended nothing, he wouldenedes make warre to triumphe of them, of whome being receiued friendly, and remayning in *Salon* their Cittie that winter, he triumphed of nothing. *Cecilius Metellus* triumpheth for nothing.

Cæsar when he made warre vppon the *Celtians*, the *Dalmatians* flourished and toke a Citie from the other *Illyrians* called *Promona*, which belonged to the *Lyburnians*. The *Lyburnians* gaue themselues *Salon* of the *Assyrians* Pollio called his sonne *Salonus Promona.*

Cæsars army ouerthrowne of the Illyrians.

selues to the Romanes, & fled to *Cæsar*. *Cæsar* sent Embassadors to them, exhorting them to restore *Pomona* to the *Lyburnians*. They despising it, he sent an army, which was ouerthrown of ỹ *Illyrians*. *Cæsar* being occupied with other cares, the sedition of *Pompey* following, did nothing to them, but sayled wᵗ his whole armye, in a contrary tempest, to try ỹ matter with *Pompey* in *Macedonia*. The rest of the army *Antonie* brought to *Cæsar* by *Macedonie*. Then in a gret tempest, *Gabinius* assayed to bring to *Cæsar*. xl. bands of footmen, & iij. M. horsmen by *Illyria*, whom ỹ *Illyrians* for feare of that he had done, & thinking the victorie of *Cæsar* would be their confusion, resisted *Gabinius*, & slew al saue a fewe, ỹ fled with him, & got a great deale of money, & infinite spoile. *Cæsar* dissembled at thys for the necessitie of the war with *Pompey*. When *Pompey* was ouercome, & *Cæsar* went about to dispatch al the rest, he returned to *Rome*, & determined a war againste ỹ *Getes*, & the *Parthians*. When the *Illyrians* heard of this, and feared that *Cæsar* would take them in his way to *Parthia*, they sent Embassadors to *Rome*, to aske pardon of their faultes, and extolled the worthie nation of the *Illyrians*, and would become frendes.

The Illyrians destroy the armye that Gabinius bringeth to Cæsar.

Getæ, be people of *Scythia* in *Europe*, of some called *Daci*, but diuided, that *Daci* be they that are nexte *Germany*, wᵗhich for their seruile behauior be vsed for names of seruauntes in Comedies.

Cæsar being minded to go againste the *Parthians*, answered them sharpely, that he would not haue them for frendes, that had vsed him so vnfriendly, yet he woulde spare them, if they woulde paye tribute, and pledges. They promising bothe, hee sente *Atinius* to them with three legions, and a great band of horsemen, to take pledges and small tributes. When *Cæsar* was dead, they thought that the power of *Rome* would die with him, & so refused to obey *Atinius*, neither paying tribute, nor giuing hostages. *Atinius* seeing. v. bands against them, they ouercame them, and their leader *Bebius* a Senatour. *Atinius* with the reste, fledde to *Epidamno*.

Bebius ouercome Durazzo.

Prouinces to M. Brutus and C. Cassius.

Then the Senate appointed to *M. Brutus* and *C. Cassius* that killed *Cæsar*, *Macedonia* and *Illyria*, with *Syria*. So they making warre wᵗh *Antonie* & *Cæsar* that was called *Augustus*, ỹ *Illyrians* had no quietnesse. The *Paones*, a gret nation inhabiting alongst *Hister*, stretcheth from the *Iapodans*, to the *Dardanes*. They are called *Paones* of the *Grecians*, and of the Romanes *Pannonians*, and of them, (as wee haue sayde) they bee called parte of the *Illyrians*.

Paone.

Pannonie nowe Hungarie.

lyrians, of the which now I will speake somewhat, before I begyn about to shew the Illyrian state. They glorie much in ỹ Agrians which were Macedonians comming out of Paonia, & did great seruice vnder Philip & Alexander. And after Cornelius was ouerthrowne of the with al his army, the fame of the Paonians waxed very great, & made Italie afraide. Therfore of a long time after, the Consulls would not take vpon them to warre with the Paonians. And these great things haue I founde of the Illyrians. But in Cæsars Commentaries, that was called Augustus, I finde no auntient matter of ỹ Paonians. It should seeme, there was an other part of Illyria, that did obey the Romanes, but what the name was I can not tel. For Augustus dyde not write other mens actes, but his owne, howe he brought them that reuolted from the Empyre, to Tributes, and ouercame other that liued vnder their own lawes: and likely how he conquered the barbarous nations, that dwell in the heigth of the Mountaines, that were nerte Italie, and vsed by stealth to molest it. And surely I maruell, that so manye armies passing from Rome ouer the Alpes, did contemne these nations. For Caius Cæsar so happy a man in warre, and leading so manye armies againste the Celtes and Iberians, did likewise little waste of these nations, when he lay euery Winter, not far from them, by the space of tenne yeares. But I thinke these menne, hauing hatte onely to that they purchased, did care for no more, but for passage ouer the Alpes. C. Cæsar being long about Celtica, thought it ynough to end that, the ciuill warre of Pompey calling him from the rest. And where he seemed to chose both Celtica and Illyria, he toke rule not of all, but of them that belonged to ỹ Romanes. But Cæsar Augustus got al, & when he accused the volenes of Antonie to the Senate, he shewed how he had made the fierce nation of ỹ Illyrians, so oft rebelling, tame: he subdued with great experience, ỹ Oxeans, Perthenetans, Bathiates, Taulantians, Cambians, Cinambrans, Merromenans, and Prisseans. And thẽ ỹ rebelled, which were the Docleatans, Carinians, Interfrurians, Narisians, Clintidions, & the Tauriscans, which he compelled to pay their tributes after they had denied them, the whiche being ouercome, the nerte, that is, Ippasinans and Bessians for feare, did yelde vnto him. And hee ouercame the Corcyrians & Melitinans with greate fight by sea, bicause

Agriani.

Cornelius ouerthrowen of the Agrians.

Commentaries of Augustus of his owne actes.

Cæsar did not passe of Illyria.

Cæsar Augustus talketh of his conquest of the Illyrians. Nations of Illyria subdued by Augustus.

Melita, Malta, Corcyra, Corfu. cruelly vsed of Augustus.

they were rouers on the sea. The children he killed, the other he solde. And toke the shippes from the *Liburnians*, bicause they also robbed on the sea. Of the *Iapodans* that dwel within the Alpes, the *Morrines*, and *Aedeatians* yelded to him when he came. The *Autupians*, whiche were many and warlike, of the *Iapodan* kind, went oute of the countries into their Cittie, and when he came they lurked in woddes. He toke their Citie, but would not set it afyre, thinking they would yelde to him at length. Which beeing done, he gaue them their citie to inhabite. Of al other, the *Salassians* and *Iapodans*, that dwell beyonde the Alpes, made him to haue moste to do, with whom the *Segestianes*, *Dalmatians*, *Daisians*, and *Paonans* layned. They keepe the toppes of the hilles, that be mountaines vnpassable, an harde and narrowe way, leading to them, by truste whereof they live of themselues, and take toll of them that passe. *Veterus* comming sodainelye vppon them, gote the straightes of the place by policie, and besieged them two yeares.

Morrines, Aedetians, Autupians.

Salassii, Iapodes. Segestani. Dalmatia. Daisii, Paones. The Alpes.

Veterus.

VVant of salte.

They wanting salte, wherof they had moste nede, receiued garrisons. After rebelling from *Veterus*, and casting down the defenses, they got the streights, and laughed at them that *Caesar* sent, bicause they could do little againste them. Therefore *Caesar* beginning warre againste *Antonie*, lette them liue as they would, and forgaue them that molested them that obeyed the Romanes, but *Messala Corninus* sent of *Caesar* to subdue them, ouercame them by famine. And so the *Salassians* came into the Romanes power. The *Iapodans* that inhabite beyond the Alpes, a moste fierce nation, and almoste wilde, diode reiecte the Romanes twice in .xx. yeares, and raunged to *Aquileia*, and spoyled the Romanes lande called *Forgium*. When *Caesar* wente againste them, they were the more fierce agaynste hym, and cut down wood to stop him. And when *Caesar* went to an other wood, they fled, and as he followed they layde traines for him. *Caesar* suspecting it, sent some of hys, to the toppes of the hilles, to sette vppon them on bothe sides. He comming easly, and cutting the woddes, they sodainely appeared from the traines, and hurte many. But when the other were come from the toppes, they were destroyed. The reste fledde into the

Messala Corninus.

Aquileia, is nowe of the Venetian iurisdiction. Forgium.

Caesar Augustus, defeateth the Iapodans.

Tergum.

Scutum.

It is scituate vpon two hilles, in a valley [illegible] the valley goeth, [illegible] these thousande were practised in armes, and easily [illegible] manes from the walles. The Romanes set [illegible] the wharfe they fought, and the other without [illegible] and nighte, made many trenches, hauing [illegible] they hadde gotten the wharfe, whereby they made the Romaynes to lye further off. For they hadde gotten theyr engines in that place where *Brutus* fought with *Cæsar* and *Antonie*.

Engines taken at the place where *Brutus* & *Cassius* fought with *Cæsar* and *Antony*.

But when the Romanes hadde beaten downe parte of theyr walles, they made foztes within, and when they were wearye, they leapt into them that they had nowe made.

The Romanes taking the wall that they hadde lefte, burned it, and sette two mountes against the other, from the whiche they made also foure bzidges to the walles.

Brydges made from mountes to the wall, break.

When all was readye, *Cæsar* badde some goe to the other [illegible] of the Citie, to awe the Citizens asunder, and willed the other to goe vppon them on the bzidges, and he beinge [illegible] vppon an highe Tower what was done. [illegible] came to reskue them that gaue the assaulte at the wall. [illegible] ther laying traynes behinde, beating the bzidges with theyr long [illegible] wared more fierce.

And when two of the bzidges were bzoken, and the thirde [illegible] to fall, the Romanes were in suche a feare, as none wouldee go to the fourth.

Cæsar rebuked them from the Tower, but they wouldee neuer the sooner goe. Wherefore he toke a shield and ran to the bzidge [illegible] with him *Agrippa*, *Tiberius* and *Lucius*, that were Captaines, [illegible] one of his Guard, only these fiue, and fewe other Targetbearers went on the bzidge. When *Cæsar* was on the bzidge, the Souldiouzes being ashamed, ranne straighte vnto him, by the

The Boldnesse of *Cæsar Augustus*.

The fourth bri-gade of Romaines ouercome Cæsar burnes.

reason to be vsed. The battaile being ended, bloud, and many fell in the pursuite. The next day after, Cæsar hoping hurte another night long, whilest they were in the feare, gaue some of the chiefe Nobilitie leaue, to go to their countries, humblie entreating to be aline. So all those, whom he might be reuenged by, had death, or the enimie stabbed by him selfe, and by & by commaunded an other bridge to be made, which thing chiefly made the Menapians afraide. The next day sending Embassadors for peace, they promised to deliuer hostages, & receiue a garrison. And leauing the higher hill, they al went into the other. When ỳ garrison commaunded them to leaue their armor, they were grieued, & putting their wiues & children in their Senatehouse, & receyuing the garrison, they told the Romanes, that if they required of them any vnreasonable thing, they would burne that place, & set vpon the Romanes for desperation. Which when they had said, they al went from the lowe place to the higher. Then the garrison set ỳ house afyre, many of the women killed themselues, & their children, some brought their children aline, & threw the into the fire. So al the youth of the Menapians perished with battaile, & the vnprofitable sort with fire, & the city was so burned, that as great as it was, there was not a toke left of it. The Menapians being ouercome, the rest of the Iapodans yelded to Cæsar. Thus the Iapodans beyond the Alpes, became subiecte to the Romanes. When Cæsar was gone, the Pessinians rebelled, whom Marcus Eburo ouercame, & killed the that were cause of the rebellion, & made the rest slaues. The Romanes hauing gone twice against ỳ Segestanes, neither toke hostages nor any thing else from them, wherefore they were the more boldened. Cæsar went against them, through the Pannian land, who were not yet obedient to the Romanes. Their land is woody, & stretcheth along from the Iapodans to the Dardanans. The Pannians haue no cities, but lands & houses together, nor any common Iustice, or Princes, to rule ouer them. They had an. C. M. fighting men of the best yeres, but because they had none to command the, they came not together. Whē Cæsar came, they ran into the woodes, & if they found any straggling, they killed them. Cæsar thinking they would haue come to him, did neither burne their fields nor their villages

Desperate attempt.

Pessinians rebel. M. Eburo.

Pannians in the wayes to the Segestanes.

Pannians haue no Cities nor common places of Iustice. Nūber of people with their armor. Cæsar burneth the villages.

Samel ouerth by the mountaynes of Libernia into Dacia.

Hister, Danubius.

Segesta.

Dacia, Scythia, ore of Europe, now Wallachia.

The people of Segestaue fuiet the garison.

Cæsar s Segestan their v

Segestanes, destroyed of the garison.

Taulantians leauing their lande, went to inhabite that part of Macedonia, that is next the Gulfe of Venice, not far from Durasso, & inhabited a City Arnissa.

Dalmatians ouer throwe Glaudianus ouer throwe, Gabinius. Perseus captaine.

were in daunger: That the Segestanes had secretly sette vpon them and killed many, but that the rest by their valiantnes had gotten an onset vpon the Citizens, and gotten the Citie. Wherefore he turned his warre to the *Dalmatians*, an other nation of the *Illyrians*, next the *Taulantians*. The *Dalmatians* after they had geuen an ouerthrowe of fiue bandes vnder *Gabinius*, and taken fiue ensignes, they were proude of their prosperitie, & were in armour ten yeares togither, and when *Cæsar* came, determined to helpe the *Segestanes*. They were about 12000. good fighting men, & had made one *Perseus*, their captaine: He inuaded again *Pomonas*, a citie of the *Liburnians*, & defensed it with trenche & ditch, & got other strong places of the country. For it is all hillie, the toppes whereof stand vp like pynacles. The greater part of the were in the Citie, and the rest kept the hil toppes, so as they might easily see the Romanes armye. *Cæsar* assembled as thoughe he would enclose them al in a wall, but secretly sent the holde forte to go to the mountaynes, & to espie what was to be done there. They going by the woods secretly in the night, set vpon the kepers, whom, being yet asleepe, they slewe, and signified to *Cæsar* that they were at the end of their iourney, and must haue more men to get the Citie, and let some go from the hils to tel others that were in other mountaines. Wherefore the *Barbarians* were put into great feare, when they saw themselues beset on euery side, & chiefly they that were in the higher hils, for lacke of water, & fearing the wayes would be shut on all sides, they got them into *Pomona*. *Cæsar* enclosed the Citie, & two of the highest hilles that were yet holden of the enimies xl. furlongs about, & in the meane season gaue an onset vpon *Teutimus* another captaine of the *Dalmatians*, & put him to flight, and chased him by the mountaines, & toke the citie in his flight. For the Citizens coming out before the preparation was finished, they had a repulse, and the Romanes, in the flight, got into the Citie with the, & when they had slaine the third part of the Citizens, they droue the rest into the Castle. There was one bande of the Romanes that kept the gats, vppon whom, when the *Barbarians* espyed the fourth

Lack of water.

Teutimus.

Pomona taken.

night

night, they were all gone [illegible] Cæsar made [illegible]
repulse the enimies, and the next [illegible]
the town that offered [illegible]
the Captaines of [illegible]
all the Summer [illegible]
Thus was Pharos taken.

Pharos

Pharos [illegible] wherefore the Illyrians did not follow them farre, being ignorant of the way, and fearing the [illegible] Cæsar [illegible] and the Dalmatians [illegible] Gabinius. In the which place they set also an ambush for Cæsar: but he burned the woods on either side the way, and sent his army by the hils, and himselfe went by the valleys, putting before the woods, invading the Cities, and burning what so ever took in his way. He besieged the Citie Setnia, and [illegible] of the which, came a great number of Barbarians, with whom Cæsar met, and would not suffer them to passe, being hurt in that fight in the knee, he lay sicke many dayes. Being recovered, he went to Rome for the Consulshippe, which he take [illegible] Publius Sulpitius standing Consul. Cæsar to enter the charge, he entring his office at the beginning of the month. That day, Antonie [illegible] ing appointed to his charge, he went against the Dalmatians, keeping yet the power of the third man, for unto the seventh [illegible] powers were expired, the which they take of themselves, & the people confirmed it. Wherfore the Dalmatians being in [illegible] of Romans on every side, they came of themselves to Cæsar, humbly [illegible] praising, and delivering seaven hundred hostages of their [illegible] chiefest. Cæsar commanded them to bring the ensignes that they had taken from Gabinius, and to pay the tribute, [illegible] the they promised to Cæsar Cæsar, and has referred to this time. Slain so they were more obedient to the Romanes for [illegible] war after. Cæsar set these ensignes in the Gallerie that is called Gauia. When the Dalmatians were overcome, the Dardanians came to yelde themselves, and to deliver pledges, and pay tri- butes, which they had so long omitted.

Augustus made [illegible] Consul.

Cæsar [illegible] wounded.

Brundusium.

Augustus [illegible]

Antonius Pollio, standing Consul.

The multitude of the Romans re- mained in Rome.

Romans [illegible] hundred Hostages.

Ensignes [illegible] restored.

Then *Cæsar* sent letters to them, and they deliuered their pledges, which in this meeting being done, they refused to do. Where as they thought to be the later, whereas *Cæsar* brought to obedience, whome before hee had troubled and were not acquainted with ouer rule, wherefore the Senate appointed him to trie whe of the *Illyrians* might be ouercome, or haue ouercome *Antonie*. The other *Illyrians* that the Romanes had before the *Peonians*, were the *Agrians*, *Nauistians*, & *Autariats*, which inhabite at the *Euxine* sea. I thinke *C. Cæsar* did subdue the *Agrians* and *Nauistians*, when he made warre vpon the *Celtians*, or that *Augustus* did conquere them, when he inuaded the *Peonians*, for they haue their habitation betweene both. I finde no warre made against them of purpose, wherefore I thinke they were ouercome, with their neighbours. For *M. Lucullus*, *L. Lucullus* brother, that ouercame *Mithridates*, did ouerrunne all the region of the *Mysians*, and helde his course to the flouds, in the which place there be foure Greeke cities next to the *Mytians*, that is, *Histros*, *Dionisopolis*, *Odisus*, and *Mesembria*. Then he brought out of *Gallia* that great *Appollo* that standeth in the palace. I do not remember that any other that ruled that common wealth, did bring the *Mytians* to tribute, or *Augustus*, but *Tiberius* which reigned after *Augustus*, had them. But these things are shewed of me in their place. Before they had *Egipt*, what the Emperours did after *Egipt* was wonne, or how they spedde in warre, we haue shewed them, as their proper acts, after these common enterprises: in the which many things be also contayned of the *Mysians*. Now seing the Romanes take the *Mysians* to be *Illyrians*, this boke shalbe named of me the *Illyrians*, the which I wrote, that it might be an absolute matter. For *Lucullus* ruling in the peoples time, did ouerrun the *Mysians*, and *Tiberius* did receyue them vnder his Monarchie.

Cæsar Augustus hath of the *Illyrians*.

Rhetians, be they in the hils that be called *Grisones*.

Noritia, some thinke to be *Bauaria*, some *Stiria* and *Carinthia*.

Mysii, NOVVE *Bosna* and *Seruia* nigh *Hungaria*.

Istri, *Dionisopolis*, *Odisus*, *Mesembria*, NOVV *Mesembler*.

Tiberius.

Lucullus.

The

¶ The *Romanes* warre with the Celtes.



THe *Celtes* did firſt inuade the *Romanes*, and toke *Rome* without the *Capitoll*, and burned it. *Camillus* did ouercome them, and dryue them away, and when they came agayne another time, he dyd ouerthrow them, and triumphed of them whē he was foureſcore yeares of age.

Lybia be thoſe Frenchmen that inhabite from the flood *Seine* to *Garona*. *Camillus*.

The thirde time they came into *Italy*, when they were deſtroyed by the *Romanes*, vnder *Titus Quintius* their Generall.

After them, the *Boians*, a moſt fierce nation of the *Celtes*, came vpon the *Romanes*, and *Caius Sulpitius* Dictator, wente agaynſte them, and vſed this policie. He bad the Souldyoures of the front to caſt their darts, and ſtreight way to ſet downe, till the ſeconde, thirde, and fourth, had done the like, then euery one ſtouping, when they had done their ſhotte, that the contrarie weapons mighte be throwne in vayne, when the laſt hadde throwne, then to runne all with one force and crye with violence vpon the enimie, for ſo they ſhoulde affray them, if they came ſo ſuddaynely to fight with them at hand, after ſo greate a brunt of ſtrength. Their weapons were not like the dartes which they of *Rome* call *Geſe*, the halfe of a ſquare ſtaffe, with a peece of yron ſquare alſo, and that ſoft, beſide the poynt, and euen thus theſe *Boyans* were deſtroyed of the *Romanes*, with all their armie. *Popilius* ouercame other *Celtes*, and after him *Camillus*, ſonne to *Camillus*, did the ſame, and *Paulus Aemilius* ſette vp tokens of victorie againſt the *Celtes*. Before the Conſulſhips of *Marius*, a greater number more warlike, and for age to bee feared, inuaded *Italy* and *Gallia*, and ouercame ſome Conſuls of *Rome*, and ouerthrewe their armies, againſte whome *Marius* went, and ouercame them all. The laſt and greateſt fight with the *Galles*, was done by *C. Caſar*, being generall, there fortie hundred thouſands of fierce nations did he ouerthrow in tenne yeares, whiche if a man will put togither in one ſumme, he

Boy were part of the French about *Lyons*. *C. Sulpitius* his policie.

The French call their darts *Geſa*, The *Macedonians Lariſſe*, The *Romanes Pila*. *Popilius*. *Camillus*. *P. Aemilius*.

This *Gallia* was where nowe *Lombardy* is, &c.

C. Caſar.

The victories of *Caſar*.

shall finde they were about foure hundreth thousande, it is certen that a hundred thousand were slayne, a hundreth thousande taken, foure hundreth nations, eight hundred Cities, some reuoltyng, & some freely yeeldyng, he brought to obedience. Before *Marius Fabius, Maximus Aemilianus* leadyng but a meane armie, did ouercome a hundreth and twentie thousande *Celtes*, with the losse of fiftene men. And though he were wounded on the knée, yet he rested not to ryde aboute, and encourage his armie, instructyng them how to fight agaynst the *Barbarians*, sometime carried in hys Chariot, and sometime ledde by hand. *Caesar* makyng warre agaynst them, did firste conquere the *Lucrians* and *Tigrians*, to the number of two hundreth thousande. For the *Tigrians* afore tyme, *Piso* and one *Cassius* being leader, ouerthrew the *Romanes*, and put them vnder the yoke, as *Aspinus Claudius* wryteth in the olde Monumentes. *Labienus* the Lieftenant ouercame these *Tigrians*, the reste *Caesar* subdued, and the *Triconians* helpyng them. Then he conquered the *Germanes* with *Arioniste*, whose greatnesse passed the greatnesse of all other: they haue moste fierce maner, hardy in giuyng battayle, not afrayde of death, for the hope to ryse agayne. They can abyde colde and hunger when néede requireth: their horses many tymes are fed with shrubbes, yet they were, as is thought, not very paynefull in warre, nor goyng to it by order, but in rage lyke brute beastes, and so they were conquered by the *Romanes* patience and sufferaunce: for they woulde runne about the *Romanes* battayle with great violence, and the *Romanes* kéepyng order, after the discipline of warre, easily ouercame thē, and at tymes, killed.lxxx.thousande of them. After them *Caesar* inuaded the *Belgians* with whome he mette at a passage, and killed so many of them, as he made a bridge of their bodies. Notwithstandyng the *Nervians* made him once goe backe, coming vpon hym sodainely, and killyng many of his people, for they slewe almoste all the Capitaynes and Leaders, and besieged him in an hill, where he was driuen with his Garde: but when the tenth legion came on their backes, they killed lx.thousande of them, whiche were of *Teutones* and *Cymbrians*.

Aemilianus.

Lucrians, Helvetians, Tigrians, nowe *Zurick*, put the *Romanes* vnder yoke.
Labienus.
Ap. Claudius.
Germanes passe in greatnes despising death in hope to liue agayne.
Triconi.

Belgæ, is from Scalde to Sequane.

Neruij, be people about *Tornay*

Teutones Germanes.
Cimbrians Danes

Caesar

Cæsar also did ouercome the *Allabrogians*, nations of the *Vsipetans* and *Tantherians*, some of them good in the warre, and some not: the *Sicambrians* with fiue hundreth horse put to foyle fiue thousande of *Gasars* by a suddaine onset, but they were plagued for it. *Cæsar* was the first that passed the riuer of *Rhene*, and caried his armie into *Britaine*, the greatest Ile in the earth, where was no feare of him: he passed at the flodde, and first had losse by sea, and was tossed with the waters, which were first calme, and after violent, so as he got into *Brytaine* by great payne and sufferaunce.

Allebrogians Sauoyans. *Vsipetans*, Tantharians. *Sicambrie* Gelderians.

Cæsar had losse in the lowe countreys, and sayled into England.

There is no more founde of this matter.

Faultes escaped in the Preface.

The first side. Line. 16. Marsa. line. 22. Palæstinei. line. 21. Arabians. line. 24. put out pert Minaris, and say Palmyrians.

The second side. Line. 12. Thracius. line. 15. Azenus.

The third side. Line. 3 Danubius. line. 6. Moesiæ. line. 7. Myrteo. line. 15. seme. line 22. the sentence beginneth at Two hundred yeares.

The fourth side. Line. 21. the sentence beginneth at But after. line. 27. sentence beginneth at But they had great. line. 28. sentence beginneth at The dominion. line. 30. pe. line. 25. sentence beginneth at, For the.

The fifth side. Line. 3. Cyprus.

The seuenth side. Line. 10. sentence beginneth at And this Booke, for

Faultes escaped in the forren vvarres.

FOlio. 1. line. 28. Thracius. folio. 5. line. 25. make the cõma at succes ded. folio. 6. line. 21. Booke. folio. 6. line 29. put out and. fol. 8. line. 29. Pericles. fol. 26. line. 26. a full poynt at remayning. fol. 28. lyne. 25. Sylla. fol. 29. line. 7. Chalcidia. fol. 60. lyne. 19. Chotenians. fol. 70. lyne. 20. Magnopolis. fol. 70. lyne. 28. Triario. fol. 40. lyne. 8. Colchians. fol. 61. lyne 17. alliance. fol. 51 lyne. 14. Tigranes. fol. 7. lyne. 14. scite. fol. 73. lyne bit put out giuili. fol. 74. lyne. 34. Granata. fol. 76. lyne. 24. others. fol. 26. lyne. 32. Zenobius. fol. 87. lyne. bit. sentence beginneth at Asrub. ll. fol. 93. lyne. 12. Sophonisba hys wyfe. fol. 95. lyne. 8. præcept. fol. 97. lyn. 1 01. fol. 101. lyne. 15. by. fol. 113. lyne. 30. end. 32. Capio fol. 98. lyne. 21. Blesius. fol. 115 lyne penult. Numantines. fol. 1193 lyne. 12. compagnons. fol. 49. lyne. 25. Antiochus. fol. 119. lyne. 5. dispensation. fol. 81. lyne. 14. Tigranes. fol. 127. lyne. 5. still. fol. 158. lyne. 2. Manlius. fol. 169. lyne. 12. Adtumentũ. fol. 19. lyne. 29. Dimocheres. fol. 197. line. 28. Adrubal. fol. 65. lyne. 24. Dorilaus. fol. 173. lyne. 6. the. fol. 129. lyne. 16. χοιλη. ibid. 20. one. fol. 131. lyne. 22. Eumenes. fol. 137. lyne. 25. Romanes. fol. 141. lyne. 17. Manius. fol. 140. lyne. 2. one. fol. 149 lyne. 29. India. fol. 157. lyne. 18. Leucra. fol. 168. lyne. 12. Queene. fol. 176. lyne. 24. adde to. fol. 205. lyne. 10. τυτυρισα that. fol. 224. lyne. 3. tong. fol. 261 lyne. 31. deiecting. fol. 265 line. 6. legiõ. fol. 259. lyne. 4. rodes. fol. 233. lyne. 29. Hippocratetũ. fol. 269. lyne. 3. Phrates. fol. 269. fol. 10. Arsacides. fol. 282. lyne. 27. Getes. fol. 158. lyne. 14. adde at Larissa. fol. 262. lyne. 10. Orodes. fol. 3. lyne. 17. Temples. fol. 280. lyne 1. put out famine. fol. 289. lyne. 32. Pyrrheas. fol. 249. lyne. 22. was. fol. 223. lyne. 31. Xolla. fol. 256. lyne. 50. Acbarus. fol. 175. lyne. 2. Zantippus. fol. 179. lyne 15. he. fol 216 lyne. 28. we. fol 244. lyne bit. Crassus. fol. 363. lin. 17. then. fol. 273. lyne. 3. made. fol. 206. passer fol. 270. lyne. 25. Phraates fol. 258. line. 29. Agbarus. fo. 285. lyne. 10 Corin. fol. 233. lin. 24. Mastabales. fol. 164. line. 15. Nicator. fol. 295. lyne bit. put out and. fol. 288. line. Promona. 294. fo. 64. lyn. 17. Xiphares. fo. 72. li. 28. Triario. fo. 250. li. 24. thou.

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